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THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611),

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

67E05

EDITED

By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter.

PREACHER AT LINCOLN'S INN, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN.

Vol. I.—Part I.

GENESIS—EXODUS.

A-g. 6

SEVENTH THOUSAND.

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PREFACE.

IT is about seven years since the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon. J. Evelyn Denison, conceived the idea of the present Commentary, and suggested its execution.

It appeared to him that in the midst of much controversy about the Bible, in which the laity could not help feeling a lively interest, even where they took no more active part, there was a want of some Commentary upon the Sacred Books, in which the latest information might be made accessible to men of ordinary culture. It seemed desirable that every educated man should have access to some work which might enable him to understand what the original Scriptures really say and mean, and in which he might find an explanation of any difficulties which his own mind might suggest, as well as of any new objections raised against a particular book or passage. Whilst the Word of God is one, and does not change, it must touch, at new points, the changing phases of physical, philological, and historical knowledge, and so the Comments that suit one generation are felt by another to be obsolete.

The Speaker, after mentioning this project to several prelates and theologians, consulted the Archbishop of York upon it. Although the difficulties of such an undertaking were very great, it seemed right to the Archbishop to make the attempt to meet a want which all confessed to exist; and accordingly he undertook to form a company of divines, who, by a judicious distribution of the labour amongst them, might expound, each the portion of Scripture for which his studies might best have fitted him.

The difficulties were indeed many. First came that of

treating a great and almost boundless subject upon a limited scale. Let any one examine the most complete Commentaries now in existence, and he will find that twenty or thirty ordinary volumes are not thought too many for the exhaustive treatment of the Scripture text. But every volume added makes a work less accessible to those for whom it is intended; and it was thought that eight or ten volumes ought to suffice for text and notes, if this Commentary was to be used by laymen as well as by professed divines. Omission and compression are at all times difficult; notes should be in proportion to the reader's needs, whereas they are more likely to represent the writer's predilections. The most important points should be most prominent; but the writer is tempted to lay most stress on what has cost him most labour.

Another difficulty lay in the necessity of treating subjects that require a good deal of research, historical and philological, but which could not be expected to interest those who have had no special preparation for such studies. In order to meet this, it was resolved that subjects involving deep learning and fuller illustration should be remitted to separate essays at the end of each Chapter, Book or division; where they can be found by those who desired them.

The general plan has been this. A Committee was formed to select the Editor and the Writers of the various sections. The Rev. F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter, and Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, was chosen Editor. The work has been divided into Eight Sections, of which the present volume contains the Pentateuch. Each book has been assigned to some writer who has paid attention to the subject of it. The Editor thought it desirable to have a small Committee of reference, in cases of dispute; and the Archbishop of York with the Regius Professors of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge agreed to act in this capacity. But in practice it has rarely been found necessary to resort to them.

The Committee were called upon, in the first place, to consider the important question, which has since received a

much fuller discussion, whether any alterations should be made in the authorized English Version. It was decided to reprint that Version, without alteration, from the edition of 1611, with the marginal references and renderings; but to supply in the notes amended translations[1] of all passages proved to be incorrect. It was thought that in this way might be reconciled the claims of accuracy and truth with that devout reverence, which has made the present text of the English Bible so dear to all Christians that speak the English tongue. When the Prayer Book was revised, the earlier Psalter of Coverdale and Cranmer was left standing there, because those who had become accustomed to its use would not willingly attune their devotions to another, even though a more careful, Version: the older Psalter still holds its place, and none seem to desire its removal. Since then, knowledge of the Bible has been much diffused, and there seems little doubt that the same affection, which in the middle of the seventeenth century clung to the Psalter and preserved it, has extended itself by this time to the Authorized Version of 1611. Be that as it may, those who undertook the present work desired that the layman should be able to understand better the Bible which he uses in Church and at home; and for this purpose that Bible itself gives the best foundation, altered only where alteration is required to cure an error, or to make the text better understood.

This volume is sent forth in no spirit of confidence, but with a deep sense of its imperfections. Those who wish to condemn will readily extract matter on which to work. But those who receive it willing to find aid in it, and ready to admit that it is no easy matter to expound, completely, fully and popularly, that Book which has been the battle-field of all sects and parties, which has been interpreted by all the ages, each according to its measure of light, will do justice to the spirit that has guided the writers. Such will find in it something that may help them better to appreciate the Sacred Text.

[1] These emendations are printed throughout in a distinctive type, darker than the rest of the note.

"As for the commendation," says Coverdale, "of God's holy Scripture, I would fain magnify it as it is worthy, but I am far insufficient thereto, and therefore I thought it better for me to hold my tongue than with few words to praise or commend it." Our English Bible has come down to us, won for us by much devoted labour, by persecution, by exile, even by blood of martyrdom. It has still much work to do, and when we consider the peoples to whom we have given our language, and the vast tracts over which English-speaking peoples rule, we feel how impossible it is for us to measure the extent of that work. We humbly desire to further it in some small measure, by removing a stumblingblock here, and by shedding light upon some dark places there. Such human efforts are needed, but the use of them passes, whilst the Word of God of which they treat will endure to the end. Yet it is permitted to offer them with an aspiration after the same result that attends the Word of God itself; and that result is, in the words of inspiration, "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through His name." (John xx. 31.)

More than seven years have elapsed since this Commentary was first projected. It will, doubtless, be admitted that this period is not longer than might be reasonably demanded for the preparation of any considerable portion of such a work: but it is due to all concerned with this volume to state that but for unforeseen circumstances it would have been published much earlier. We have to deplore the premature death of no less than three contributors, two of whom had undertaken the commentary on Exodus and Numbers. All the writers in this volume had, in consequence of this and of other circumstances, a much larger amount of work imposed upon them than they were prepared for, long after the commencement of the undertaking. For one book they had to write the entire commentary; for another to re-write, with a special view to condensation, notes which had been prepared with great ability and learning by Mr Thrupp. This statement is made simply to account for the delay in the publication. The other parts of the work are now far advanced, and two volumes, including the historical and poetical books, will probably be printed within twelve months.

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INTRODUCTION.

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THE title, Pentateuch, is the Greek name given by the LXX. translators to the five books of Moses, the name by which they were known among the Jews being "the Law," *Torah*. In the Scriptures it is called "the Book of the Law" (2 K. xxii. 8), "the Book of the Covenant" (2 K. xxiii. 2, 21; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 30), "the Book of the Law of the Lord" (2 Chr. xvii. 9, xxxiv. 14), "The Law of Moses," "The Book of Moses," or "The Book of the Law of Moses." (See 2 Chr. xxv. 4, xxxv. 12; Ezrâ vi. 18, vii. 6; Neh. viii. 1, xiii. 1).

The division into five books is by many thought to be also due to the LXX. interpp. The Jews, however, retain the division, calling the whole *chamishah chomeshe torah*, "The five quinquernions of the Law," though they only distinguish the several books by names derived from a leading word in the first verse in each. Thus Genesis they call *Bereshith, i.e.* "in the Beginning," Exodus *Shemoth*, "the Names," &c.

The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch.

That Moses was the author and writer of the Pentateuch was the belief of all Jewish and Christian antiquity, if at least we except some heretical sects in the early Christian centuries, who desired in all ways to disparage the Old Testament. The narrative itself contains evidence that Moses wrote a history. Thus, Ex. xvii. 14, after a memorable battle, "The LORD said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in the book (בַּסֵּפֶר);"[1] as though there were a regular account kept in a well-known book. Again, Ex. xxiv. 4, "Moses wrote all the words of the LORD." So Ex. xxxiv. 27, "The LORD said unto Moses, Write thou these words." In Num. xxxiii. 2, we read that "Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the LORD." In Deut. xvii. 18, 19, it is commanded that the king, who should hereafter reign, should "write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites;" and in Deut. xxxi. 9, 10, 11,

[1] See notes on Exod. xvii. 14. The article is, of course, expressed only by the vowel points, and is therefore only of doubtful authority, but the Masoretic tradition embodied in the points and accents is never lightly to be disregarded.

at the very end of the Pentateuch, we read, "Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi," commanding, that "at the end of every seven years" they should "read this law before all Israel in their hearing." Several times Moses himself in Deuteronomy names "this law," and "the Book of this law" (Deut. xxviii. 61, xxix. 20, 21, 29), as though he had written a book for his people to keep. With this constant tradition and these frequent allusions there is at least a presumption in favour of the Mosaic authorship. It will however be well to shew,

1. That Moses could have written the Pentateuch.

2. That the concurrent testimony of all subsequent times proves that he did write the Pentateuch.

3. That the internal evidence points to him, and to him only, as the writer of the Pentateuch.

Let it only be understood, *in limine*, that this authorship thus claimed for Moses is not inconsistent with certain admissions.

(*a*) For instance, it is not necessary to insist, that every word of the Pentateuch was written down by the hand of Moses in his own autograph. He may have dictated much, or all of it, to Joshua, or to some secretary or scribe. He may have merely superintended its writing, and stamped it with his own authority, as perhaps St Peter did the Gospel according to St Mark. This may explain (though it is not necessary to assume this in order to explain) the fact, that Moses is always spoken of in the third person[1]. This may explain also some things said concerning Moses, which he might have allowed others to write, but would not have been likely to write himself. This may explain the difficulty, if difficulty indeed it be, that the last chapter of Deuteronomy relates the death of Moses; for what more likely, than that he, who wrote at Moses' dictation the acts and the words of Moses, should have finished the work by recording Moses' death?

[1] When Caesar always writes of himself in the third person, and when the like practice has been known to most nations, it seems hard to deny that Moses could have so written.

(*b*) It is not necessary to deny, that the Pentateuch, though the work of the great Prophet and Lawgiver whose name it bears, may have undergone some recension in after times, as by Ezra or others. The Jews hold that all the books of the Old Testament were submitted to a careful review by Ezra and the Great Synagogue (Buxtorf, 'Tiberias,' Lib. 1. c. 10); and the fathers of the Church generally believed in some such supervision. "Omne instrumentum Judaicæ literaturæ per Esdram constat restauratum" (Tertull. 'De Cultu Femin.' c. 3). "Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso" (Hieron. 'ad Helvidium,' edit. Vall. Tom. II. p. 212). If Ezra collated MSS. and carefully edited the books of Moses, it is not impossible, and is not inconsistent with the original authorship, that he should have admitted explanatory notes, which some think (rightly or wrongly) to betray a post-Mosaic hand.

(*c*) It is not necessary to deny that Moses had certain documents or traditions referring to the patriarchal ages, which he incorporated into his history. Indeed it is most likely that such traditions should have come down through Shem and Abraham to Joseph and the Israelites in Egypt: and there can be no reason why an inspired historian should not have worked up such trustworthy materials into the history of the ancestors of his people.

1. *Moses could have written the Pentateuch.*

The most sceptical of modern objectors do not deny the existence of Moses, nor that he was the leader of his own people out of Egypt into Canaan. We have then the fact, that there was a man, evidently of some genius and energy, who led a nation out of captivity, and settled them in a state of civil government in another land. He came out of the most civilized country in the world, and he most probably had acquired much of its civilization.

The first question then, which naturally occurs is, Was the art of writing known so early as Moses? and especially was it known to the Egyptians and the Jews?

Recent researches prove the early existence of writing power in Egypt. Hieroglyphics are as ancient as the earliest Egyptian monuments, and the cursive hieratic character is to be found in monuments, parchments, and papyri centuries before the time of Moses. A few examples will clearly prove this. The famous group of figures in the tomb of Chnoumhotep at Beni Hassan, which belongs to the twelfth dynasty, represents a scribe as presenting to the governor a roll of papyrus covered with an inscription, bearing the date of the sixth year of Osirtasen II. This was certainly many centuries before the Exodus, according to most scholars even before the time of Abraham (see Brugsch, 'Hist. d'Egypte,' p. 63). At a later period, in the reign of Menephthah I., of the nineteenth dynasty, whom many have identified with the Pharaoh of the Exodus, we have a papyrus in the cursive hieratic character, (the Papyrus Anastasi, No. 1), which gives a list of nine authors distinguished for their writings in theology, philosophy, history, and poetry (Brugsch, p. 177, note). But the most remarkable of all is the papyrus found by M. Prisse, written in the hieratic character, and translated by M. Chabas, which contains two treatises; the first, consisting of twelve pages, is the conclusion of a work, of which the earlier part is destroyed. It treats of moral subjects, and is written in an elaborate and elevated style. The second treatise is by a royal author, son of the king next preceding Assa, in whose reign the work was composed. This is considered to be the most ancient of existing MSS. It is attributed to a prince of the fifth dynasty, who represents himself as weighed down with age, and invokes the aid of Osiris to enable him to give to mankind the fruits of his long experience. (See De Rougé, 'Recueil de Rapports, Progrès des Études Relatives à l'Égypte et à l'Orient,' p. 55, Paris, 1867. Also Brugsch, pp. 29—32.) The antiquity of this document is incalculable. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, that Moses, brought up in the house of Pharaoh, and learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, had acquired the art of writing.

But the Semitic nations had also a knowledge of the same art from the most ancient times. The traditions of Greece point to Cadmus (*i.e.* "the eastern"), the brother of Europa, as having introduced letters from Phœnicia into Europe. These traditions belong to the mythic ages of Greece, and, having been varied by later authors, can only be taken for what they are worth; but in their earliest form they point to Phœnicia as the teacher of Greece, and go on to say that parchments of goat and sheep skin were used by the Phœnicians for the purposes of writing (Herod. v. 58). Moreover, these traditions are confirmed by the fact that the letters of the Greek alphabet have the same names and order with those of the alphabets of the Semitic races; and the names have a meaning in Semitic but none in Greek, which proves that the Greeks took them from the Phœnicians, not the Phœnicians from the Greeks. In an Egyptian monument a Hittite is specially named as a writer. Pentaour, a royal scribe of the reign of Rameses the Great (as some think before, but more probably soon after, the Exodus), composed a poem, which is described as a kind of Egyptian Iliad, and which was engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnac. This mentions by name Chirapsar, among the Kheta (*i.e.* the Hittites), as a writer of books (Brugsch, p. 139); with which has been compared the fact, that Joshua took a city of the Hittites, the ancient name of which was Kirjath-sepher, *i.e.* "the city of the book" (Josh. xv. 15), and that he changed that name to Debir, a word of similar significance.

It is observed by Ewald ('Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' Vol. I. p. 77. Eng. Tr. by Martineau, pp. 50, 51), that the words for "write," "book," and "ink" (כתב, ספר, דיו), belong to all the branches and dialects of Semitic (except that the Ethiopic and south Arabic have צחק for "to write"). From this he infers that writing in a book with ink must have been known to the earliest Semites before they separated off into their various tribes, nations, and families. He concludes, and he cannot be accused of over credulity, that "Whatever the Semitic people may be, to which half the civilized world owes this invaluable in-

vention, so much is incontrovertible, that it appears in history as a possession of the Semitic nations long before Moses; and we need not scruple to assume that Israel knew and used it in Egypt before Moses."

If then writing existed in Egypt and Israel, it is certain that Moses could have written a history, first, of the ancestors of his race, if it were only from the traditions which were sure to have been preserved among them, and secondly, of their wars and their wanderings, in which he himself had been their leader. These wars and wanderings extended over a period of forty years, during which there must have been frequent and long intervals of comparative leisure, which would have afforded ample time, to a man of energy and diligence, to compose a long and elaborate work. We may add that, if Moses could have written such a book, then it is almost certain, that he would have wished to do so. If we admit but the barest outline of the history of the Exodus, derivable not from the Jews only, but confirmed by the adverse traditions of their enemies, there can be no doubt of the following facts, viz. that the Hebrews were an oppressed race who, escaping from their captivity in Egypt, made a settlement in the land of Canaan, and by degrees grew into a powerful people, having a code of laws and a system of worship, markedly distinguishing and keeping them apart from the nations round about them. Now it is plain, that to fit such a people to be their own masters, and to maintain themselves in a condition of civil polity and social independence, there were needed wise laws and good training. If there be any truth at all in history and tradition, Moses, their wise leader, gave them laws and subjected them, before their settlement in Canaan, to a system of training. Moreover, he gave them a nationality. Was it not almost certain that he would commit his laws to writing? Is it not highly probable, that he should have tried to call out their national spirit by giving them a history of their ancestry and of their own assertion of their national independence? Such a body of men would not very easily settle by conquest among people more civilized than themselves, and retain independent laws, customs and rites, notwithstanding all surrounding influences. Yet that this was done by the Israelites no scepticism has yet denied. Nothing short of all that we read in the Pentateuch can fully explain this. But, at all events, it is clear, that in order to effect it, a wise leader and legislator would have committed his laws, and very probably his history, to writing.

We conclude then, that Moses could have written a work such as the Pentateuch, and that, if he could, most probably he would have written such a work.

2. Our next position is, that *The concurrent testimony of subsequent times proves, that Moses did write the books now known by his name.*

Beginning with the earliest books of the Old Testament we can trace a constant stream of reference and quotation to the laws, the history, and the words of Moses, which shew them all to have been well-known and universally accepted.

In *Joshua*, the Law of Moses, the Book of the Law, which had been written and was to be read, is continually spoken of (Josh. i. 7, 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6). In the first chapter the very words of Deuteronomy are twice quoted at length. (See Josh. i. 3—8, where Deut. xi. 24, 25, xxxi. 6—12 are recited, and Josh. i. 13—18, where Deut. iii. 18—20 is recited). The constitution, both ecclesiastical and temporal, of the Israelitish people exactly corresponds with that ordained by Moses. Thus the priesthood is in the family of Aaron. Eleazar, the son of Aaron, is High priest (Josh. xiv. 1). He holds the same high place in the nation that his father did, being associated with Joshua, as Aaron was with Moses (see xiv. 1, xxi. 1). He and Joshua divide the land (xxi. 1), according to the ordinance in Num. xxxiv. 17. The tribe of Levi perform the sacred functions, being scattered among the tribes, with forty-eight cities assigned to them (Josh. xiii. 14, 33; xiv. 3, 4; xviii. 7; xxi.), as had been commanded by the Lord by the hand of Moses (Num. xxxv. 7).

The Tabernacle, which had been made by Moses and pitched in the wilderness,

is now set up at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1). The sacrifices (Josh. viii. 31, xxii. 23, 27, 29) are exactly those enjoined in Lev. i., ii., iii. The altar which Joshua builds is constructed "as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the Law of Moses" (Josh. viii. 30, 31. Cp. Ex. xx. 25). The ark of the covenant occupies the same position as it did in the wilderness. It is carried on the shoulders of the Levites, and considered as the symbol and the special place of the presence of God (Josh. iii. 3, 6, 8, vii. 6). Circumcision (v. 2) and the passover (v. 10) are observed as in the Pentateuch.

There is the same general assembly of the people in council with the same princes of the assembly (Josh. ix. 18—21, xx. 6, 9, xxii. 30. Cp. Ex. xvi. 22, &c.), the same elders of Israel (Josh. vii. 6; Deut. xxxi. 9), the same elders of the city (Josh. xx. 4; Deut. xxv. 8), the same officers called *shoterim* and *shophetim* (Josh. viii. 33; Deut. xvi. 18), the same heads of thousands (Josh. xxii. 21; Num. i. 16), and other functionaries of state or of law. The ordinances of the Mosaic law are adhered to. Thus the bodies of those who have been hung are taken down before sunset (Josh. viii. 29, x. 27), as it was commanded in Deut. xxi. 23. No league is made with the people of Canaan (Josh. ix.), according to Exod. xxiii. 32. Cities of refuge are appointed (Josh. xx.) in strict accordance with the rules laid down in Num. xxxv. 11—15; Deut. iv. 41—43; xix. 2—7. The land is divided by lot (Josh. xiv. 2), as enjoined in Num. xxxiv. 13. The daughters of Zelophehad have their inheritance given them in the way prescribed Num. xxvii. 1—12, xxxvi. 6—9.

This is no place to discuss the genuineness and antiquity of the Book of Joshua; we may simply observe that its testimony to the Pentateuch is such that adverse criticism has found no escape but in saying that the writer of Joshua must also have been the writer of the Pentateuch, or (perhaps *and*) that the Book of Joshua was a recent production of the time of the kings or of the captivity.

The Book of Judges is of a somewhat fragmentary character describing a disordered condition of society, and the nature of its history is such as to call forth but few references to the history or the laws of Moses. The Book, however, appears in the first place to be a continuation of the history of Israel from the death of Joshua, and so thoroughly joins on to the Book of Joshua, that it can hardly be explained except on the belief that the Book of Joshua was written before it (see ch. i. 1. sqq. ii. 6—8). The laws of Moses, and God's commandments by him, seem to be frequently referred to (see ii. 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 20; vi. 8—10; xx. 6, 2, 13. Cp. Deut. xiii. 5; xxii. 21). We find the same ordinances of law and worship as are prescribed in the Pentateuch and observed in Joshua. Thus Judah has the pre-eminence among the tribes and the chief command (Judg. i. 2; xx. 18. Cp. Gen. xlix. 8; Num. ii. 3, x. 14). The office of Judge, which here appears so conspicuously, corresponds with what Moses had said in Deut. xvii. 9. The Theocratic character of the nation is fully recognized by Gideon, who refuses to be king (Judg. viii. 22), in accordance with the sayings of Moses (Ex. xix. 5, 6; Deut. xvii. 14, 20; xxxiii. 5). The Tabernacle is still, as set up by Joshua, at Shiloh (Judg. xviii. 31). In case of danger we find the Israelites going to ask counsel of the Lord, probably by the High priest with Urim and Thummim (Judg. xx. 23. Cp. Ex. xxviii. 30; Num. xxvii. 21): and again after defeat we find them going up to the house of the Lord, weeping and fasting and offering there burnt offerings and sacrifices in conformity with Deut. xii. 5; there enquiring of the Lord by means of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the High priest, in the presence of the ark of the Covenant of God (Judg. xx. 26—28). The Ephod is still the priestly garment, and so honoured as to become an object of idolatry (Judg. viii. 27; xvii. 5; xviii. 14—17). The Levites, dispersed about the tribes and cities, appear as the only legitimate ministers of religion, so that their services are sought even for idolatrous worship (Judg. xvii. 7—13; xix. 1, 2). Circumcision distinguishes the Israelite from the neighbouring tribes (Judg. xiv. 3; xv. 18).

There are references in Judges to facts in the Pentateuch (*e. g.* i. 16, 20, 23; ii. 1, 10; vi. 13). Especially Judg. xi. 15—27 is a complete epitome of N. xx., xxi. Language is borrowed from language of the Pentateuch (cp. Judg. ii. 1—23 with Ex. xx. 5; xxxiv. 13; L. xxvi. 13—17, 36; N. xxxii. 13; D. vii. 2, 5, 16; ix. 18; xii. 3; xvii. 2; xxxi. 16; and in the Song of Deborah, Judg. v. compare vv. 4, 5, with D. xxxiii. 2; v. 8 with D. xxxii. 17.

In the unsettled state of the country during the reigns of the judges it is only natural to expect some departure from the strict observance of the law: but the facts above referred to are consistent only with the belief that the events and ordinances of the Pentateuch had preceded the history and were known to the actors and writers of the Book of Judges.

The History of Samuel. Here again we find the ordinances of the Law and the history of the Pentateuch, referred to, recognized and acted on.

We find Eli, the High priest of the race of Aaron, though of the house of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 3. Cp. 2 S. viii. 17; 1 K. ii. 27); his sons' wickedness is related with the threat of punishment, fulfilled in the reign of Solomon (1 K. ii. 27), which sustains the truth of God's promise (N. xxv. 10 sqq.) that the High priesthood should remain in the family of Eleazar. The tabernacle is still at Shiloh (1 S. ii. 14, iv. 3), probably somewhat more solidly fixed, perhaps according to the rabbinical traditions having now become "a structure of low stone walls with the tent drawn over the top" (Stanley 'S. and P.' p. 233); so that it had apparently a warder's house attached to it, where Samuel slept[1]. The lamp burns in it according to Ex. xxvii. 20, 21; Lev. xxiv. 2, 3; though either that ordinance was not interpreted to mean that the light might never go out, or the carelessness, which had come on in Eli's old age and in the disordered state of Israel, had let that ordinance fall into disuse. The ark of the covenant is in the sanctuary and is esteemed the sacred symbol of the presence of God (1 S. iv. 3, 4, 18, 21, 22; v. 3, 4, 6, 7; vi. 19). The Cherubim are there, and the LORD of hosts is spoken of as dwelling between the Cherubim (1 S. iv. 4). There is the altar, the incense, and the Ephod (1 S. ii. 28). The various kinds of Mosaic sacrifices are referred to: the burnt-offering (*Olah*, 1 S. x. 8; xiii. 9; xv. 22), the whole burnt-offering (*Calil*, 1 S. vii. 9. Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 10), the peace-offerings (*Shelamim*, 1 S. x. 8; xi. 15; xiii. 9. Cp. Ex. xxiv. 5), the bloody sacrifice (*Zebach*, 1 S. ii. 19), and the unbloody offering (*Minchah*, 1 S. ii. 19; iii. 14; xxvi. 19). The animals for sacrifice, the bullock (1 S. i. 24, 25), the lamb (1 S. vii. 9), the heifer (1 S. xvi. 2), and the ram (1 S. xv. 22), are those prescribed in the Levitical code. The customs of the sacrifice alluded to in 1 S. ii. 13, were those prescribed in L. vi. 6, 7; N. xviii. 8—19, 25, 32; D. xviii. 1 sqq.: but the sons of Eli knew not the Lord, and so would not acknowledge the ordinance: ("The sons of Eli...knew not the Lord, nor the ordinance of the priests in reference to the people," 1 S. ii. 12, 13). The Levites alone were permitted to handle the sacred vessels and to carry the ark (1 S. vi. 15). Historical events are referred to in the Pentateuch; Jacob's going down to Egypt, the oppression of the people there and their deliverance by the hand of Moses and Aaron (1 S. xii. 8), the plagues of Egypt (1 S. iv. 8), and the wonders of the Exodus (1 S. viii. 8), the kindness

[1] The singular parallelism between Exod. xxxviii. 8, and 1 Sam. ii. 22, the latter of which is a quotation of the very words of the former, seems to shew that the tabernacle at Shiloh was not a different structure from the tabernacle in the wilderness, and that the door (פֶּתַח) of the one corresponded exactly with that of the other. It has been contended indeed that the mention of "doors" (דְּלָתוֹת), in 1 Sam. iii. 15, shews that a building with wooden doors, as of a house, had been erected in place of the Tabernacle. The words quoted from Dean Stanley in the text would of themselves explain how the original tent, if drawn over low walls, might have had such doors in those walls. But, moreover, the very word דֶּלֶת, "door," was probably in its first significance the door, not of a house, but of a tent. The descendants of Shem were nomads, dwellers in tents. Their idea of a door was therefore a curtain or flap. The word to express this was derived from דָּלָה (cogn. תָּלָה), "to hang;" it, or a cognate word, signifying also in the Piel "to draw up." In the plural or dual it meant the two flaps of a tent-door, afterwards the two leaves (*σανίδες*), of a wooden door. Thus פתח was the entrance either of a house or of a tent; דלת, originally the curtain of a tent, afterwards the door of a house.

shewn by the Kenites to Israel in the wilderness (1 S. xv. 6).

Even verbal quotations from the Pentateuch are pointed out. The reference in 1 S. ii. 22 to Ex. xxxviii. 8, has been already mentioned. The people ask them a king (1 S. viii. 5, 6), in language which shews that they had the very words of Moses (Deut. xvii. 14) in their minds. The words of 1 S. viii. 3 are evidently written with allusion to Deut. xvi. 19. The only inconsistencies which appear are readily explicable by the peculiar, unsettled condition of the nation in the days of Samuel and the early days of David. Especially when the ark was in captivity, and there was no longer the sacred presence of God at Shiloh, Samuel sanctioned the offering of sacrifice in other places beside the Tabernacle (1 S. vii. 17; x. 8; xvi. 2—5). But indeed the command to sacrifice only in the place to be chosen by God was not binding until that place had been chosen, viz. Mount Zion, and the tabernacle, to be succeeded by the Temple, had been set up there. The difficulty that Samuel a Levite (1 Chron. vi. 22—28), but not a priest, should be said to have sacrificed (1 S. ix. 13), is removed, if we consider how frequently it is said of others, of Joshua (viii. 30, 31), of Saul (1 S. xiii. 9, 10), of David (2 S. xxiv. 25), of Solomon (1 K. iii. 4), of the people (1 K. iii. 2), that they sacrificed, it being in all these cases apparently understood that a priest was present to offer the sacrifice (see Deut. xviii. 3; 1 S. ii. 13; 1 K. iii. 1—4. Comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 39, 40). Samuel, as prophet and prince, blesses the sacrifice (1 S. ix. 13): but there is no evidence that he slew it. If he slew it, still the man who brought the offering might slay it, but he could not sprinkle the blood on the altar.

This is an important point in the history of Israel. Supposing Moses to have been the author of the Pentateuch and the facts recorded in it to be historical, we have now found just what we might expect to find. The land of Canaan is conquered by Joshua, the lieutenant and successor of Moses, who endeavours to establish his people in their new settlements by enforcing upon them a strict observance of all the ordinances of the Mosaic Law. After his death, and even during his failing years, we find the Israelites demoralized by long wars, settling imperfectly down to their civil duties and institutions, acknowledging, and in the main, both ecclesiastically and politically, guided by the laws of the Pentateuch, yet without a strong and settled government to enforce their strict and constant observance. Samuel, prophet, judge, and almost priest, becomes at length the chief ruler. He consistently aims at consolidating and reforming the state of society. To this end, though he apparently makes no change in the established worship of the country, which had not widely departed from that ordained by Moses, yet he strives to bring all the ordinances both of Church and State back to conformity with the institutions of the Pentateuch. This is pretty certain; either that he followed these institutions or that he invented them. The only record we have of him and of his acts is to be found in the first book called by his name. There certainly he appears as a follower not as an inventor; and the Book of Judges, which most of the modern critics admit to be ancient, testifies to the existence and authority (though at times to the popular neglect) of these ordinances, as much as do the books of Samuel. The reason, why he is charged with the invention, is that after him the main facts of the history and the principal laws of the Pentateuch were undoubtedly known, and there is the utmost anxiety on the part of the objectors to prove that they had not been known before. But, besides what we shall endeavour to shew presently, viz. that Samuel could not except by a miracle have invented the institutions of the Law, the history of Samuel is wholly inconsistent with the theory that he was a forger. "In his history there is too much of the Mosaic element to do without Moses and the Pentateuch, there is too little to betray his intention to bring the system into prominence." (Smith, 'Pentateuch,' i. p. 172.) The Pentateuch and the Mosaic system silently underlie the whole history of Samuel; but, in the midst of a general subjection to it, there are at least some apparent

departures from it, which are utterly inconsistent with the belief that Samuel was its forger. It is there: but it is there without parade or observation.

The times of David and Solomon.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to trace minutely the references to the Pentateuch, and the observance of the Law of Moses through these reigns. The facts are the same as before; the Levitical priesthood, the tabernacle, the ark, the sacrifices, all are the same; but there are two things to be observed now, which bring us fresh evidence of the existence of, and the respect paid to, the Pentateuch, and of the acceptance by the nation of the ordinances of the Tabernacle.

1. In David we have not only a king but an author. A large number of the Psalms are assignable to him, either as their author or as their compiler. Now it is true, that the later Psalms (such as the 78th, 105th, 106th, 136th) are much fuller of historical references to the Exodus than the earlier Psalms, the Psalms of David: but it will be found that the passing allusions, and the similarity of expressions and sentences, amounting sometimes to evident quotations, are far more abundant in the Psalms of David. It is impossible to compare the following, even in the English Version (but in the Hebrew it is much more apparent), without being convinced that David had in his mind the words or the thoughts of the author of the Pentateuch.

Ps. i. 3.	Gen. xxxix. 3, 23.
„ iv. 5 (Heb. 6).	Deut. xxxiii. 19.
„ „ 6 (Heb. 7).	Num. vi. 26.
„ viii. 6, 7, 8.	Gen. i. 26, 28.
„ ix. 12.	Gen. ix. 5.
„ xv. 5.	Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 36. Ex. xxiii. 8. Deut. xvi. 19.
„ xvi. 4.	Ex. xxiii. 13.
„ „ 5, 6.	Deut. xxxii. 9.
„ xvii. 8.	Deut. xxxii. 10.
„ xxiv. 1.	Ex. xix. 5. Deut. x. 14.
„ xxvi. 6.	Ex. xxx. 19, 20.
„ xxx. Heading.	Deut. xx. 5.
„ xxxix. 12.	Lev. xxv. 23.
Ps. lxviii. 1.	Num. x. 35.
„ „ 4.	Deut. xxxiii. 26.
„ „ 7.	Ex. xiii. 21.
„ „ 8.	Ex. xix. 16.
„ „ 17.	Deut. xxxiii. 2.
„ lxxxvi. 8.	Ex. xv. 11.
„ „ 15.	Ex. xxxiv. 6.
„ ciii. 17, 18.	Ex. xx. 6. Deut. vii. 9.
„ cx. 4.	Gen. xiv. 18.
„ cxxxiii. 2.	Ex. xxx. 25, 30.

2. In Solomon we have also a royal author. His language, however, is not so much penetrated with the language of the Pentateuch as is that of David. Indeed the nature of his writings, which are mostly proverbs or apophthegms, does not admit of much reference to earlier works. Yet, even so, where the subject leads to it, we may trace an evident acquaintance with the language of Moses. See for instance the third chapter of Proverbs, where v. 3 appears to allude to Ex. xiii. 9, Deut. vi. 8; v. 9 to Ex. xxii. 29, Deut. xxvi. 2; v. 12 to Deut. viii. 5; v. 18 to Gen. ii. 9. Many other phrases in the Proverbs are borrowed directly from the Pentateuch. Thus in Prov. x. 18, "He that uttereth slander," is a Hebrew phrase of peculiar significance occurring only here and Num. xiii. 32; xiv. 36, 37; from the events in which chapters it probably came into existence; the expressions in Prov. xi. 1; xx. 10, 23, are taken from the very words of Lev. xix. 36; Deut. xxv. 13. The words of xi. 13; xx. 19, "the talebearer" (literally, "he that walketh being a talebearer"), are taken from Lev. xix. 16, "Thou shalt not go up and down," lit. "walk being a talebearer."

But that which specially connects Solomon with the history of the Exodus, is that he was the builder of the Temple. Now the Temple is a fixed and enlarged Tabernacle. All the proportions of the Tabernacle are carefully retained, but the size is exactly doubled. All the instruments and the sacred vessels are the same, except that they are magnified. Nothing material is altered, except that the Temple is a structure of stone, whilst the Tabernacle was a tent covered with skin; and in the Temple there is magnificence, whereas in the Tabernacle, notwithstanding the gold and embroidery, there was comparative simplicity.

Mr Fergusson, the able writer of the article *Temple* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' has shewn with great clearness, that the proportions and construction of the Tabernacle were those of a tent, most admirably suited for its purpose in the wilderness, having every requisite which a Tent-temple ought to have. It is a strong proof of the reverence in which Solomon held the original pattern, that he and his architects should have so closely imitated the Tent in their erection of a stone Temple. Unless the Tent and all its accompaniments had existed and been described, the Temple of Solomon would have been almost impossible. No one would have thought of building a house with all the proportions of a tent, except to perpetuate the relation of the house to the tent, the Temple's ancestral rights in the Tabernacle. In the words of Ewald, "The Temple of Solomon itself, notwithstanding all its splendour and its expanded proportions, shews itself to be only a tent on a large scale, though no longer portable."

The divided kingdom.

After the separation of the ten tribes from Judah, though the worship of the true God was preserved only in Judah, and idolatry prevailed in Israel, there is still evidence that in both kingdoms the Pentateuch was acknowledged, both as a history and a law. In Judah, we find "the Book of the Law of the Lord" used as the great text-book for teaching the people in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 9). In another reign the king, Uzziah, ventures to offer incense contrary to the Law (Num. xvi. 1 sqq.); and he is stricken with leprosy as a punishment (2 Chron. xxvi. 16—21). Hezekiah, a great reformer in Judah, institutes all his reforms on principles strictly according with the law of the Pentateuch, and is specially noted as having "kept all the commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses." 2 K. xviii. 6. To his day had descended that venerable relic of the wilderness "the brazen serpent which Moses had made." The honour paid to it clearly proves the acceptance of its history by the Jewish people: but, because that honour had then become excessive, Hezekiah in his ardent zeal for purity of worship brake it in pieces, 2 K. xviii. 4. We turn to the kingdom of Israel. Jeroboam is warned by Ahijah the Prophet that he should keep the statutes and commandments of God (1 K. xi. 38), evidently the well-known statutes and commandments of the law. When, instead of doing so, he seduces the people to idolatry, it is still with reference to the history of the Exodus, "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," 1 K. xii. 28. The very place of his worship, Bethel, was probably consecrated by the history of Jacob and the appearance of God to him there. The feast appointed 1 K. xii. 32, was an imitation of the feast of Tabernacles. Though it was "in a month devised in his own heart" (v. 33), and not at the time decreed in the Law, yet it was "like unto the feast that is in Judah," and ordained on purpose to prevent the people from going up "to the sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem" (v. 27). The Levites appear to have remained faithful, and hence Jeroboam is obliged to make the lowest of the people priests (v. 31). We have here the clearest testimony to the existence and authority of the Law even in the description of the most flagrant breach of it.

For the history of the succeeding reigns it may suffice to point attention to the following references in the books of Kings to the laws of the Pentateuch.

1 K. xxi. 3 to Lev. xxv. 23; Num. xxxvi. 8.
" xxi. 10 to Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, 7; xix. 15.
" xxii. 17 to Num. xxvii. 16, 17.
2 K. iii. 20 to Ex. xxix. 38 sqq.
" iv. 1 to Lev. xxv. 39 &c.
" vi. 18 to Gen. xix. 11.
" vii. 3 to Lev. xiii. 46; Num. v. 3.

But at one period in this history we find a body of illustrious prophets warning the people both of Judah and of Israel or Samaria. Isaiah, Hosea, Amos and Micah, all prophesied during the reigns or part of the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. Isaiah's prophecy was confined to Judah, but Amos and Micah pro-

phesied in both kingdoms, and Hosea wholly or chiefly in the kingdom of Israel.

In all these prophets there are frequent references to the Law, which three of them distinctly name (Is. v. 24; xxx. 9; Hos. iv. 6; viii. 1; Amos ii. 4). Isaiah seems to speak of it as "the Book" (ch. xxix. 12), just as Moses himself speaks of his own record as "the Book" (Ex. xvii. 14, see above). The familiarity of this great prophet and probably of his hearers with the Pentateuch may be seen by comparing Is. i. 10—14 with Ex. xxxiv. 24; Lev. ii. 1, 16; vi. 14, 15; xxiii. passim. Is. ii. 7, xxxi. with Deut. xvii. 16; Is. iii. 14 with Exod. xxii. 5, 26; Is. v. 26 with Deut. xxviii. 49; Is. xxx. 16, 17 with Lev. xxvi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 30, &c.

It is, however, more important for our present purpose to pass on to the other three prophets, as they prophesied in Israel, and so their references will shew, that the Pentateuch, whether as Law or as history, was assumed as the basis of truth even in appeals to the apostate and idolatrous kingdom of Ephraim.

In Hosea we have such references as these, "They have transgressed the covenant like Adam" (not "like men" as Authorized Version), Hos. vi. 7. Jacob "took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed, he wept and made supplication unto him: he found him in Bethel" &c. (Hos. xii. 3, 4, the allusions being to Gen. xxv. 26; xxviii. 11; xxxii. 24). "She shall sing there, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came out of the land of Egypt" (ii. 15). "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt" (xi. 1, cp. Ex. iv. 22, 23). "I have written to him the great things of my law" (viii. 12).

Amos says, "I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite," (ii. 10, the last words being in allusion to Gen. xv. 16), "the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt" (iii. 1). He speaks of "the horns of the altar" (iii. 14), in allusion to Ex. xxvii. 2, xxx. 10, and Lev. iv. 7. He speaks of the Nazarites (ii. 11, 12), which doubtless sprang out of the ordinance in Num. vi. 1—21. In chap. iv. 4, 5 he writes, "Come to Bethel, and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes after three years: and offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven, and proclaim and publish the freewill offerings." These allusions shew an intimate acquaintance with many of the Levitical Laws. One is to the continual burnt-offering, Num. xxviii. Another to the tithe to be laid up at the end of three years, Deut. xiv. 28; xxvi. 13. A third to the prohibition to burn leaven with a meat-offering (Lev. ii. 11), and the exception made in the case of a thank-offering, where direction is given to offer besides the unleavened cakes also an offering of *leavened* bread (Lev. vii. 12, 13). A fourth allusion is to the freewill offering mentioned Lev. xxii. 18—21; Deut. xii. 6. Indeed the accuracy of agreement in this one passage goes far to prove that the law of which Amos speaks was identical with that which we now possess[1].

Micah refers to Genesis. "They shall lick the dust like *the* serpent" (כַּנָּחָשׁ) (vii. 17), in allusion to Gen. iii. 14. He mentions the promises to Abraham and to Jacob (vii. 20). He alludes to the history of the Exodus and of the book of Numbers. "I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him," &c. (vi. 4, 5).

Is it possible that these prophets, thus speaking, or the people among whom they spoke, should not have had the Books of Moses before them?

The reign of Josiah.

We come now to the time of Josiah. In his reign we have abundant evidence that the ordinances observed, when the temple had been purified, were those of the Mosaic Law. The Passover was then held unto the Lord God, as it was written

[1] McCaul, 'Examination of Bp. Colenso's Difficulties,' p. 183, third Edition, 1863.

in the book of the Covenant (2 K. xxiii.), "according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses" (2 Chron. xxxv. 6). The 14th day of the first month is the day appointed (2 Chr. xxxv. 1). The sacrifices are Mosaic (2 Chr. xxxv. 7—10). The priests assisted by the Levites kill the Passover and sprinkle the blood (Ib. v. 11). The priests are the sons of Aaron (v. 14). The custom of the Passover is traced from the time of Samuel to that of Josiah (v. 18), &c., &c.

But in this reign we meet with that remarkable event, the finding of the Book of the Law in the Temple by Hilkiah the High priest. It is unnecessary to determine here what may be meant by "the book of the Law" (2 K. xxii. 8), or "a book of the Law of the Lord by Moses" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 14). Whether it were the whole Pentateuch, or Deuteronomy only, or portions of the whole, has been often questioned. It seems however pretty clear, that Deuteronomy was at least a portion of the book thus found. The curses referred to in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 24, are either those in Lev. xxvi. or those in Deut. xxvii. xxviii. The effect which they produce upon the king, and his evident conviction that they concern himself especially, "for *me*, and for the people, and for all Judah," (2 K. xxii. 13), seem to point to the curses in Deuteronomy; as there only the king is threatened (Deut. xxviii. 36), there too the judgments denounced seem more specially national, and such as would most signally apply to the condition of Judah in the days of Josiah.

But it is a natural question, Whence came it that the book thus found should so have awakened the conscience and aroused the anxieties of the king, if the Pentateuch had all along been the acknowledged statute book of his people, and the text book of their faith?

Let us then notice first, that the Law was to be kept carefully in the Tabernacle or Temple. Moses commanded that the book of the law, which he had written, should be put in or by the side of the ark of the covenant and there preserved (Deut. xxxi. 26). It is extremely probable (the language seems to imply it) that the very autograph of Moses was thus stored up, first in the Tabernacle and afterwards in the Temple. We, who have manuscripts of the New Testament in the fullest preservation 14 or 15 centuries old, and Egyptian papyri, some unquestionably much older than Moses still legible, others written in the 14th century B. C. in perfect preservation, need not wonder if this treasured MS. of the Pentateuch had lasted from Moses to Josiah, a period of only 700 years, and that in the dry climate of Palestine. Let us next observe the long prevalence of idolatry and ungodliness in the reigns preceding that of Josiah. There is a ray of light in the reign of Hezekiah, but the darkness settles down again more thickly than ever in the reign of his son Manasseh. That reign, extending over more than half a century (2 K. xxi. 1), witnessed the greatest spread of idolatry, and of all the vices which accompanied idolatry in Palestine, the most cruel persecution of the faithful, and the most outrageous profanation of the sanctuary ever known in Israel. Manasseh built the high places and reared up altars for Baal; he built idolatrous altars in the courts of the temple, made his sons to pass through fire, dealt with wizards, and even set up a graven image, probably of the foulest possible character, "in the house of which the Lord said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house and in Jerusalem..... will I put my name for ever" (vv. 3—7, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7). Thus he seduced the people "to do more evil than did the nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel" (v. 9). "Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another" (v. 16, also Joseph. 'Ant.' x. 3. 1). There was no doubt a short season of repentance at the end of his reign (2 Chron. xxxiii. 12 sqq.) in which the idol was taken from the Temple and the altar of the Lord repaired; but his son Amon succeeded, and again did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served the idols which his father served, and worshipped them (2 K. xxi. 19, sq). To these two evil reigns and to a long inheritance of corruption, Josiah succeeded at eight years of age. He early shewed his piety, even from the age of sixteen turning to the Lord, and at the age of twenty com-

mencing the purification of worship (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3). At the age of 26 (the 18th of his reign) the book of the Law was found by Hilkiah in the Temple (2 K. xxii. 3). The ark which had been removed from the Temple (2 Chr. xxxv. 3) during the sacrilegious reign of Manasseh, had been brought back again: and wherever the book of the Law may have been concealed, very likely built into a wall by the priests to keep it from the hand of the spoiler, it was now brought to light again by the High priest Hilkiah.

Let us remember then, 1st, that very probably this was the autograph of Moses; 2ndly, that since the reign of Hezekiah, a period of seventy-five years, it is very unlikely that any king should have made a copy of the law, as commanded in Deuteronomy (xvii. 18); moreover it is very likely that Hezekiah's copy should have been destroyed or laid aside and forgotten; 3rdly, that by a cruel persecution idolatrous worship had long been upheld, and the worshippers of the Lord prohibited from exercising or teaching their faith; the prophets having been silenced, Isaiah according to Jewish tradition having been sawn asunder early in Manasseh's reign; 4thly, that Josiah was still young and only feeling his way to truth and to the restoration of religion. We shall then not think it strange that he should have been ignorant of much of the purport of the Pentateuch, nor that when the book, perhaps written by the very hand of Moses under the direction of God, was brought out and read to him, he should have been deeply impressed by its burning words, seeming to come straight into his soul as if they had been sent down to him from the cloud and the tempest and the mountain which burned with fire. Writing in those early days was very scarce; reading was probably confined to very few. In the middle ages of Europe, if it were possible to conceive such a state of corruption as that in the reign of Manasseh overspreading any Christian nation, it would not have been impossible for a young king to be ignorant of the contents of the Scriptures of the New Testament. Yet there can be no period of Christian history in which copies of the Scriptures were not far more abundant in every Christian country in Europe, and the power of reading them far more general, than can have been the case in Palestine at any time before the captivity.

There is nothing then to astonish us in the effect produced on Josiah by the reading of the threats of judgment from the Temple copy of the Law. That it was the Temple copy of the Law, all the most competent witnesses were satisfied. The High priest, the Scribes, Huldah the Prophetess (see 2 K. xxii. 8, 12, 14), the elders of the people (ch. xxiii. 1), the priests and Levites (xxiii. 4), those to whom some knowledge at least of the past had come down, some acquaintance with the Scriptures must have remained, all apparently acknowledged that the book found was the book of the Law by the hand of Moses. Had it been possible that a forger should then for the first time have produced it, it cannot be that so many independent witnesses should have been imposed upon to receive it. The story of its finding is told simply and without parade. It is what might very easily have happened, for it is like enough that the book would have been hidden, and Josiah's repairing of the Temple would bring it to light. The effect produced on Josiah's pious mind is exactly what might have been looked for. But, that, under all the circumstances of long continued corruption and apostasy, any one should have been able to impose such a work and such a law, as the Pentateuch or even the Book of Deuteronomy, on king, priests, elders and people, even if any one at that time could possibly have written it, exceeds all power of credence.

The Captivity and the Return.

The Prophets of the Captivity acknowledge the Law, and refer to the Pentateuch as much as any of those that preceded them. Jeremiah began to prophesy in the 13th year of the reign of Josiah. The portion of his book from ch. ii. 1 to ch. viii. 17, is generally acknowledged to have been written before the finding of the Book of the Law by Hilkiah; but in those chapters there are statements concerning the Law and quotations from the books of Moses, which shew that Jeremiah was then well ac-

quainted with the Pentateuch. "They that handle the Law know me not" (Jer. ii. 8). "How say ye, We are wise, and the Law of the Lord is with us?" (viii. 8). Here we have the common mode of referring to the Law, as a well-known authority. Chap. ii. 7 has allusions to Deut. viii. 15; Numb. xiv. 7, 8; Lev. xviii. 25—28; Numb. xxxv. 33, 34. Again, ch. ii. 28 is a quotation from Deut. xxxii. 37, 38. Chap. iv. 4 is a virtual quotation from Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; and the figure used occurs nowhere else in the Scriptures. Ch. v. 15, 17 contains unmistakeable quotations from Deut. xxviii. 31, 49. It is of less importance to multiply examples of this kind, because it is now admitted that the writings of Jeremiah are throughout impregnated with the language of Deuteronomy, insomuch that the modern critics have argued from this that Jeremiah must himself have been the Deuteronomist.

Ezekiel prophesied during the captivity. Dr M'Caul has observed that in the one short passage (Ezek. xxii. 7—12), there are at least twenty-nine references to, or rather quotations from, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, perceptible in the English version, and which the marginal references in an ordinary Bible sufficiently point out, but which by consulting the original will be found to contain the very words of the Hebrew. In v. 26 again, where the Law is distinctly named, there are at least four more references to Lev. x. 10, xi. 45, xx. 25, Ex. xxxi. 13. Chapters xviii. and xx. contain references and quotations innumerable; ch. xx. being a recapitulation of all that happened in the wilderness[1].

On the return from captivity we learn, that at the Feast of Tabernacles (according to the ordinance in Deut. xxxi. 10—13), Ezra brought the book of the Law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded Israel, that he read it from morning till midday "before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the Law" (Neh. viii. 3). That they accepted it against their own interests and affections is evident from their being induced to put away their heathen wives (see Ezra, ch. x). Some of them it is plain, understood the book as it was read to them; but to some of them, we are told, Jeshua, with the Levites and others, "read in the book of the Law distinctly (or rather 'giving an explanation'), and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 7, 8). The older men and women, no doubt, retained their knowledge of the ancient Hebrew, but the younger men, who were grandchildren or great-grandchildren of those who were first carried captive, had almost lost the language of their forefathers, and had brought from the land of the Chaldees that Aramaic tongue, Chaldee or Syriac, which soon became the vernacular language of Judea. Hebrew was not lost, or Haggai and Malachi would not have written their prophecies in Hebrew; but the change was rapidly taking place. It is the constant Jewish tradition that Ezra (besides writing Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and 1 and 2 Chronicles) collected and reduced to order all the earlier books of the Old Testament. It is said, moreover, that "the reading distinctly the Law and causing the people to understand," referred to above, was the introduction by Ezra of the custom, which prevailed afterwards, of having Chaldee translations or paraphrases read with the Hebrew Scriptures, for the use of the Chaldee speaking Jews. It is also said, that it was Ezra who transcribed the Scriptures from the ancient Hebrew character (now known as Samaritan) into the modern Hebrew or Chaldee character. Whether or not Ezra did all this, it certainly was done no very long time after the captivity; and Ezra, who was "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses," who bore a high commission to restore the Temple and the worship of God, was the most likely person to have been intrusted with this great work.

However this may be, we are brought now to a new kind of testimony. The Pentateuch, as preserved by the Jews, has come down to us in the modern Hebrew or Chaldee character. It was known to the ancient Jews and to the Christian fathers, that there was also a copy of the Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritans in a different character. For a thousand years that Samaritan Pentateuch was lost to the Christian Church,

[1] M'Caul's 'Examination of Bp. Colenso's Difficulties,' pp. 163 sqq.

and it was almost doubted whether it had ever existed; but in the year 1616, Pietro della Valle obtained a complete MS. of it from the Samaritans in Damascus. Several other copies have since been discovered, one of which is believed to be of the most remote antiquity. In almost all particulars (dates being the principal exception) this Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the Jewish Pentateuch. There can have been no collusion between Jews and Samaritans, for they were at mortal feud: and there are but two periods in which we can suppose the Samaritans to have become possessed of this copy of the Pentateuch. Manasseh, uncle (Neh. xii. 11) or brother (Jos.) of the High priest Jaddua, expelled for marrying the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. xiii. 28), became the first High priest of the Samaritans and of the temple erected on Mount Gerizim. He was joined by many priests and Levites, who, like himself, refused to put away their heathen wives[1]. It is the belief of many, that the so-called Samaritan Pentateuch was carried by these priests from Jerusalem to Samaria. Now they would certainly not have taken it with them, testifying as it did against their heathen marriages and their schismatical worship, had they not fully believed in its genuineness and Divine authority: nor would the Samaritans have accepted it but for a like conviction on their parts. At all events, at no later period could the Hebrew Scriptures have been imposed on the dissentient Samaritans. This document therefore preserved in Samaria by the Samaritans is an independent witness, from at least the time of Ezra, to the integrity of the five books of Moses. Its witness may go back to a much earlier date; for many think, and that with much ground of reason, that the Pentateuch was carried to the Cuthites who had peopled Samaria by that Israelitish priest, who was sent by Esarhaddon, that he might teach them the worship of the Lord. (See 2 K. xvii. 28; Ezra iv. 2.) This if it be correct would carry back the independent testimony of the Samaritan Pentateuch not only to the time of Ezra but to the reign of Manasseh, the grandfather of Josiah, about B.C. 680.

We pass on to the translation into Greek of B.C. 280, the famous translation of the LXX, which has a remarkable resemblance to the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and which proves the acceptance of the Pentateuch by the Jews in Egypt. Another link in the chain is the First Book of Maccabees, where we read of the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes, who strove to destroy the books of the Law, and of the zeal of the priests and people, who chose rather to die than to submit to his cruel edicts (1 Macc. i. 56 sqq.) The books of the Apocrypha perpetually refer to and quote the Pentateuch. Ecclesiasticus especially (perhaps the most ancient and most important) is full of such references. (See for instance ch. xvi. 8, 10; xvii. 1—4.)

That Chaldee paraphrases were made very soon after the return from captivity we are well assured. The earliest which is extant is that of Onkelos; the date of which is uncertain, by some placed in the century before our Saviour, but most probably to be referred to a date nearly coincident with the earthly life of Christ. The Targum of Onkelos is a paraphrase of the Pentateuch as we have it now. These Targums had been in use long before they were written down. When writing was comparatively scarce, the memory was so exercised, that a Targum on the Pentateuch would easily be handed down memoriter, so that probably the Targum of Onkelos really represents that which is much more ancient than itself.

Lastly, we come to the *New Testament*. As our purpose is to trace evidence, rather than to adduce authority, it may be sufficient here to say that, wherever the Pentateuch is referred to by the Apostles or by the Lord Himself, its Mosaic origin, as well as its Divine authority, is clearly expressed or implied. (See for instance, Matt. xix. 8; Mark x. 5; xii. 26; Luke xx. 37; Joh. i. 17; v. 46, 47; viii. 5; Acts iii. 22; vii. 37 sqq. &c. &c.).

The chain then is unbroken from the books of Joshua and Judges to the New Testament, and the words of Jesus Christ. We may fairly ask, whether any book, ancient or modern, has such a

[1] Joseph. 'Ant.' XI. 8, §§ 2, 4.

stream of concurrent and credible testimony in support of its claims to genuineness and authenticity.

3. The third point to be proved is,

That the internal evidence points to Moses and to him only as the writer of the Pentateuch.

(1) The author of the Pentateuch and deliverer of the Levitical Law had an intimate acquaintance with Egypt, its literature, its laws and its religion. This is a wide subject, and one which branches out into numerous details. It can only be briefly touched on here. Spencer ('de Legibus Hebræorum') shewed at great length that no one could have invented the Laws of Moses who was not well skilled in Egyptian learning. Bryant ('On the Plagues of Egypt') has shewn how the plagues were but an extension and accumulation of the natural evils of the country intensified by the Divine Judgment. Hengstenberg ('Egypt and the Books of Moses') has shewn how thoroughly an acquaintance with Egypt permeates the whole Pentateuch. This will appear in the following pages, when we come to the history of Joseph, to the Exodus, and to the laws of Moses. It would be impossible to enter into all the details here. Let us take a very few.

The making of bricks among the Egyptians by captives is pourtrayed on the monuments, especially of the 18th dynasty (most probably the dynasty of the Exodus) in such close conformity with the language of the Book of Exodus i. 14; v. 7, 8, 18, that the one might seem to be a description of the other (see Brugsch, 'Hist. d'Egypte,' p. 106). "Ruins of great brick buildings are found throughout Egypt" (Rosellini). "The use of crude bricks baked in the sun was universal in Egypt" (Wilkinson, II. p. 96, Hengst. p. 2). Bricks were made in Egypt under the direction of the king, as may appear by the impressions found on some of them. And in the composition of the Egyptian bricks there is generally found a certain quantity of chopped straw (Hengst. p. 79).

The ark of papyrus smeared with bitumen in which Moses was exposed, Ex. ii. 3, is suited to Egypt and Egypt only. There only was papyrus employed in the manufacture of many articles, such as mats, baskets, sandals (Herod. II. 37), sails for ships (Herod. II. 96), and even boats; for according to Plutarch ('De Is. et Osiri') Isis was borne upon a boat of papyrus. Bitumen too was of great use in Egypt. It was one of the chief ingredients in embalming; and mummy-shaped figures are found covered with a coating of bitumen (Hengstenb. p. 85).

The plagues of Egypt may be seen either in Bryant (*passim*) or Hengstenberg (p. 103—125), to be the natural troubles of the country magnified, their miraculous character resulting from their appearance and accumulation at the word of Moses and their removal at his prayer.

The Mosaic laws and institutions of worship are penetrated throughout by a knowledge of Egyptian customs.

The connection between the cherubic figures overshadowing the mercy seat and the Egyptian sculptures is traced in the note at end of Gen. iii. infra.

The distinction of clean and unclean meats is eminently Levitical, but it is eminently Egyptian also (Hengstenb. p. 180 sqq.). The Egyptian priesthood was by inheritance (Herod. II. 37); so was the Levitical. The Egyptian priests shaved their whole bodies (Herod. ib.); so the Levites were to "shave all their flesh" (Num. viii. 7). The Egyptian priests had to bathe continually (Herod. ib.); so the priests and Levites had to purify themselves by bathing (Ex. xl. 12—15, Num. viii. 7). The priests of Egypt wore none but linen garments (Herod. ib.), so was it with the Israelitish priests (Ex. xxviii. 39—42; xxxix. 27, 28; Lev. vi. 10): and there is no known example of any other priesthood of antiquity clothed only in linen (Hengst. p. 145—149). The anointing of Aaron (Lev. viii. 7—12, 30) when clothed in his priestly robes has an exact parallel in the Egyptian sculptures, where the king is anointed, clothed in royal robes and with cap and crown on his head (Wilkinson, i. p. 275; Smith on the 'Pentateuch,' p. 295).

The ceremony of the scapegoat, where the priest confesses the sins of the people on the head of the goat, which is then sent away into the wilderness, finds a

parallel in what Herodotus tells us, viz. that the Egyptians heaped curses on the head of the victim and then carried it and sold it to Greek traders, or, if there were no Greeks among them, threw it into the river (Herod. II. 39).

The Urim and Thummim (Ex. xxviii. 30) on the breastplate of the High priest correspond with what we learn from Ælian ('Var. Hist.' lib. XIV. c. 34) and Diodorus (lib. XXXI. c. 75), as also from the monuments, that the chief priest among the Egyptians, when acting the part of judge, wore round his neck an image of sapphire, which was called *Truth* (Hengstenb. p. 149—153).

The writing of the commandments of God on the door-posts and gates (Deut. xi. 20) is in strict accordance with the drawings of Egyptian architecture, where the door-posts of temples and tombs are covered with hieroglyphics (Smith, 'Pentateuch,' I. p. 257).

The erecting pillars and coating them with plaster to prepare for inscriptions (Deut. xxvii. 2, 3) is in strict conformity with Egyptian custom (Hengst. p. 90).

The infliction of the bastinado as prescribed in Deut. xxv. 2, is graphically illustrated in the sculptures at Beni Hassan (Smith, p. 258). The ox treading out the corn unmuzzled (Deut. xxv. 4) was the custom in Egypt, as the monuments also prove (Smith, ib., Hengst. p. 223). The offerings for the dead forbidden in Deut. xxvi. 14, are evidently such as were prevalent in Egypt, where small tables were placed in the tombs, bearing offerings of ducks, cakes and the like (Smith, ib.).

These are a few of the parallels, which prove an intimate acquaintance with the customs of Egypt in him who wrote the Pentateuch and delivered the Mosaic Law.

(2) The history and the Law of the Israelites both bear marks and tokens of their passage through the wilderness, and long residence in it.

This is specially to be observed concerning the Tabernacle. "It is proved," says Ewald, "to have been derived from the early times of the wanderings. It was only the most sacred of the many tents of a migratory people, resembling the general's tent in the midst of a camp; and according to the minute descriptions of it, all the objects belonging to it were adapted for carrying, like those of an ordinary tent[1]."

The memory of their long dwelling in tents was preserved among the Israelites throughout their generations. Not only was the feast of Tabernacles observed from the time of Moses to that of Christ, but their language and monuments continually bore witness to the same. "The very words 'camps' and 'tents' remained long after they had ceased to be literally applicable. The 'tents of the Lord' were in the precincts of the temple. The cry of sedition, evidently handed down from ancient times was, 'To your tents, O Israel!' 'Without the camp' (Heb. xiii. 13) was the expression applied to the very latest events of Jerusalem. 'Thou that dwellest between the Cherubim, shine forth! Before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh, stir up Thy strength, and come, and help us' (Ps. lxxx. 1) ... We see in this the reflected image of the ancient march, when the ark of God went forth, the pillar of fire shining high above it, surrounded by the warrior tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh[2]." The elders or chiefs of the tribes correspond with the Sheykhs of the desert; the office never disappears in the history of the people, till out of the Sheykhs of the desert grew the elders of the synagogues[3]. The materials which are recorded as used in the construction of the Tabernacle and its vessels were such as could be best obtained in the desert. The ark was not made "of oak, the usual wood of Palestine, nor of cedar, the usual wood employed in Palestine for sacred purposes, but of *shittim* or acacia, a tree of rare growth in Syria, but the most frequent, not even excepting the palm, in the peninsula of Sinai[4]." The coverings of the Tabernacle were goat's hair and ram-skin dyed red after the Arabian fashion, seal-skin (*Tachash*, see Gesen. s. v.) from the adjoining gulfs of the Red Sea, and fine linen from the Egyptian spoils[5]. Even the distinc-

[1] Ewald, Translated by Martineau, p. 441.
[2] Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' I. p. 163.
[3] Ibid. p. 161.
[4] Ibid. p. 163.
[5] Ibid. p. 165.

tion of the different kinds of food permitted or forbidden in the Law "may be traced with the greatest probability to the peculiarities of the condition of Israel at the time of the giving of that Law. The animals of which they might freely eat were those that belonged especially to their pastoral state—the ox, the sheep, the goat, to which were added the various classes of the chamois and gazelle. As we read the detailed permission to eat every class of what may be called the game of the wilderness, 'the wild goat and the roe and the red deer and the ibex and the antelope and the chamois,' a new aspect is suddenly presented to us of a large part of the life of the Israelites in the desert. It reveals them to us as a nation of hunters, it shews them to us clambering over the smooth rocks, scaling the rugged pinnacles of Sinai, as the Arab chamois hunters of the present day, with bows and arrows instead of guns. Such pursuits they could only in a limited degree have followed in their own country. The permission, the perplexity implied in the permission, could only have arisen in a place where the animals in question abounded[1]." The inevitable conclusion is, that the Law had its origin in, and the Legislator was intimately acquainted with, the wilderness of Sinai.

(3) Thirdly, the language and the legislation of the Pentateuch has Canaan only in prospect. It is patent throughout that the wording, both of the laws and of the language of the lawgiver, looks forward to a future in Canaan. See Ex. xii. 25—27; xiii. 1. 5; xxiii. 20—33; xxxiv. 11; Lev. xiv. 34; xviii. 3, 24; xix. 23; xx. 22; xxiii. 10; xxv. 2; Num. xv. 2, 18; xxxiv. 2; xxxv. 2—34; Deut. iv. 1; vi. 10; vii. 1; ix. 1; xii. 10, &c.

It has been objected, that the writer of the Pentateuch knew too much of the geography of Palestine for one who had never been there, and that this is an argument against its Mosaic origin. This surely cannot be a valid objection, when we remember, first, that Moses with his knowledge of the history of Genesis and of the wanderings of the old Patriarchs, must have become familiarized with the geography of the land of these wanderings; secondly, that Palestine was well known to the Egyptians, who repeatedly traversed it from the reign of Thothmes I.; thirdly, that Moses had lived for forty years in the wilderness of Sinai feeding the flocks of Jethro, and with his active mind and his deep interest in the country of his forefathers, he was sure to have enquired about, most probably even to have visited, the neighbouring plains of Palestine; fourthly, that he had taken pains to ascertain all the character of the country, of its people, its cities and its fortresses by means of spies, and that probably for many years, as every wise general would do, when preparing to invade a hostile and powerful people. But the very prophecies, which speak so clearly of the future possession of Canaan, and which sceptical criticism will therefore have to be predictions after the event, are just such as would not have been written when the event had become known. Take for instance Deut. xii. 10, "When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when He giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety," &c. This prophecy is indeed referred to in Josh. xxiii. 1, and is spoken of there as though it had been fulfilled in the conquests of Joshua. Yet, when we consider how partially those conquests really gave rest to Israel, how the sins of the people conditioned and, as it were, impaired their fulfilment, how long it was before the words were proved to be true indeed, it will be hardly possible to find any time when a forger could have written them. For instance, could Samuel have written them, with the history of the Book of Judges, a record eminently of unrest and insecurity, before his eyes, himself judging Israel, with the ark of the covenant in the hands of the Philistines, his own judgeship soon to give way to the warlike and turbulent reign of Saul? Indeed the reign of Solomon is the one only reign in the whole history of Israel, in which we witness anything like an united people with a wide dominion and with peace from the neighbouring tribes. That reign was 500 years after the Exodus.

[1] Ibid. pp. 168, 169. See the same subject further discussed, Smith's 'Pentateuch,' pp. 285 sqq.

Would any skilful forger have put words into the mouth of Moses apparently promising, immediately on the conquest of Canaan, rest and peace and security, when it took 500 years of restless and often unsuccessful war to attain security, and even so, when the very next reign saw the nation rent by an incurable schism?

We conclude, that, as the Pentateuch bears all the traces on its brow of Egypt and of the Desert, so also it must have had its origin before the occupation of Canaan.

(4) The language of the Pentateuch is such as to suit the age and character of Moses. The language is undoubtedly archaic. There are several words and forms to be found in the Pentateuch, and to be found nowhere else[1].

It is argued indeed, that these are not so much archaisms as peculiarities; but it is very singular that they should pervade the Pentateuch, which has, till of late, been universally esteemed the most ancient portion of the Bible, and that they should be unknown in the other books, even in those connected with the writers who have been fixed on as probable forgers of the Pentateuch, such as Samuel or Jeremiah.

It is argued again, that the language of the Pentateuch, although in some few fragments (such as Gen. iv. 23, 24, xiv. Gen. xlix. &c.) apparently archaic, is for the most part too like to later Hebrew for us to believe that it came from Moses. To this it may be replied that this is really what we might expect. A language is fixed by its great, and especially by its popular, authors. It is commonly said, that English has been fixed by Shakspeare and the translators of the Bible. Moses, putting aside all question of inspiration, was a man of extraordinary powers and opportunity. If he was not divinely guided and inspired, as all Christians believe, he must have been even a greater genius than he has been generally reckoned. He had had the highest cultivation possible in one of Egypt's most enlightened times; and, after his early training in science and literature, he had lived the contemplative life of a shepherd in Midian. We find him then, with a full consciousness of his heavenly mission, coming forth as legislator, historian, poet, as well as prince and prophet. Such a man could not but mould the tongue of his people. To them he was Homer, Solon, and Thucydides, all in one. Every one that knew anything of letters must have known the books of the Pentateuch. All Hebrew literature, as far as we know, was in ancient times of a sacred character, at all events no other has come down to us; and it is certain that writers on sacred subjects would have been deeply imbued with the language and the thoughts of the books of Moses. Eastern languages, like eastern manners, are slow of change; and there is certainly nothing strange in our finding that in the thousand years from Moses to Malachi, the same tongue was spoken and the same words intelligible; especially in books treating on the same subjects, and where the earlier books must have been the constant study of all the writers down to the very last. It is said, on the authority of Freytag, that the inhabitants of Mecca still speak the pure language of the Koran, written 1200 years ago. Egyptian papyri, with an interval of 1000 years between them,

[1] The most familiar and undoubted are the following:

(α) The Pronoun of the third person singular, except as pointed by the Masoretic Jews, has no variety of gender. Everywhere else we have הוּא (*hoo*) for "he," and הִיא (*hee*) for "she." In the Pentateuch we have הוּא doing equal duty for both, though הִיא occurs a few times.

(β) In like manner נַעַר (*nangar*), "a youth," is common to both genders in the Pentateuch, meaning indifferently "boy" or "girl." In all other books נַעַר (*nangar*) is "a boy," but נַעֲרָה (*nangarah*) is "a girl." נַעֲרָה in the fem. occurs once, Deut. xxii. 19.

(γ) Then we have אֵל, "these," frequently for אֵלֶּה, the later form. We have the infinitive of verbs in ה ending in וֹ instead of וֹת, as עֲשׂוֹ, Gen. xxxi. 28; עֲשׂוֹהוּ, Ex. xviii. 18; רְאוֹת, Gen. xlviii. 11. So the third person plural præt. frequently ends in וּן instead of the later form in וּ.

(δ) We have words peculiar to the Pentateuch, as אָבִיב, "an ear of corn;" אַמְתַּחַת, "a sack;" בֶּתֶר, "a piece," and בָּתַר to "divide into pieces;" גּוֹזָל, "a young bird;" זֶבֶד, "a present," and זָבַד, "to present;" חֶרְמֵשׁ, "a sickle;" טֶנֶא, "a basket;" יְקוּם, "a substance, an existing thing;" כֶּשֶׂב (for כֶּבֶשׂ), "a lamb;" מַסְוֶה, "a veil;" עָר (for עִיר), "a city;" שְׁאֵר, "a blood relation."

are said by Egyptologists to exhibit no change of language or of grammar[1]. We must not reason about such nations as the Israelites, with their comparative isolation and fixedness, from the Exodus to the captivity, on the same principles as we should think of the peoples of modern Europe, where so many elements of change have conspired to alter and to mould their language and their literature. The language of the Pentateuch then is just what the language of Moses would probably have been, simple, forcible, with archaic forms and expressions, but, having formed and stamped all future language, still readily intelligible to the last.

Question of Post-Mosaic Authorship.

Having now seen that so many notes, both external and internal, combine to point out Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, let us enquire whether all or any of them belong to any later prince or prophet.

Joshua may perhaps have been employed by Moses to assist him in his writings, as he was employed to assist him in his wars; and, of course, Joshua had some of the experience of Moses and all the teaching which Moses could give him. Yet nothing points to Joshua as the writer of the Pentateuch. He was eminently a man of war in his early and middle life, and in his old age he had enough and more than enough to do in holding his people in their obedience to the laws.

Samuel was a prophet and a reformer, but he is nowhere presented to us as a legislator; especially it is impossible that Samuel, except by a miracle, could have written books which are so thick set with indications of a knowledge of Egypt, and a knowledge of Sinai. The laws of Moses bear the mark of Egypt from end to end; but Samuel could never have come into contact with Egypt at all: and indeed, as far as history shews us, the Israelites from Joshua to Samuel were utterly isolated from contact with any, except the Canaanites and Philistines, who were mixed up with them, spread all around them, and with whom they were at constant war.

David is as little likely as Samuel to have had time for composing the Pentateuch or drawing up its sanctions. He was a man of war, and though the darling and the hero of his people, yet by no means exercising that kind of control and influence, which is needful for one who would impose a new code of civil and religious laws.

Solomon is the first who appears to have had much intercourse with Egypt after the time of the Exodus, and his extensive and comparatively peaceful reign may appear more suited to the introduction of a new code of legislation than the reigns of any of his predecessors or successors. We have seen, however, how Solomon in his building of the Temple followed the pattern of the Tabernacle. The reverse process, though it has been suggested, is simply impossible[1]. His whole organization indeed proceeds on the basis of the Pentateuch. But his own history is the clearest proof, that he was not the author of the laws contained in it, or the history related in it. In his earlier days we find him a pious and a wise king. He follows out the intentions of his father, and builds a temple to succeed the old tabernacle of the wilderness. But, as he advances in years, he is spoiled by the wealth and luxury, which his power has brought around him. He multiplies wives and lapses into idolatry, a sad instance of one hardened by the deceitfulness of sin,

[1] See Brugsch, 'Revue archéologique,' 1867, September, p. 179: "In comparing the demotic papyrus (which Brugsch translates) with the romance of the two brothers, even a superficial examination shows not only that the language and the formulæ in the two papyri, separated from each other by an interval of some thousand years, are of the same kind; but also, a point of most special interest, even the grammar has not undergone the least change." It may be added that between the papyrus of the two brothers, written under the 3rd king of the 19th dynasty, and the earliest inscriptions and papyri at least 1000 years earlier, there is nearly the same identity of language.

[1] Is it conceivable that Solomon, about to build a Temple to be the glory of his nation and for the special honour of his God, would have constructed it in fashion like a tent of the desert, in order that it might fit into the story of the desert wanderings and the sacred tabernacle carried through the desert?

and so falling from the living God. Can we conceive the author, or even the chief compiler and enlarger, of the laws and ordinances of the Mosaic code and worship, so carefully and so wisely framed to guard against the seductions of idol worship, being himself the first to fall away under those seductions?

But after the time of Solomon, the possibility of the Pentateuch having been written, and thus the laws of Moses enforced, becomes less and less. The schism of the ten tribes constituted a second kingdom, and the testimony, not of one only, but of two nations, would have been raised against such an attempt. It is impossible to believe, that in any subsequent reign such a book as the Pentateuch, and such a code as that of the Levitical law, with all its strictness and the heavy burden of its observances, should have been imposed upon the kingdom of Judah, either whilst the ten tribes were still living in their own land, or after they had been carried captive to Assyria, and a remnant only remained in Samaria. That the like should have been attempted after the return from captivity is even more impossible, and perhaps is not asserted by any one. The Hebrew language was then dying out, Chaldee rapidly taking its place; and the classic simplicity of the Pentateuch could not have had its origin in the last days of the degeneracy of language and literature.

It must be borne in mind, that any man or succession of men, attempting to write or even extensively to rearrange and enlarge such a book as the Pentateuch, must have set to work in the most diligent and systematic manner to do so. It has been shewn, that from end to end the Pentateuch and the laws of the Pentateuch have deeply imbedded in their words and thoughts ancient Egypt and ancient Sinai. A forger or redactor could only have exhibited such a phenomenon by devoting himself with the utmost care and attention to the study of Egyptian customs and antiquities, and to an acquaintance with the Sinaitic peninsula; and that too on the spot, in the midst of those very countries. Nothing less could have enabled him to produce such a work. He must have studied this with the most deliberate purpose, and must have brought his study to bear with the most consummate skill. Where in the times of Samuel, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, or Ezra, can we look for such a man? And beyond this, if modern critical theories be true, we must look not for one wise head and skilful hand, that should have produced such a result: but the fabric must have grown up bit by bit; an Elohist first, then a first, second, third, fourth, or even more Jehovists, who dovetailed their respective stories and their laws of many colours one into another, making a thing of shreds and patches, which nevertheless, when compacted together, has commanded the wonder of all ages, and every portion of which has the same archaic character, the same familiarity with the Egypt of early dynasties, the same air of the desert, the same apparent impress of the great master's hand. Such a result, under the conditions of Jewish history, is inconceivable as the work of any man; but it is such as the wildest fancy cannot attribute to an indefinite and widely separated succession of many men.

GENESIS.

INTRODUCTION.

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IF it be once admitted that the Pentateuch, as a whole, is due to Moses, there can be no difficulty in admitting that Genesis, the most ancient part of the Pentateuch, is due to him. If he wrote the history of the Exodus, he, either as author or compiler, must have written the introductory history of the times of the patriarchs. The unity of design is very manifest throughout. Moses was employed to mould and form a simple and previously enslaved people into an organized nation. He had to give them a code of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, for the guidance of their national life. The infant people was to be a theocracy, the germ and embryo of a theocracy greater than itself, guarded and isolated for fifteen centuries, till by a new revolution it should expand into the Church of Christ. It was obvious therefore, that he, who had to write the earliest chapters of its history, should begin by tracing down its descent from those who had from the first been the depositaries and witnesses of the truth.

If, however, adverse criticism has been busy in trying to dislocate all portions of the Pentateuch, to disprove its unity, and so to shake the evidence for its Mosaic origin; it has been signally busy in so dealing with Genesis. If Moses wrote the later books, he certainly wrote Genesis; and on the other hand, if he did not write Genesis, he wrote nothing. Hence to shake the foundation of Genesis is to destroy the fabric of the Pentateuch. The progress of the criticism has been sufficiently gradual. It was suggested long since by Vitringa, that Moses may have had before him "documents of various kinds coming down from the times of the patriarchs and preserved among the Israelites, which he collected, reduced to order, worked up, and where needful, filled in," *schedas et scrinia patrum, apud Israelitas conservata, Mosem collegisse, digessisse, ornasse, et ubi deficiebant, complesse* ('Obs. Sac.' I. c. 4). A conjecture of this kind was neither unnatural nor irreverent. It is very probable that, either in writing or by oral delivery, the Israelites possessed traditions handed down from their forefathers. It is consistent with the wisdom of Moses, and not inconsistent with his Divine inspiration, that he should have preserved and incorporated with his own work all such traditions, written or oral, as had upon them the stamp of truth.

The next step in the theory was, that taken by Astruc in 1753, who taught, that the names of God (Elohim and JEHOVAH), occurring in the book of Gen-

esis may distinguish respectively the documents or memoirs from which Moses compiled his history. He believed that there were no fewer than twelve documents, the two chief being the Elohistic and the Jehovistic.

Later writers again have varied this theory with every possible variation; some believing that there was one Elohist, and one Jehovist document; others that there were more than one Elohist, and many Jehovists; and exercising a subtle ingenuity, most convincing at least to themselves, they have traced minutely the transitions from one document to another, sometimes even in the midst of a sentence, guided by some catchword or form of expression, which they have, as others think most arbitrarily, assigned to the first or second Elohist, to the first, second, third, or fourth Jehovist, according to the number of authors in which they respectively believe[1]. Another step has been to suggest, that the different documents, often, as it is alleged, giving different versions of the same story, have been carelessly and clumsily put together. And a further still has been to deny, that Moses could be either the Elohist, the Jehovist, or the compiler and redactor, it being evident that the whole was a later work, due perhaps to Samuel, perhaps to Hilkiah or Jeremiah, perhaps still later to Ezra or some survivor from the captivity, or possibly to a collection of the labours, the piously fraudulent labours, of them all.

The salient points in their arguments are these. There appear to be two versions of the history of the creation, the first from Gen i. 1 to Gen. ii. 3, in which only the name Elohim occurs, the other from Gen. ii. onwards, in which the name of JEHOVAH occurs in combination with Elohim. Again, there appear two accounts of the Flood, which though interlaced in the book of Genesis, may be disentangled. These also are characterized respectively by the same variety in the names of God. Similar phenomena are said to prevail throughout the book, and even throughout the Pentateuch, but these are the two most observable. Then comes the well-known passage in Ex. vi. 3, where the Most High says to Moses that He was known to the fathers by the name of El-Shaddai, but by the name JEHOVAH He was not known to them; whence the introduction of the name Jehovah in the history of Adam, Noah, Abraham, &c., is argued to be a proof of later authorship.

It may be well then to shew:

First, that the Book of Genesis is not an ill-digested collection of fragmentary documents, but a carefully arranged narrative with entire unity of purpose and plan.

Secondly, that the use of the names of God is neither arbitrary nor accidental, but consistent throughout with the Mosaic authorship, and the general scope of the history.

1. *Unity of plan and purpose throughout.*

First then, as to the organic structure of the book; though it may be somewhat obscured by the modern division into chapters, as it was of old by the Jewish division of the Pentateuch into *perashim* or sections, careful examination will shew, that the arrangement is methodical and orderly from first to last.

The book begins with a general introduction, from ch. i. 1 to ch. ii. 3, wherein the creation of the universe is related in language of simple grandeur, very possibly in words handed down from the remotest antiquity, than which none could be more fitted here for the use of the sacred historian.

After this the book consists of a series of *Toledoth*, or genealogical histories, the first of which is called "the Toledoth of the heavens and the earth," ch. ii. 4; the others being the respective histories of the different families of man, especially of the ancestors of the people of Israel, from Adam to the death of Joseph[1]. The

[1] An abstract of the different theories from Astruc to the present day may be seen in Havernick ('Int. to Pent.' p. 45, Translation, Clark, Edinburgh), and 'Aids to Faith,' M'Caul's Essay on 'Mosaic Record of Creation,' p. 191.

[1] The word *Toledoth* has by some been rendered "origins," as "generations" cannot properly be used of the creation of heaven and earth; but it is not necessary to drop the figurative language in a translation. By an easy metaphor, the word, which described well the family history of a race of men, was applied to the history of the material creation. The word, moreover, as used in Genesis, does not mean a

great divisions of the book will be found to be:

1. The Introduction, from ch. i. 1 to ch. ii. 3.

2. "The generations of the heavens and the earth," beginning with ch. ii. 4, and extending on through the history of the fall to the birth of Seth, ch. iv.

3. "The book of the generations of Adam," from ch. v. to vi. 8.

4. "The generations of Noah," giving the history of Noah's family till his death, from vi. 9 to end of ix.

5. "The generations of the sons of Noah," giving an account of the overspreading of the earth, from x. 1 to xi. 9.

6. "The generations of Shem," the line of the promised seed, down to Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the sons of Terah, xi. 10 to 26.

7. "The generations of Terah," the father of Abraham, from whom also in the female line the family was traced through Sarah and Rebekah, from xi. 27 to xxv. 11[1].

8. "The generations of Ishmael," from xxv. 12 to xxv. 18.

9. "The generations of Isaac," containing the history of him and his family from the death of his father to his own death, xxv. 19 to end of xxxv.

10. "The generations of Esau," xxxvi. 1—8.

11. "The generations of Esau in Mount Seir," xxxvi. 9 to xxxvii. 1.

12. "The generations of Jacob," giving the history of Jacob and his sons to his own death and the death of Joseph, xxxvii. 2 to the end of ch. l.

history of the mode in which persons or things came into existence, but rather the history of those who descended from them. Thus "the Toledoth of Adam" gives the history of Adam and his posterity. In like manner "the Toledoth of the heavens and the earth" is the history of the material universe and its productions. See Keil on the 'Pentateuch,' Vol. I. pp. 70 sqq. (Clark, Edinburgh).

[1] It seems strange that the "generations of Abraham" should not be given distinctly from those of his father, and Quarry thinks that the title may have existed, and have fallen out of the MS. just before the last clause of xii. 4. The reason, however, which he himself assigns, seems sufficient to account for the omission, viz. that the history contained in this section is that of Abraham, Lot, Sarah, and of Isaac and Rebekah (all descendants of Terah), down to the death of Abraham.

Some of these sections relate only to collateral branches and are brief. The larger sections will be found to have subdivisions within them, which are carefully marked and arranged. As a rule, in each of these successive *Toledoth*, the narrative is carried down to the close of the period embraced, and at the beginning of each succeeding portion a brief repetition of so much as is needed of the previous account is given, and with it, very often, a note of time. Thus the Introduction is ushered in with the words "In the Beginning." Then the second section, referring to what has just been recorded, announces "The generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens," ch. ii. 4. Then again ch. v. 1, having the same note of time ("In the day," &c.) refers back to the account of creation, "In the likeness of God made He him, male and female created He them," &c. The next section, vi. 9, "The Toledoth of Noah," recapitulates the character of Noah, the degeneracy of man, and God's purpose to destroy all flesh. In xi. 10, the age of Shem and the birth of his son two years after the flood, are named. The like plan is observable in the "Toledoth of Terah," xi. 27; "the Toledoth of Ishmael," xxv. 12; "of Isaac," xxv. 19, "who was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife;" "of Esau," xxxvi. 1, where his marriages are recorded again: and lastly, in the case of Jacob (xxxvii. 2), we find, in the verse immediately preceding (viz. xxxvii. 1), a note telling us the position of Jacob at the time, and again in vv. 2 and 3 the age of Joseph ("Joseph was seventeen years old"), taking us back to a point of time twelve years before the death of Isaac, which had been before recorded, that so we might see the new starting-point of the history.

Space will not allow the tracing of similar recapitulations and notes of time in the smaller sub-sections of the history. It must suffice to observe that they are very characteristic of the whole book, and are had recourse to wherever perspicuity of narrative seems to require[1].

[1] They are traced at length by Quarry ('Genesis,' pp. 326 to 349).

This brief review of the divisions of Genesis shews that it was not a loosely compacted structure, carelessly or clumsily thrown together by some one, who found a variety of heterogeneous materials and determined to mass them all in one: but that it was drawn up carefully, elaborately, and with distinct unity of purpose; whether from pre-existing documents or not it matters comparatively little to enquire.

2. *Of the names of God as used in the Book of Genesis.*

The names by which the Supreme Being is called in the Old Testament, and especially in Genesis, are chiefly two, *Elohim* and JEHOVAH, the one generally rendered in the versions God, the other LORD. We meet also with *El* (which is but a shorter form of Elohim), with *Elion*, Most High, (in the Pentateuch occurring only in Gen. xiv. 18 in connection with *El; El-Elion*, God most High, though in the Psalms it is found with Elohim and Jehovah, and also stands alone), and *Shaddai*, Almighty (in the Pentateuch generally with *El, El-Shaddai;* elsewhere, except in Ezek. x. 5, standing alone).

The name *Elohim* is derived either from the Arabic root *Alaha*, "to fear, reverence, worship," or, much more probably, from אָלָה (*alah*) = אוּל "to be strong[1]." It is the simple, generic name of God, "The Mighty." It occurs very seldom in the singular in the earlier books of Scripture, except in the abbreviated form of El. The plural is probably a plural of excellence and majesty. As in Prov. ix. 1, "wisdom" occurs in the plural *Chochmoth*, to signify wisdom in the abstract, including in itself all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; so *Elohim* in the plural is applied to God, as comprehending in Himself the fulness of all power and all the attributes which the heathen ascribe to their several divinities (see Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' Art. JEHOVAH). Still the word is a title rather than a name. It is applied to false gods, as well as to the true. The heathen nations round about the Israelites would have recognized the existence and the divinity of El and of the Elohim.

[1] It is more probable that the verb to signify "fear and worship" is derived from the name of the Deity, than that the name of the Deity was derived from the verb signifying "to fear."

JEHOVAH, on the contrary, is as clearly a proper name as Jupiter or Vishnu. *Elohim* and *Jehovah* are therefore as distinguishable as *Deus* and *Jupiter;* the difference being only in this, that, whereas the worshippers of Jupiter admitted "gods many and lords many," a multitude of *Dii*, the worshippers of Jehovah, on the other hand, believe in no Elohim except JEHOVAH. We may see at once, then, that there may be good reasons for expecting the title Elohim to be chiefly employed in some passages, whilst the proper name JEHOVAH would be chiefly employed in others. For instance, in the general account of creation it is very natural that Elohim, the Mighty One, the God of creation and providence, should be the word in use. So, where foreigners, people of heathen nations, as Hagar, Eliezer of Damascus, the Egyptians, &c. are introduced, it is most natural that the word Elohim should be more frequent than JEHOVAH, unless where some distinct acknowledgment of JEHOVAH is intended. On the contrary, when the history of the chosen people or their ancestors is specially concerned, and the stream of the Theocracy traced down from its fountain head, then the special name of Him, who was not ashamed to be called their God, would probably be of more frequent use. This, if kept clearly in view, will explain many of the so-called Elohistic and Jehovistic phenomena in Genesis. Another thing to be noted is this. The Semitic tongues, especially the more ancient and simpler forms of them, deal much in repetition, and where our modern Aryan languages would put a pronoun, they very frequently repeat the noun. From this general habit of repetition, and especially the habit of repeating the noun rather than using the pronoun, when in any one chapter or section we find either the word Elohim or the name JEHOVAH, we are very likely to find the same frequently recurring. In consequence of this, the several passages will to an European eye look as if they were strongly marked either by the title Elohim, or by the name JEHOVAH. For instance, it is alleged that in the first account of creation, ch. i, ii. 1—3, Elohim occurs thirty-five times, and

that there is here no other name of God: but it has been replied, that, if it occurred once, it was only natural, owing to the uniformity of the whole passage, that it should have occurred again at each account of a separate creation, and also that in modern language a pronoun would have been substituted in many cases for the repeated title or name. Hence the thirty-five are in effect reducible to one. The passage is scarcely more really marked as Elohistic by the name Elohim occurring thirty-five times, than if it had occurred but once; for its having occurred once would naturally lead to its continued and frequent recurrence[1].

The most important passage in relation to this question is, of course, Exod. vi. 2, 3, where according to the Authorized Version, "God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them." The inference derived from this passage has been this. The person, who recorded these words of God to Moses, would never have written a history of still earlier times, in which the name JEHOVAH should be introduced not only in the narrative, but in the mouths of the various speakers, from Eve downwards. Hence, no doubt, in his earlier history the writer of this passage would surely have been an Elohist. The parts of Genesis then, which are characterized by the use of the title Elohim, may probably be attributed to him: but all the parts in which JEHOVAH predominates were evidently added afterwards, and must be due to some one who was not alive to the incongruity of introducing Jehovistic language into a history of events and speeches prior to the revelation of the name JEHOVAH. It follows, of course, that though Moses might perhaps have written the original Elohistic narrative, the Jehovistic portions must have been much later than Moses. It is further argued, however, that names compounded with the sacred name of JAH or JEHOVAH do not occur till the time of Samuel, hence it is added that the name could not have been known, nor the sixth chapter of Exodus written, till the time of Samuel: and further, it is now alleged that the name JEHOVAH is unknown even to the writer of the earlier Psalms, and that therefore probably David learned it late in life from its inventor Samuel.

The romance of modern criticism is as remarkable as its perverse ingenuity: for when once a theory has been suggested, its author and his followers proceed forthwith to construct an elaborate history upon it, as much as if, instead of excogitating a theory, they had discovered a library of authentic records. The wider the theory is from all that has hitherto been believed from concurrent testimony and careful enquiry, the more it finds acceptance and is hailed as a discovery. If we look a little closely

[1] Quarry, 'on Genesis,' pp. 341, 400, 401. The following table of the alternation of the names in the first 11 chapters is given by the learned author, and will shew how different the *virtual* occurrence of the respective names is from the apparent, superficial occurrence on which so much has been built:

		E.	J.
Ch. i. ii. 1—3.	Elohim 35 times	= 1	
iii. 1—5.	Elohim 3 ...	= 1	
iv. 1.	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
2—16.	Jehovah 8 ...		= 1
25.	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
26.	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
v. 1.	Elohim 2 ...	= 1	
22—24.	Elohim 3 ...	= 1	
29.	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
vi. 2—4.	Elohim 2 ...	= 1	
3.	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
5—8.	Jehovah 4 ...		= 1
9—22.	Elohim 5 ...	= 1	
vii. 1—5.	Jehovah 2 ...		= 1
9.	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
16.	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
viii. 1.	Elohim 2 ...	= 1	
15.	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
20—21.	Jehovah 3 ...		= 1
ix 1—6.	Elohim 2 ...	= 1	
8—17.	Elohim 4 ...	= 1	
26.	Jehovah 1 ...		= 1
	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
27.	Elohim 1 ...	= 1	
x. 9.	Jehovah 2 ...		= 1
xi. 5—9.	Jehovah 5 ...		= 1
		15	12

"Hence for the purposes of the present enquiry, and as evidence of any predilection of either name, the case is just as if in these eleven chapters, in the order of succession and at the distances here indicated, the name Elohim had recurred singly 15 times, and the name Jehovah 12 times."

into the foundations of the theory, it will appear as baseless as other dreams.

First, as regards the names compounded with JAH, we have Jochebed, Joshua, Jotham, Micah, Jonathan, Moriah, besides three named in Chronicles, Azariah, Abiah, Ahijah (1 Chr. ii. 8, 24, 25), which it is a gratuitous assumption to say were the inventions of later days. Moreover, it by no means follows, that one age should have had the fashion of a special form for the composition of names, because we find that fashion prevailing some centuries later. Names compounded with *any* name of God are rare in the early ages, but became common in the later. Secondly, there is no foundation for saying that the earlier Psalms are Elohistic and the later only Jehovistic. Many of the confessedly later Psalms (as the 78th, 82nd, 114th, &c.) are eminently Elohistic, whilst many of the Pss. of David (as the 24th, 27th, 34th, &c.) are as eminently Jehovistic[1].

But again, the form of the name JEHOVAH points to a pre-Mosaic origin. Some German writers indeed have tried to trace the name to an attempt at expressing in Hebrew the name of the Phœnician god, *Iao*. Time will not allow of a lengthened consideration of this theory. Suffice it to say that its chief support is a response of the Clarian Apollo quoted by Macrobius ('Sat.' I. c. 18) about 400 A.D.; which has been clearly proved by Jablonsky to have originated in a Judaizing gnostic[2].

It is now generally admitted that the word signifies "the existent" or something akin to this. The true pronunciation is lost; but there can be no reasonable doubt, that, as the name of God declared to Moses in Ex. iii. 14, viz. אהיה, I AM, is the first person present of the substantive verb, so the name JEHOVAH is part of the same, probably the third person present, or, as others think, the same tense of a causative (Hiphil) form[3]. But if so, as even Ewald fully admits, the name must have been pre-Mosaic. In Hebrew the verb is *hayah*, though in Aramæan it is *havah*[1]. A name therefore derived from *havah* and existing in ancient Hebrew, must have come down from a time prior to the separation of the Hebrews from their kindred Aramæans, *i. e.* not later than Abraham. In fact יהוה (IHVH) could not have been found in Hebrew, at any period from the descent into Egypt to the captivity: and as it undoubtedly exists in Hebrew prior to the captivity, so it must have originated before the time of Joseph.

We must conclude, then, that the name JEHOVAH was not unknown to the patriarchs, nor do the words of Exodus necessarily mean that it was. These words literally are, "I am JEHOVAH: and I appeared (or was manifested) to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob by El-Shaddai, but My name JEHOVAH was I not known to them:" that is to say, "I manifested myself to the patriarchs in the character of El-Shaddai, the Omnipotent God, able to fulfil that which I had promised; but as to my name (*i.e.* my character and attributes of) JEHOVAH I was not made manifest to them[2]." (So LXX. Vulg. *οὐκ ἐδήλωσα, non indicavi*). The words strictly and naturally imply this. The ancient versions seem to confirm this interpretation. It is no new one framed to meet modern objections, but was propounded by Aben Ezra and Rashi among the Jews, and by many of the most illustrious Christian commentators of past times.

The theory then of the late invention of this sacred name has really no foundation. That its use was very much more

[1] The Editor has shewn this more at length in his tract, called 'The Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms,' by Edw. Harold, Bishop of Ely (Longman).

[2] See the whole question discussed in Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' I. p. 953, and Quarry, 'Genesis,' p. 300 sq.

[3] Thus it corresponds in form with such names as Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, all the third persons present.

[1] It is true the participle or imperative of הוה, *havah*, occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible, but either in the most ancient or the most modern books, *i.e.* before the descent into Egypt or after the Captivity, viz. in Isaac's blessing upon Jacob, Gen. xvii. 29, in Job xxxvii. 6, probably a very ancient book and certainly abounding in Aramaisms, in the very modern books Neh. vi. 6, Eccles. ii. 22, perhaps Eccl. xi. 3, once only besides in Is. xvi. 4.

[2] "In El-Shaddai" is interpreted to mean "in the character of El-Shaddai," (Gesen. Lex. s. v ב div. C.). "The name of Jehovah," as meaning the character of Jehovah, is very common. Cf. Ps. v. 11, viii. 1, ix. 10, Is. xxvi. 8, xxx. 27.

prevalent after the revelation to Moses in Exodus than it had been before, there can be no reasonable doubt. God made His special covenant with Abram, beginning with the emphatic words, "I am El-Shaddai," Gen. xvii. 1. So again on a like occasion He spake to Jacob, Gen. xxxv. 11. Hence both Isaac and Jacob seemed to lay especial stress upon that name in times of trouble and anxiety (see Gen. xxviij. 3, xliii. 14), as recalling to them the faithfulness and the power of their covenant God. But to Moses the words are frequently spoken, "I am JEHOVAH," and the covenant, which had been assured to the patriarchs by God as El-Shaddai, the Mighty God, is now assured to the people of Israel, by the same God, as JEHOVAH, the self-existent, the cause of all being, governing the past, the present, and the future. Let us then suppose, that Moses had access to, or knowledge of, oral or written traditions concerning the Creation, which must from the nature of the case have been originally matter of revelation, the Flood, the history of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; it is most likely that he would have made these the ground-work of his history. If the name, JEHOVAH, was known to the patriarchs, but had, as seems most likely from the first chapters of Exodus, been latterly but little used, perhaps wholly disused, among the Israelites in Egypt; then it is pretty certain that these traditions or documents would have had El, Elohim, or Elion, for the name of God, perhaps even to the exclusion of the name JEHOVAH. In working up these materials into a continuous history, some of the documents would be preserved entire, others might be so arranged and so worded as to fit them to be connecting links one with the other, while we should probably find many portions of the history in the hand of the author or compiler himself. If Moses was that author, though he would often use the name Elohim, we might naturally expect to find that he had a fondness for that sacred name by which the Most High had declared Himself as the special Protector of His people; and hence we might look for that name in passages where another writer perhaps would not have introduced it. If, as we infer from Josh. xxiv. 14, the Israelites in Egypt had learned to serve strange gods, there would be the more reason why Moses should set before them the one true God, as their own God, and exhibit Him under His name, JEHOVAH, thereby the more clearly to mark Him off from the false Elohim of Egypt, and the false Elohim of Canaan.

Now the facts of Genesis remarkably coincide with all this probability. Some portions of the narrative do indeed present what is called an Elohistic aspect; and especially those portions, which, of their very nature, are most likely to have existed in the traditions current from old time among the Israelites, viz. the general account of the Creation, the Flood, the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham, and the genealogical tables. These then Moses appears to have adopted, much as he found them, perhaps perpetuating, word for word, in his writings what before had been floating in unwritten record. Yet these portions of the narrative are not loosely thrown in, but rather carefully and organically incorporated and imbedded in the whole.

For instance, in the history of creation, we have first, in Gen. i. ii. 1—3, that which was very probably the ancient primeval record of the formation of the world. It may even have been communicated to the first man in his innocence. At all events, it very probably was the great Semitic tradition, handed down from Noah to Shem, from Shem to Abraham, and from Abraham through Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, to the Israelites who dwelt in Egypt. Without interfering with the integrity of this, the sacred author proceeds in the same chapter to add a supplementary history, briefly recapitulating the history of creation, with some little addition (in vv. 4—7), and then proceeding to the history of Paradise, the Fall, the expulsion, and the first bitter fruits of disobedience. In the first part of this second or supplementary history we meet with a signal phenomenon, viz. that, from ch. ii. 4 to the end of chapter iii. the two names (or rather the generic and the personal names) of God, JEHOVAH and Elohim, are used continually together. There is no other

instance in Scripture of this continued and repeated use of the united names. It is evident, that the author, who adopted the first ancient record and stamped it with authority, and who desired to bring his people to a worship of the great self-existent JEHOVAH, used this method of transition from the ancient Elohistic document to his own more immediate narrative, in order that he might more forcibly impress upon his readers, that the Elohim who created all things was also the JEHOVAH, who had revealed Himself to Moses, and who was now to be spoken of as the Protector and King of the great Theocratic race, whose history was to be traced down even from the very creation of Adam. The consistency and close connection of the two parts is admitted by some, who are far from admitting the Divine original or high inspiration of the Pentateuch. "The second account," says Kalisch (*in loc.*) "is no abrupt fragment; it is not unconnected with the first; it is not superfluous repetition; it has been composed with clear consciousness after, and with reference to, the first. The author of the Pentateuch added to an ancient document on creation the history of man's disobedience and its consequence. ...The first account was composed independently of the second; but the second is a distinct and deliberate continuation of the first....It does not merely recapitulate, but it introduces new facts and a new train of thought." The consistency of the two narratives, and a consideration of the alleged inconsistencies, will be seen in the commentary (on ch. ii. especially). One singular point of resemblance it may be well to point out here. In ch. i. 26, in the so called Elohistic document, we have the remarkable words, "Let us make man," the plural pronoun used by the Almighty Himself, and the appearance of deliberation. In ch. iii. 22 (in the so called Jehovistic portion) we have again, "Behold the man is become as one of us:" again the very observable plural, and again perhaps even more markedly anthropomorphic language, as though the Most High were taking counsel, before executing His judgments. This identity of thought and speech is very observable, The like occurs again in ch. xi. 7; where neither Elohim, nor JEHOVAH-Elohim, but JEHOVAH alone is the name of God made use of[1]. There is not space to go through the book of Genesis and shew how similar principles prevail throughout. If the basis of the history of the Flood were an ancient Elohistic document, Moses appears to have interwoven it with a further narrative of his own. The one portion may be marked by the prevalence of one name, the other by that of another name of God; but the consistency of the one with the other is complete throughout (see notes on the history, infra). The same will appear in other portions of Genesis, though the creation and the flood most clearly exhibit both the phenomena relied on by the theorists and the facts leading to a refutation of their theory.

It must not, however, be thought that the variety in the employment of the sacred names could have resulted only from the variety of the materials used by Moses and the additional matter introduced by himself. Careful observation will shew, that, whilst often it was a matter of indifference whether the one or the other name was introduced, yet there was no mere carelessness in the introduction. On the contrary, in most passages it is impossible to doubt that the choice of the name adopted is the happiest possible.

Thus in the first history of creation we have Elohim, the mighty one, God of Creation and Providence, then in order to mark the transition of subject and yet the unity of the Being spoken of, we have for two chapters JEHOVAH Elohim; but when we come to the ivth chapter and to Eve's exclamation, when she hoped that her firstborn should be the ancestor of the promised seed, the words ascribed to her connect her hope with JEHOVAH, Him whom the Israelites learned to look on as their covenant God, who was to make good all the promises to the fathers. Again, in ch. v. the genealogy from Adam to Noah has no Divine name except Elohim, till we come, in v. 29, to the birth of Noah, and his father's pious anticipation that he should be a comfort to his race, in

[1] See Quarry, p. 348.

reference to the earth, which had been cursed. The use of the name JEHOVAH in this verse points us at once to the fact that Noah became the second head of the Theocratic race, the new depositary of the promises of God. If we pass on to ch. xiv. we are introduced to Melchizedek, priest and king of a Canaanitish people. He is a worshipper of *El-Elion*, God most High, this being evidently the name by which the Almighty was known to him and to his countrymen. Once, however, the name JEHOVAH occurs in the chapter, but it is in the mouth of Abraham, and Abraham evidently uses it that he may shew that he acknowledges the El-Elion worshipped by Melchizedek to be one and the same with the JEHOVAH, who was the God of Hebrews. "I have lift up my hand to JEHOVAH, El-Elion, possessor of heaven and earth," xiv. 22. A similar propriety of usage prevails throughout Genesis, and will frequently be referred to in the notes.

Again, verbal peculiarities are said to distinguish the so called Jehovistic from the so called Elohistic portions of the Pentateuch, so that, besides the variety in the use of the names of God, it is possible for a keen eye to disentangle the different documents the one from the other by noting the phraseology peculiar to each. It will be plain that, if even this were proved and patent, it would still not interfere with the Mosaic origin of Genesis, so long as we admit that Moses may have used the so called Elohistic MSS. or traditions. The Elohistic phraseology would then be characteristic of the more ancient documents, the Jehovistic would belong to Moses himself. It is, however, very clear, that the peculiarities are greatly magnified, if they exist at all. Sometimes indeed the theorists discover that a passage must belong to the Elohist for instance, because it contains Elohistic expressions; but then, though the name JEHOVAH occurs in it, that name must be a later insertion because it does not correspond with the general wording of the chapter. Thus the name JEHOVAH in ch. xvii. 1 is argued to be evidently out of place, because Elohim occurs everywhere else (ten times) in the chapter. Surely this is constructing a theory in despite, not in consequence, of the facts on which it ought to stand[1].

Again anthropomorphisms are said to characterise the Jehovist passages. This is by no means unlikely, considering that JEHOVAH is the personal name of God, and that by which He was pleased to reveal Himself familiarly to His people; yet they are far from exclusively belonging to the Jehovistic portions. Lastly, all the indications of a more advanced civilization, such as the use of gold, jewels, earrings, musical instruments, camels, servants, &c. are assigned to the Jehovist, and are thought to mark a period later than that of Moses. But surely the Israelites, who had dwelt for centuries in the fairest province in Egypt, and Moses who had been bred up in the court of a powerful and luxurious Pharaoh, must have been familiar with a civilization considerably in advance of anything that we read of in Genesis. Indeed the graphic account which Genesis gives of the simple habits of Abraham and the other patriarchs is one proof of its antiquity and its truth. It is very doubtful whether an author even in the time of Samuel, more than doubtful whether one in the reign of Solomon, of Josiah, or one of those who returned with Ezra from captivity, could have written the history of the forefathers of his race with all the truthfulness, all the simplicity, and all the accuracy of detail to be found in the Book which is called the First Book of Moses. Moses could have written it, for he had every conceivable qualification for writing it. The writer of after times, who could have produced that book, must have been himself a wonder, unsurpassed by any of those wonders which he is supposed to have devised and recorded.

The supposed inconsistency of the statements in Genesis with the recent

[1] The distinction between the Elohistic and Jehovistic words and phrases is carefully and elaborately investigated by Mr Quarry ('Genesis,' pp. 578 sqq.). The conclusion at which he arrives is the very reverse of the conclusion arrived at by the believers in the fragment theory.

discoveries of science will be found treated of in the notes to the earlier chapters. It may be well here only to say, that in the present state of our knowledge, both critical and scientific, a patient suspension of judgment on many points seems our wisest attitude. It is plain that a miraculous revelation of scientific truths was never designed by God for man. The account of creation is given in popular language; yet it is believed that it will be found not inconsistent with, though not anticipatory of, modern discovery. And after all, modern discovery is yet in a most imperfect condition, the testimony of the rocks and of the stars but imperfectly read, whilst there is room for no small diversity of sentiment on the meaning of many of the expressions in Genesis. At present the greatest inconsistency alleged as between Genesis and science is to be found in the question of the antiquity of man. Whilst there is at least good reason for withholding confident assent from the conclusions of some eminent geologists as to the evidence of the drift; it is quite possible to believe that Genesis gives us no certain data for pronouncing on the time of man's existence on the earth. The only arguments are to be drawn from the genealogies. As those given by the Evangelists are confessedly incomplete, there cannot be sufficient reason for maintaining that those in Genesis must have been complete. It is true that we have only conjecture to lead us here: but if the genealogies, before and after the Flood, present us only with the names of leading and "representative" men; we can then allow no small latitude to those who would extend the duration of man upon the earth to more than the commonly received six thousand years. The appearance of completeness in the genealogies is an undoubted difficulty; yet perhaps not insuperable, when we consider all that may have happened (no where more probably than here) in the transmission of the text from Moses to Ezra and from Ezra to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Let us suppose that it had pleased God to reveal to Moses the fact that the earth revolves round the sun, a fact familiar now to children, but unknown to astronomers for more than three thousand years after the Exodus. The effect of such a revelation would probably have been to place the believer and the astronomer in a state of antagonism. The ancient believer would have believed the truth; yet the observer of the heavens would have triumphantly convicted him of ignorance and error. We can see plainly that the wise course for both would have been to suspend their judgments, believing the Bible and yet following out the teaching of nature. A Galileo would then have been, not feared as a heretic, but hailed as a harmonist. There appears now to some an inconsistency between the words of Moses and the records of creation. Both may be misinterpreted. Further research into science, language, literature and exegesis, may shew that there is substantial agreement, where there now appears partial inconsistency. It would evidently have served no good purpose, had a revelation been vouchsafed of the Copernican system, or of modern geological science. Yet there may be in Scripture truth popularly expressed concerning the origin of all things, truth not apparent to us, because we have not yet acquired the knowledge to see and appreciate it. Certainly as yet nothing has been proved which can disprove the records of Genesis, if both the proof and the records be interpreted largely and fairly.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The creation of heaven and earth,* 3 *of the light,* 6 *of the firmament,* 9 *of the earth separated from the waters,* 11 *and made fruitful,* 14 *of the sun, moon, and stars,* 20 *of fish and fowl,* 24 *of beasts and cattle,* 26 *of man in the image of God.* 29 *Also the appointment of food.*

[a] Psal. 33. 6. & 136. 5. Acts 14. 15. & 17. 24. Hebr. 11. 3.

IN [a]the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

3 And God said, [b]Let there be light: and there was light. [b] 2 Cor. 4. 6.

4 And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided [†] the light from the darkness. [†] Heb. *between the light and between the darkness.*

CHAP. I. 1. *In the beginning*] Not "first in order," but "in the beginning of all things." The same expression is used in Joh. i. 1, of the existence of the "Word of God," "In the beginning was the Word." The one passage illustrates the other, though it is partly by the contrast of thoughts. The Word *was*, when the world was *created*.

God created] In the first two chapters of Genesis we meet with four different verbs to express the creative work of God, viz. 1, to create; 2, to make; 3, to form; 4, to build. The first is used of the creation of the universe (v. 1); of the creation of the great sea-monsters, whose vastness appears to have excited special wonder (v. 21); and of the creation of man, the head of animated nature, in the image of God (v. 27). Everywhere else in these chapters we read of God's *making*, as from an already created substance, the firmament, the sun, the stars, the brute creation (vv. 7, 16, 25, &c.); or of His *forming* the beasts of the field out of the ground (ch. ii. 19); or lastly, of His *building up* (ii. 22, margin) into a woman the rib which He had taken from man. In Isai. xliii. 7, three of these verbs occur together. "I have *created* him for my glory, I have *formed* him, yea, I have *made* him." Perhaps no other ancient language, however refined or philosophical, could have so clearly distinguished the different acts of the Maker of all things, and that because all heathen philosophy esteemed matter to have been eternal and uncreated. It cannot justly be objected that the verb *create*, in its first signification, may have been sensuous, meaning probably to *hew* stone or to *fell* timber. Almost all abstract or spiritual thoughts are expressed by words which were originally concrete or sensuous; and in nearly all the passages of Scripture in which the verb in question occurs, the idea of a true creation is that which is most naturally implied. Even where the translators have rendered it otherwise, the sense is still clearly the same, *e.g.* in Numb. xvi. 30, "If the LORD *make a new thing* (lit. *create a creation*), and the earth open her mouth;" or again, Ps. lxxxix. 47, "Wherefore hast Thou *made* (Heb. *created*) all things for nought?" The word is evidently the common word for a true and original creation, and there is no other word in Hebrew which can express that thought.

the heaven and the earth] The universe popularly described according to its appearance as earth and sky. In similar language, as Grotius notes, the new creation, to be hereafter looked for, is described 2 Pet. iii. 13, as "new heavens and a new earth." The Hebrew word for *heaven* is always plural, whether as expressive of greatness, or perhaps of multitude, like the old English plural, *welkin*.

2. *And the earth was without form, and void*] **Desolate** (or waste) **and void.** These two words express devastation and desolation. They are used of the desert, Job xii. 24; xxvi. 7; of the devastated city, Isa. xxiv. 10; of "the line of wasting, and the plummet of destruction," Isa. xxxiv. 10. In Jer. iv. 23 they describe the utter wasting of a condemned and desolated land. Whether in the present verse they indicate entire absence of life and order, or merely that the world was not then, as now, teeming with life; whether they express primeval emptiness, or rather desolation and disorder succeeding to a former state of life and harmony, cannot immediately be determined. The purpose of the sacred writer is to give a history of man, his fall,

5 And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. †And the evening and the morning were the first day. † Heb. *And the evening was, and the morning was, &c.*

his promised recovery, then specially of the chosen seed, and of the rise of the Theocracy. He therefore contents himself with declaring in one verse generally the creation of all things, and then in the next verse passes to the earth, man's place of abode, and to its preparation for the habitation of man. Countless ages may have elapsed between what is recorded in v. 1, and what is stated in v. 2. Some indeed have insisted on the close connection of v. 2 with v. 1, because they are united by the word *And:* but this particle, though necessarily implying transition, does by no means necessarily imply close connection. The Book of Leviticus begins with "And the Lord called unto Moses." The Book of Exodus begins with the same word *And*, though a long time intervenes between its history and that of the Book of Genesis; and so our translators have very reasonably rendered the Hebrew particle in that passage not *And*, but *Now*. The meaning of the verse before us evidently is, "In the beginning God created the universe;" but, at the time now to be spoken of, the earth, which is our chief concern, was shapeless and waste. The verse "was" as used in this verse implies, not succession, but condition at the time in question.

darkness was upon the face of the deep] No light penetrated to the desolate and disordered ruin. The *deep* may mean either the confused mass itself, or, as more frequently, the abyss of waters and the clouds and mists with which the earth was surrounded.

the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters] The Targum of Onkelos and many Jewish commentators render "a mighty wind was moving," &c., which is favoured, though not proved, by the absence of the article. The common rendering is the more natural, especially if the word "moved" signifies, as some think, not merely *fluttering* or *hovering*, as of a bird over its nest, but also *brooding*, as of a bird sitting on its eggs. (See Deut. xxxii. 11, where it is used of the eagle fluttering over her young.) The Spirit of God appears to be represented as the great quickening principle, hovering or brooding over the earth and the ocean, and breathing forth upon them light and life.

3. *God said*] In the cognate languages the word here rendered *said* has the force of *commanded*.

Let there be light: and there was light] Was light created before the creation of the sun and other luminous bodies? That this is possible has been shewn by Dr M°Caul, 'Aids to Faith,' p. 210, &c.; but very probably the creation of the sun is related in v. 1, where under the word heaven (or heavens) may be comprehended the whole visible universe of sun, moon, and stars. Now, the history is going on to the adaptation of the earth for man's abode. In v. 2 a thick darkness had enveloped it. In this 3rd verse the darkness is dispelled by the word of God, the light is separated from the darkness, and the regular succession of day and night is established. Still probably there remains a clouded atmosphere, or other obstacle to the full vision of sun and sky. It is not till the fourth day that these impediments are removed and the sun appears to the earth as the great luminary of the day, the moon and the stars as reigning in the night. Light may, perhaps, have been created before the sun. Yet the statement, that on the first day, not only was there light, but the succession of day and night, seems to prove that the creation of the sun was "in the beginning," though its visible manifestation in the firmament was not till the fourth day.

4. *God saw the light, that it was good*] The earlier the records, the more we find in them of anthropopathic language, as the better fitted to simple understandings. The design of words like these is to express emphatically, that all the works, as they came direct from the hand of God, were good, and that the evil did not result from any defect in the workmanship, but from the will of the creature not according with the will of the Creator.

divided the light from the darkness] In the chaotic condition described in v. 2, all things were confused and commixed; but, when God called the light out of darkness, He set bounds to both of them, and caused a succession of day and night, calling the light day and the darkness night.

5. *And the evening and the morning were the first day*] Literally, "And it was (or became) evening, and it was (or became) morning, day one."

Some think the evening is put before the morning, because the Jews reckoned their days from evening to evening. Others think, that, as the darkness was first and the light called out of darkness, so the evening (in Heb. *ereb*, the time when all things are mixed and confounded) is placed before the morning; and thus the whole period of chaotic darkness may have been the first night, and the first day that period of light which immediately succeeded the darkness.

See Note A at end of the Chapter.

c Psal. 136. 5. Jer. 10. 12. & 51. 15.
6 ¶ And God said, c Let there be a † firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.
† Heb. *expansion.*

7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.

d Jer. 51. 15.
8 And God called the d firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

e Psal. 33. 7. & 136. 5. Job 38. 8.
9 ¶ And God said, e Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so.

10 And God called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that *it was* good.

11 And God said, Let the earth bring forth † grass, the herb yielding seed, *and* the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed *is* in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.
† Heb. *tender grass.*

12 And the earth brought forth grass, *and* herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed *was* in itself, after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

f Deut 4. 19. Psal 136. 7.
14 ¶ And God said, Let there be f lights in the firmament of the

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6. *Let there be a firmament*] The earth is spoken of as covered with waters, partly, that is, the waters of the sea, partly the heavy clouds and vapours, which hung round it in its state of desolation and darkness. The dispersion of some of these vapours lets in the light. Then, in the present verse, the clouds and mists are described as raised up above the firmament, the firmament itself dividing between the waters of the ocean and the clouds of heaven. It is plain from this that the word rendered *firmament* embraces the atmosphere immediately surrounding the surface of the earth, which bears up the clouds floating in it, in or on the face of which also the birds are described as flying (see v. 20). In v. 14 the word is extended further to embrace the whole region of the sky in which sun and moon and stars appear. In this respect, as Le Clerc notices, it corresponds with the classical word *cælum*, which meant at times the air just round us, at other times the place of the stars and planets; and so likewise of our own English word *heaven*, we may say the birds of heaven, the clouds of heaven, or the stars of heaven. The original sense of the word has been much debated, but is of little consequence; for the sacred writer would use the common language of his people, and not go out of his way to devise one which would be philosophically accurate. The verb, from which the substantive is derived, signifies (1) to beat or stamp upon, Ezek. vi. 11, xxv. 6; (2) to spread abroad by stamping, 2 S. xxii. 43; (3) to beat out metal into thin plates, or gold into gold leaf, Ex. xxxix. 3, Num. xvi. 38, Isai. xl. 19; (4) to spread forth, extend, stretch out, Job xxxvii. 18, Ps. cxxxvi. 6, Is. xlii. 5, xliv. 24. The most probable meaning of the substantive therefore is *the expanse* or *the expansion*. The LXX. rendered it *firmament* (see here Quarry 'on Genesis,' p. 79); and hence it has been argued that Moses taught the sky to be a hard, metallic vault, in which the sun and stars were fixed; but the most learned modern commentators, including Gesenius, Kalisch, &c., believe the true etymology of the word to shew that *expanse*, not *firmament*, is the right translation. The teaching however of the present passage does not depend on the etymology of the word. If a writer in the present day uses the English word *heaven*, it does not follow, that he supposes the sky to be a vault *heaved* up from the earth. Neither would it follow that the inspired writer had taught, that the portion of atmosphere, intervening between the sea and the clouds, was a solid mass, even if the word used for it had etymologically signified *solidity*.

11. *Let the earth bring forth grass*] We have here the first calling forth of life upon the earth, vegetable life first, soon to be succeeded by animal life. The earth was made fruitful, and three kinds of vegetation were assigned to it; the tender grass, the common covering of the soil, fit chiefly for the use of the lower animals; herb bearing seed, which should be adapted to the service of man; and trees, with their conspicuous fruits; all three so ordained, that their seed should be in themselves, that they should contain, not a principle of life only, but a power also of fecundity, whereby the race should be perpetuated from generation to generation.

14. *Let there be lights*] Lit. **luminaries**, *light-bearers*, spoken of lamps and candlesticks, Ex. xxv. 6, Num. iv. 9, 16. The narrative only tells what sun, moon, and stars are in relation to the earth. When the clouds and mists are dispelled from its surface, the

heaven to divide † the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God made two great lights; the greater light † to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* the stars also.

17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that *it was* good.

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the † moving creature that hath † life, and fowl *that* may fly above the earth in the † open firmament of heaven.

21 And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good.

22 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24 ¶ And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

† Heb. *between the day and between the night.*

† Heb. *for the rule of the day, &c.*

g Jer. 31. 35.

h 4 Esdr. 6. 47.

† Or, *creeping.*

† Heb. *soul.*

† Heb. *face of the firmament of heaven.*

i chap. 8. 17. & 9. 1.

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seas confined within their boundaries, and the first vegetation springs up; then the sky is cleared up, the sun, moon, and stars appear and assume their natural functions, marking days and nights, seasons and years; and God makes or appoints them, the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night.

16. *he made the stars also*] The purpose of the sacred narrative being to describe the adaptation of the earth to the use of man, no account is taken of the nature of the stars, as suns or planets, but merely as signs in the heavens. The words in the text may be a kind of parenthesis, not assigning the special time of the creation of the stars. Moreover, the word used is "made," not "created," see on v. 1. When the Sun and Moon became great lights to rule the day and to rule the night, then also the stars shone forth; the heavens were lit up by the sun in the daytime, by the moon and stars in the nightseason, all of them declaring the glory of God and shewing His handy-work.

20. *the moving creature*] The versions render *reptiles*. The word is of wide significance, most frequently used of reptiles and fishes; the verb from which it comes, and which is here translated "bring forth abundantly," means *to swarm, to creep, to propagate itself rapidly*. We may probably therefore understand here the insect creation, the fishes of the sea, and the reptiles and saurians of sea and land.

that hath life] Literally perhaps, "Let the waters swarm with swarms of the breath of life." Let the waters teem with innumerable creatures, in which is the breath of life. The word *nephesh*, which we have rendered *breath*, corresponds nearly with the classical *psyche*, the vital principle. It is used of the breath, of the living principle, of the soul or seat of feelings and affections, and of living beings themselves.

and fowl, &c.] **and let fowl fly.**

21. *great whales*] **Great sea monsters.** The word is used of serpents, Ex. vii. 9, Deut. xxxii. 33, Ps. xci. 13, Jer. li. 34, and of the crocodile, Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2. It is not likely that the Israelites should have had much knowledge of the larger species of whales which do not frequent the shores of the Mediterranean. Their early acquaintance with Egypt had impressed them with a horror of the crocodile, and in the desert they had become familiar with large serpents. In Is. xxvii. 1, and perhaps in Job vii. 12, this name apparently belongs to sea monsters; but we may remember that the Hebrews applied the term *sea* to great rivers also, like the Nile and the Euphrates. (See Is. xix. 5, Jer. li. 36, Ezek. xxxii. 2, Nahum iii. 8.) It seems, on the whole, most probable, that the creatures here said to have been created were serpents, crocodiles, and other huge saurians, though possibly any large monsters of sea or river may be included. The use of the word *created* in this place has already been remarked on v. 1. Another reason for its use may be, that, as the Egyptians paid idolatrous worship to crocodiles, the sacred historian would teach that they also were creatures of God.

24. The fifth day was chiefly occupied in peopling the waters with fishes and reptiles,

25 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good.

26 ¶ And God said, [k] Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over

[k] chap. 5. 1. & 9. 6. 1 Cor. 11. 7. Ephes. 4. 14. Col. 3. 10.

and the air with birds. The work of the sixth day gives inhabitants to the land, "cattle" (*i.e.* the well-known animals, which afterwards became domesticated, though the name was not exclusively attached to them), "and creeping things," such as serpents, lizards, crawling insects and the like, "and beast of the earth," *i. e.* either the wilder and fiercer beasts, as distinguished from cattle, or perhaps more generally animals of all kinds.

26. *And God said, Let us make man*] It has been observed by commentators, both Jewish and Christian (*e. g.* Abarbanel, *in loc.* Chrysost. *in loc.*), that the deliberation of the Creator is introduced, not to express doubt, but to enhance the dignity of the last work, the creation of man. So even Von Bohlen, "A gradual ascent is observed up to man, the chief work of creation, and in order to exalt his dignity, the act of his creation is accompanied by the deliberations of the Creator." The creative fiat concerning all other creatures runs, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly," "Let the earth bring forth," &c. Man is that great "piece of work," concerning which God is described as taking forethought and counsel, as making him in His own image, and (ch. ii. 7) as breathing into him the breath of life. Three times in v. 27 the verb *created* is used concerning the production of man; for, though his bodily organization may, like that of the beasts, have been produced from already created elements ("the dust of the ground," ch. ii. 7); yet the complex being, man, "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," was now for the first time called into being, and so was, unlike the beasts, wholly a new creation.

Let us make] The Jews vary much in their explanation of these words. Philo speaks of "the Father of all things addressing his own powers" ('De Profugis,' p. 359). The Talmud says, "The Holy One, Blessed be He, does nothing without consulting the family which is above" (*Sanhed.* c. iv.). Moses Gerundinus says, that God addressed the earth, for, as the earth was to give man the body, whilst God was to infuse the spirit, so "in our likeness" was to be referred both to God and to the earth. Abenezra writes, "When, according to God's commandment, the earth and the sea had brought forth plants and living beings, then God said to the angels, 'Let us make man, we will be occupied in his creation, not the seas and the earth.'" So he considers man to have been made after the likeness of the angels. To a similar effect Maimonides, 'More Nevochim,' p. ii. ch. 6. See Munster *in loc.*, Cleric. *in loc.*, Heidegger, p. 32.

Some interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, have understood a plural of dignity, after the manner of kings. This is the opinion of Gesenius and most of the Germans. But the royal style of speech was probably a custom of much later date than the time of Moses. Thus we read Gen. xli. 41–44, "I have set thee over the land of Egypt.... I am Pharaoh." Indeed this royal style is unknown in Scripture. Some of the modern rationalists believe (or affect to believe) that the plural name of God, *Elohim*, was a mere relic of ancient polytheism, and that though Moses habitually attaches a singular verb to the plural nominative, yet here "the plural unconsciously escaped from the narrator's pen" (Von Bohl.). The ancient Christians with one mind see in these words of God that plurality in the Divine unity, which was more fully revealed, when God sent His only begotten Son into the world, and when the only begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, declared Him to mankind. So *e. g.* Barnabas (ch. iv.), Justin M., Irenæus, Theophil., Epiphan. ('Hæres.' xxxiii. 4–2), Theodoret ('Quæst. in Gen.').

in our image, after our likeness] Many Christian writers think that nothing is meant except that man was created holy and innocent, and that this image of God was lost when Adam fell. That holiness, indeed, formed part of the likeness may be inferred from Col. iii. 10, "the new man, which is renewed after the image of Him that created him;" but that the image of God was not wholly obliterated by the fall seems clear from Gen. ix. 6, Jas. iii. 9. And, if so, then that image did not simply consist in perfect holiness. Some, both Jewish and Christian, have supposed that it referred to that dominion, which is here assigned to man. As God rules over all, so man was constituted the governor of the animal world. St Basil M. in 'Hexaemeron' (qu. by Clericus) considers that the likeness consisted in freedom of will. This probably is a most important point in the resemblance. The brute creatures are gifted with life and will and self-consciousness, and even with some powers of reason; but they have no self-determining will, no choice between good and evil, no power of self-education, no proper moral character,

all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

27 So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; [k] male and female created he them.

28 And God blessed them, and God said unto them, [m] Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that [†] moveth upon the earth.

29 ¶ And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb [†] bearing seed, which *is* upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which *is* the fruit of a tree yielding seed; [n] to you it shall be for meat.

30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* [†] life, *I have given* every green herb for meat: and it was so.

31 And [o] God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, *it was* very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

[k] Matt. 19. 4. Wisd. 2. 23.
[m] chap. 9. 1.
[†] Heb. *creepeth.*
[†] Heb. *seeding seed.*
[n] chap. 9. 3.
[†] Heb. *a living soul.*
[o] Eccles. 39. 16.

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and so no true personality. God is the essentially personal Being, and in giving to man an immortal soul, He gave him also a true personality, self-consciousness, power of free choice, and so distinct moral responsibility. All this was accompanied at first with perfect purity and innocence; and thus man was like his Maker, intelligent, immortal, personal, with powers of forethought and free choice, and at the same time pure, holy and undefiled.

NOTE A on CHAP. I. v. 5. ON THE DAYS OF CREATION.

THE vexed question of the duration of the days of creation cannot readily be solved from consideration of the wording of this verse. The English Version would seem to confine it to natural days, but the original will allow much greater latitude. Time passed in regular succession of day and night. It was an ingenious conjecture of Kurtz, adopted by Hugh Miller, that the knowledge of pre-Adamite history, like the knowledge of future ages, may have been communicated to Moses, or perhaps to the first man, in prophetic vision, that so perhaps vast geological periods were exhibited to the eye of the inspired writer, each appearing to pass before him as so many successive days. It has been said moreover that the phenomena under the earth's surface correspond with the succession as described in this chapter, a period of comparative gloom, with more vapour and more carbonic acid in the atmosphere, then of greater light, of vegetation, of marine animals and huge reptiles, of birds, of beasts, and lastly of man. (See Kurtz, Vol. I. p. xxvii. sq., Hugh Miller, 'Test. of Rocks,' passim, &c.) In the present condition of geological science, and with the great obscurity of the record of creation in this chapter, it may be wise not to attempt an accurate comparison of the one with the other. Some few points, however, seem clearly to come out. In Genesis, first of all, creation is spoken of as "in the beginning," a period of indefinite, possibly of most remote distance in the past; secondly, the progress of the preparation of the earth's surface is described as gradually advancing from the rocks to the vegetable world and the less perfectly organised animal creation, then gradually mounting up through birds and mammals, till it culminates in man. This is the course of creation as popularly described in Genesis, and the rocks give their testimony, at least in the general, to the same order and progress. The chief difference, if any, of the two witnesses would seem to be, that the Rocks speak of (1) marine plants, (2) marine animals, (3) land plants, (4) land animals in their successive developements; whereas Moses speaks of (1) plants, (2) marine animals, (3) land animals; a difference not amounting to divergence. As physiology must have been nearly and geology wholly unknown to the Semitic nations of antiquity, such a general correspondence of sacred history with modern science is surely more striking and important than any apparent difference in details. Efforts have been made to compare the Indian cosmogony with the Biblical, which utterly fail. The cosmogony of the Hindoos is thoroughly adapted to their Pantheistic Theology, the Hebrew corresponding with the pure personal Monotheism of the Old Testament. The only important resemblance of any ancient cosmogony with the Scriptural account is to be found in the Persian or Zoroastrian; which is most naturally accounted for, first by the fact, which will be noticed hereafter, that the Persians, of all people, except the Hebrews, were the most likely to have retained the memory of primitive traditions, and secondly, that Zoroaster was probably brought into contact with the Hebrews, and perhaps with the prophet Daniel in the court of Darius, and may have learned much from such association.

CHAPTER II.

1 The first sabbath. 4 The manner of the creation. 8 The planting of the garden of Eden, 10 and the river thereof. 17 The tree of knowledge only forbidden. 19, 20 The naming of the creatures. 21 The making of woman, and institution of marriage.

THUS the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.

2 [a] And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.

[a] Exod. 20. 11. & 31. 17. Deut. 5 14. Heb. 4. 4.

3 And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God [†] created and made.

† Heb. *created to make.*

4 ¶ These *are* the generations of

CHAP. II. 3. *And God blessed the seventh day*] The natural interpretation of these words is that the blessing of the Sabbath was immediately consequent on the first creation of man, for whom the Sabbath was made (Mar. ii. 27). It has been argued from the silence concerning its observance by the patriarchs, that no Sabbatic ordinance was really given until the promulgation of the Law, and that this passage in Genesis is not *historical* but *anticipatory*. There are several objections, which seem fatal to this theory. It is first to be observed, that this verse forms an integral part of that history of the creation, which, if there be any truth in the distinction, is the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, the work of the Elohist, very possibly handed down from the earliest ages of the world, and taken by Moses as the very groundwork of his inspired narrative. Secondly, the history of the patriarchs extending over at least 2500 years is all contained in the book of Genesis, and many things must have been omitted, much more memorable than the fact of their resting on the Sabbath, which in their simple pastoral life would seldom have called for special notice. Thirdly, there are indications even in Genesis of a division of days into weeks or hebdomades. Thus Noah is said twice to have waited seven days, when sending the dove out of the ark, Gen. viii. 10, 12. And the division of time into weeks is clearly recognized in the history of Jacob, Gen. xxix. 27, 28. The same hebdomadal division was known to other nations, who are not likely to have borrowed it from the Israelites after the time of the Exodus. Moreover, it appears that, before the giving of the commandments from Mount Sinai, the Israelites were acquainted with the law of the Sabbath. In Ex. xvi. 5 a double portion of manna is promised on the sixth day, that none need be gathered on the Sabbath. This has all the appearance of belonging to an acknowledged, though perhaps neglected, ordinance of Divine Service, not as if then for the first time the Sabbath were ordained and consecrated. The simple meaning of the text is therefore by far the most probable, viz. that God, having divided His own great work into six portions, assigned a special sacredness to the seventh on which that work became complete; and that, having called man into being, He ordained him for labour, but yet in love and mercy appointed that one-seventh of his time should be given to rest and to the religious service of his Maker. This truth is repeated in the IVth Commandment, Ex. xx. 11; though there was a second and special reason why the Jews should observe the Sabbath day, Deut. v. 15: and very probably the special day of the seven, which became the Jewish Sabbath, was the very day on which the Lord brought them from the land of bondage, and gave them rest from the slavery of Egypt. If this reasoning be true, all mankind are interested in the sanctification of the Sabbath, though Jews only were required to keep that Sabbath on the Saturday; and not only has it been felt by Divines that the religious rest of the seventh day is needful for the preservation of the worship of God, but it has been acknowleged even by statesmen and physiologists that the ordinance is invaluable for the physical and moral benefit of mankind. The truly merciful character of the ordinance is fully developed in the Law, where it is extended not only to the man-servant and maidservant, but to the ox and the ass and the cattle, that they also should rest with their masters, Ex. xx. 10, Deut. v. 14.

which God created and made] Lit. "**which God created to make.**" So the Targum of Onkelos and the Syriac version render it. The Vulgate has "which God created that He might make it." On the difference between the verbs *create* and *make* see on ch. i. 1. The natural meaning of the words here is, that God first created the material universe, "the heavens and the earth," and then made, moulded and fashioned the new created matter into its various forms and organisms. This is the explanation of the R. Nachmanides, "all His work which He had created out of nothing, in order that He might make out of it all the works which are recorded in the six days." (Quoted by Fagius, 'Crit. Sacri.')

4. *These are the generations*, &c.] The Jews tell us, that, when these words occur without the copulative *and*, they separate the words following from those preceding, but

[1] The comparison of לעשות here with the common idiom לאמר, *saying* (Kalisch), seems very inappropriate. לאמר is a very exceptional phrase, and always precedes the speech, corresponding to the English phrase, "as follows."

the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,

5 And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the LORD God had not caused it to

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that when they have the *and*, then they unite with the preceding. It is apparent, that the narrative proceeds in direct order from Gen. i. 1 to this verse, ii. 4, and that from this verse there is a return to the first formation of plants and vegetables and to the creation of man, a kind of recapitulation, yet with some appearance of diversity. This has been noticed long ago. In the 17th century (1655) Is. Peyreyrius wrote a book to prove, that the account of the creation of man in ch. i. related to a pre-Adamite race, from which sprang a great majority of the Gentiles, whereas the account in ch. ii. was of the creation of Adam, the direct ancestor of the Israelites and of the nations in some degree related to them. The book was condemned and suppressed. Some modern writers have more or less embraced its views, but it seems that the whole Bible, both Old and New Testament, refers to Adam as the head of the whole human race, so that, if pre-Adamite man existed at all, the race must probably have been extinguished before Adam was created. Moreover, ch. ii. 4 sqq. is evidently a continuation of ch. i., although there is a return or recapitulation in vv. 4, 5, 6, 7, in order to prepare the way for an account of Paradise and the fall. See note at end of the chapter.

The word "generations," *toledoth*, which occurs for the first time in this verse, meets us again continually at the head of every principal section of the Book of Genesis. Thus ch. v. 1, we have "the book (or account) of the generations of Adam," in which the descendants of Adam are traced to Noah. From ch. vi. 9 we have the generations of Noah, where the history of Noah and his sons is given. In ch. x. 1 we come upon the generations of the sons of Noah, where the genealogical table and the history of the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet are recorded. Ch. xi. (10—26) gives us the generations (or genealogical table) of Shem. Ch. xi. 27 begins the generations of Terah, the father of Abram. Ch. xxv. 12 gives us the generations of Ishmael. Ch. xxv. 19 the generations of Isaac. Ch. xxxvi. 1, the generations of Esau; xxxvii. 2, the generations of Jacob, which are continued to the end of the book.

The word itself naturally signifies the generation or posterity of any one. It is used in general to usher in a history of the race or descendant of the heads of the great patriarchal families. The application of the word here is very appropriate. The primary creation of all things had just been recorded; the sacred writer is about to describe more in detail the results of creation. The world had been made; next comes a history of its natural productions, its plants and trees, and chief inhabitants. And as the history of a man's family is called the "book of his generations," so the history of the world's productions is called "the generations of the heavens and the earth."

when they were created] By these words the inspired writer reveals the truth set forth in the former chapter, that heaven and earth were creatures of God, "the generations" referring to what is to come after, not to what preceded, as though the universe had sprung from generation or natural production.

the LORD *God*] It has long ago been observed that the sacred name JEHOVAH occurs for the first time here in verse 4. The Jews give as a reason, that the works being now perfected, the perfect name of God, "the LORD God," is for the first time adopted. It seems most probable, that the sacred writer, having in the first chapter recorded the creation as the act of God, giving to Him then His generic name as the Supreme Being, now passes to the more personal history of man and his immediate relation to his Maker, and therefore introduces the more personal name of God, the name by which He became afterwards known to the patriarchs, as *their* God. The union of the two names JEHOVAH Elohim throughout chapters ii. iii. is singularly appropriate, as indicating that the Elohim of the first chapter is the same as the JEHOVAH who appears afterwards in the fourth chapter, and from time to time throughout the history. On the names of God and the documents in Genesis, see Introduction to Genesis.

5. *And every plant of the field*] So the LXX. and the Vulg. But the Targums, the Syr., Rashi, and the most distinguished modern Hebraists, such as Rosenmüller, Gesenius, &c., translate, "**Now no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprouted forth; for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground.**"

It was objected long ago, and the objection is repeated with all its force by the German critics of the day, that this is opposed to ch. i. 11, where we read, "God said, Let the earth bring forth grass," &c. Hence it is

rain upon the earth, and *there was* not a man to till the ground.

6 But ‖there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

7 And the LORD God formed man †*of* the ᵇdust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and ᶜman became a living soul.

8 ¶ And the LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

‖ Or, *a mist which went up from, &c.*

† Heb. *dust of the ground.*

ᵇ 1 Cor. 15. 47.

ᶜ 1 Cor. 15. 45.

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inferred that the first and second chapters constituted two independent and contradictory traditions, clumsily put together by the compiler of Genesis. The difficulty had been anticipated by R. Nachman, who observes, that this passage does not refer to the produce of the earth created on the third day, but to those herbs and plants, which are raised by the cultivation of man. L. de Dieu also ('Critica Sacr.' in loc.) notices, that the words rendered *plant*, *field* and *grew*, never occur in the first chapter. They are words of a somewhat different character from those used in the first chapter; and seem more appropriate to the cultivated ground of Eden, than to the earth as first created.

the LORD *God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground.* (6). *But there went up a mist*, &c.] It is objected here also, that the first chapter speaks of the earth as enveloped in waters and vapours, and that there could therefore have been no lack of rain and moisture. The inconsistency is again more apparent than real. In the first place, the mist, or vapour, or cloud, here mentioned as watering the ground, may perhaps tally well with that watery condition of the atmosphere, of which we read in ch. i. But next, the purpose of ch. ii. is to give an account, not of the creation or adaptation of the whole earth, but of the preparation of a special chosen spot for the early abode of man. That spot may have been in a region where little or no rain fell, and which derived all its moisture from vapours or dews. It may not have been wholly without vegetation, but it was not a cultivated field; no herbs, or shrubs, or fruit-trees fitted for man's use grew there; no rain was wont to fall there (as some render it, "not even a mist went up to water the ground," or more probably), "yet there went up a mist and watered the whole face of the ground." When the Creator made Adam, that he might not wander about a helpless savage, but that he might have a habitation suited to civilized life, a garden or cultivated field was planted for him, provided with such vegetable produce as was best adapted to his comforts and wants.

7. *And the* LORD *God formed man of the dust of the ground*, &c.] Here again, as in i. 26, 27, the formation of man is ascribed to the direct workmanship of God. In ch. i. God is said to have *created* man in His own image, because the production of a rational, personal, responsible being clothed with a material body was a new creation. Spiritual beings existed before; animal natures had been called forth from earth and sea; man had an animal nature like the beasts, but his spiritual nature was in the likeness of his Maker. So in this chapter again the Creator is described as forming man from the earth, and then breathing into him a living principle. The language here used clearly expresses that man's bodily substance was composed of earthly elements, whilst the life breathed by God into his nostrils plainly distinguishes that life from the life of all inferior animals. All animals have the body, all the living soul, ch. i. 20, 21, but the breath of life, breathed into the nostrils by God Himself, is said of man alone. Cp. "the body, soul and spirit" of ancient philosophy and of the Apostle Paul.

See Note A at the end of this chapter.

8. *a garden*] The versions render *a Paradise*, which is a Persian word, signifying rather a park than a garden, pleasure grounds laid out with shrubs and trees.

in Eden] The word *Eden* signifies delight, and the Vulgate renders *a garden of delight*, *a pleasure garden;* but the word is a proper name, and points to a region, the extent of which is unknown. Two countries are mentioned in Scripture with the same name, viz., one in Mesopotamia near the Tigris, 2 K. xix. 12, Is. xxxvii. 12, Ez. xxvii. 23; the other in the neighbourhood of Damascus, Amos i. 5; but neither of these can be identified with the region in which Paradise was placed. Much has been written on the site of Paradise, but with no very definite result. The difficulty consists in discovering the four rivers mentioned in vv. 11, 12, 13, 14. It is generally agreed that one, Phrath (v. 14) is the Euphrates, and that another, Hiddekel, is the Tigris, and so it is rendered by all the ancient VSS. The name of the Tigris in Chaldee is Diglath, in Syriac Diklath, in Arabic Dijlat, all closely corresponding with Hiddekel, and from one of them the word Tigris itself is probably a corruption. The following are the principal opinions as to the names of the other rivers, and consequently as to the site of Paradise.

9 And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

1. Josephus identified the Gihon with the Nile.

2. Calvin, Huet, Bochart, and others believed the river of Paradise to have been the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates called the Shat-el-Arab, which flows by Bassora. Its four heads, on their shewing, would have been, on the north, the two separate streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, on the south, Gihon, the eastern, and Pison, the western channels, into which the united stream again branches out below Bassora, before it falls into the sea. Havilah would then be the north-eastern part of Arabia, and Cush the region of Kissia, Susiana or Chuzestan. A general exposition of this view may be found in Wells, 'Geog. of the O. T.,' ch. i.

3. J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and Karl Von Raumer, who appear to be followed by Kurtz, identify Eden with the Armenian highlands, making Pison to be the Phasis or Araxes, and Gihon to be the Oxus, Havilah is with them the country of the Chwalissi, which is said even now to be called by the Russians Chwaliskoje More.

4. Heidegger believed that Eden was a portion of the Holy Land.

5. Others again find the site in India or Circassia.

Of these opinions No. 1 is utterly untenable. The identification of Gihon with the Nile probably originated with the Alexandrian Jews, who for the honour of their country would have had the Nile to be one of the rivers of Paradise; and so it found its way into the LXX. in Jer. ii. 18. This was confirmed by the mistranslation of *Cush* into *Ethiopia*. It is impossible, however, that one so familiar with Egypt as the writer of Genesis should have conceived of the Nile as connected with the Tigris and Euphrates. See Kurtz, 'Hist. of Old Covenant' (Clark's Library), Vol. I. p. 73.

No. 2 has the advantage of pointing to a single river, which might in primitive times have been described as branching out into four divisions or heads. Moreover, Arabia, in which certainly was a region called Havilah, is near to the western channel, whilst Chuzestan, which may have corresponded with the land of Cush, borders on the eastern channel.

The chief difficulty in No. 3 is that at present there is no junction between the heads of the four rivers, Tigris, Euphrates, Oxus, and Araxes, though all may take their rise in the same mountain system, and may possibly in more ancient times have been more nearly related. The question is one which has been much discussed, and is not likely soon to be set at rest: but the weight of argument and of authority seems in favour of No. 2, or something nearly corresponding with it; and it is the solution (more or less) adopted by the best modern interpreters.

9. *made the* LORD *God to grow*] We must understand this of the trees of Paradise only.

the tree of life also in the midst of the garden] Jewish and many Christian commentators consider that there was a virtue in this tree, which was calculated to preserve from diseases and to perpetuate animal life. Kennicott ('Two Dissertat.' Diss. i.) argued that the word "tree" is a noun of number, whether in the Hebrew or the Greek (comp. Rev. xxii. 2), and that all the trees of Paradise, except the tree of knowledge, "the true test of good and evil," were trees of life, in the eating of which, if man had not sinned, his life would have been perpetuated continually. The fathers inclined to the belief that the life to be supported by this tree was a spiritual life. So St Augustine ('De Gen. ad lit.' VIII. 4) says, "In other trees there was nourishment for Adam; but in this a sacrament," *i.e.* The tree was a sacrament or mystic image of, and perhaps also supporting, life eternal. Its reference, not to temporal, but to eternal life, seems to be implied in Gen. iii. 22. In Prov. iii. 18, Wisdom is compared to the tree of life: and in Prov. xiii. 12, we read, "When the desire cometh, it is a tree of life," which connects it with the hope of the future. And so perhaps we may say pretty confidently, that whatever was the physical effect of the fruit of this tree, there was a lesson contained in it, that life is to be sought by man, not from within, from himself, in his own powers or faculties, but from that which is without him, even from Him who only hath life in Himself. God only hath life in Himself; and the Son of God, who by eternal generation from the Father hath it given to Him to have life in Himself, was typified to Adam under this figure as "the Author of eternal salvation." Joh. i. 4, xiv. 6, Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2 (see Fagius in loc. and Heidegger, 'Hist. Patriarch.' Exerc. IV.).

the tree of knowledge of good and evil] Onkelos paraphrases, "of the fruit of which they who eat learn to distinguish between good and evil." The tree appears to have been the test, whether man would be good or bad; by it the trial was made whether in keeping God's commandments he would attain to good, *i.e.* to eternal life, or by breaking them he should have evil, *i.e.* eter-

10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

11 The name of the first *is* [d]Pison: that *is* it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where *there is* gold;

12 And the gold of that land *is* good: there *is* bdellium and the onyx stone.

13 And the name of the second river *is* Gihon: the same *is* it that compasseth the whole land of [f]Ethiopia.

14 And the name of the third river *is* Hiddekel: that *is* it which goeth [l]toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river *is* Euphrates.

15 And the LORD God took [l]the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

16 And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden [t]thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of

[d] Ecclus. 24. 29.

[f] Heb. Cush.

[l] Or, eastward to Assyria.

[l] Or, Adam.

[t] Heb. eating thou shalt eat.

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nal death. The lesson seems to be, that man should not seek to learn what is good and evil from himself but from God only; that he should not set up an independent search for more knowledge than is fitting, throwing off the yoke of obedience and constituting himself the judge of good and ill. Some have thought that the tree had not this name from the first, but that it was given it after the temptation and the fall, either because the tempter had pretended that it would give wisdom, or because Adam and Eve, after they had eaten of it, knew by bitter experience the difference between good and evil.

12. *bdellium*] a transparent gum obtained from a tree (*Borassus flabelliformis*) which grows in Arabia, India, and Media (Plin. 'H. N.' XII. 9. § 19). This is the translation of Aqu., Symm., Theod., Vulg.: Josephus and many moderns, as Celsius ('Hierob.' I. 324), Cleric. in loc. adopt it. The LXX. renders "the carbuncle;" the Arabic, "sardius;" Kimchi, Grotius, Bochart, Gesenius, and others, with great probability take it to mean "pearls," of which great abundance was found in India and the Persian Gulf, and this falls in well with Bochart's belief, that Havilah bordered on the Persian Gulf. It appears far more probable that it should mean either pearls or some precious stone than a gum like bdellium, which is of no great value.

the onyx] Most of the versions give "onyx" or "sardonyx;" Onkelos has "beryl."

13. *Ethiopia*] Cush. This is a word of wide extent. It generally belongs either to Arabia or to Ethiopia. From Gen. x. 7 sqq. it will appear how widely the sons of Cush spread forth: their first settlement appears to have been in Arabia. Nimrod founded the kingdom of Babylon. Afterwards they settled largely in Ethiopia. In the more ancient books of Scripture, the Asiatic Cush is more frequently, perhaps exclusively, intended. Later the name applies more commonly to African Cush, *i.e.* Ethiopia.

14. *toward the east of Assyria*] Asshur included Babylonia, and even Persia: see Ezra vi. 22, where Darius is called King of Assyria: but in the time of Moses Assyria proper would be understood, a region on the left bank of the Tigris. It is hardly correct to say, that the Tigris runs "to the East of Assyria." Perhaps the renderings in some versions "towards" or "before Assyria" may be correct. So Fuerst thinks that it means "West of Assyria," for to a writer in Palestine or Sinai "before" would be West.

17. *thou shalt not eat of it*] It has been questioned why such a test as this should have been given, whether it be consistent with God's goodness to create a sin by making an arbitrary enactment; and how "the act of eating a little fruit from a tree could be visited with so severe a penalty." But we may notice that if there was to be any trial of man's obedience in Paradise, some special test was almost necessary. His condition of simple innocence and happiness, with no disorder in the constitution of his body or in the affections of his soul, offered no natural temptations to sin. Adam and Eve had none but each other and their Creator near them; and they could have had no natural inclination to sin against God or against their neighbour. If we take the ten Commandments as the type of the moral law, we shall find none that in their state of healthy innocence they could naturally desire to break (see Joseph Mede, Bk. I. Disc. 40). Their position was one of freedom indeed, but of dependence. Their only danger was that they should prefer independence upon God, and so seek for themselves freedom in the direction of evil as well as in the direction of good; and the renouncing dependence upon God is the very essence of evil in the creature. Now the command concerning the fruit of the tree, simple and childish as it may appear, was one exactly suited to their sim-

it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof † thou shalt surely die.

† Heb. *dying thou shalt die.*

18 ¶ And the LORD God said, *It is* not good that the man should be alone; I will make ᵉ him an help † meet for him.

ᵉ Eccles. 4. 9.
† Heb. *as before him.*

19 And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought *them* unto ‖ Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that *was* the name thereof.

‖ Or, *the man.*

20 And Adam † gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.

† Heb. *called.*

21 And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof;

22 And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, † made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.

† Heb. *builded.*

23 And Adam said, This *is* now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was ᶠ taken out of man.

ᶠ 1 Cor. 11. 8.

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ple and childlike state. Moreover it is not inconsistent with God's general dealings with mankind, that he should at times see fit to test faith and obedience by special and unusual trials. Compare Gen. xxii. 1, Matt. xix. 21.

thou shalt surely die] St Jerome ('Qu. in Gen.') proposes to adopt the translation of Symmachus, "Thou shalt become mortal or liable to death." It is needless so to translate, but the meaning of the threat probably was that the effect of eating of the fruit of that tree should be to poison the whole man, soul and body, with a deadly poison, making the body mortal, and the soul "dead in trespasses and sins." With the day of transgression a life commences, which is a living death. St Paul uses the expression, "Death worketh in us." There was, however, doubtless some remission of the sentence, so that they did not die instantly, as was the case with the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 10); and then a remedy was provided which might ultimately turn the curse into a blessing. Still the sentence was never wholly reversed, but the penalty took effect at once.

19. *the* LORD *God formed*] The account of the formation of the brute animals here does not, as some have supposed, necessarily imply that they were created after Adam; but it is introductory to the bringing them one by one to Adam that he may name them, and it is intended to lead up to the statement that they were none of them suited to be Adam's chief companions. They were formed by God of earthly materials; but the breath of Divine life had not been breathed into them.

brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them] The power of speech was one of those gifts which from the first distinguished man from all other animals; but, as tending to that civilized condition in which it was God's will to place Adam, in order to mature his mental powers, and to teach him the use of language, the animals are brought to him that he might name them. Nouns are the first and simplest elements of language; and animals, by their appearance, movements and cries, more than any other objects suggest names for themselves.

20. *there was not found an help meet for him*] There is some obscurity in the original of the words "an help meet for him;" they probably mean "a helper suited to," or rather "matching him," "answering to him."

22. *the rib...made He a woman*] lit. **The rib He built up into a woman.** The word which primarily means "rib" more frequently signifies "side:" whence many of the rabbins adopted the Platonic myth (see Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' XII. 12), that man and woman were originally united in one body, till the Creator separated them. The formation of woman from the side of man is without question most mysterious: but it teaches very forcibly and beautifully the duty of one sex towards the other, and the close relationship between them, so that neither should despise or treat with unkindness the other. That respect for the weaker sex, which we esteem a mark of the highest refinement, is taught by the very act of creation as recorded in the earliest existing record. The New Testament tells us that marriage is a type of the union of Christ and His Church; and the fathers held that the formation of Eve from the side of Adam typified the formation of the Church from the side of the Saviour. The water and blood which flowed from that side were held the one to signify baptism, the other to belong to the other great Sacrament, both water and blood cleansing from sin and making the Church acceptable to God.

23. *Woman, because she was taken out of*

[e] Matt. 19. 5. Mark 10. 7. 1 Cor. 6. 16. Eph. 5. 31.

24 [e]Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.

25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

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man] Hebrew "Ishsha because she was taken out of Ish." Hence many have argued that Hebrew must have been the primitive language. The same, of course, is inferred from other names, as Eve, Cain, Abel, &c., all having appropriate significance in Hebrew. The argument is inconclusive, because it is quite possible to translate names from one language into another, and to retain the meaning which those names had in their original tongue.

24. *Therefore*, &c.] These may have been the words of Adam, or of the inspired historian. Matt. xix. 5 seems to refer them to the latter, which also is the more natural interpretation. Then too they have more obviously that Divine authority which our Lord so emphatically ascribes to them. Such incidental remarks are not uncommon in Scripture; see for instance ch. xxxii. 32.

NOTE A on CHAP. II. v. 7. ON THE IMMEDIATE CREATION AND PRIMITIVE STATE OF MAN.

ON the question of man's direct creation in distinction to the hypothesis of development, and, on his original position as a civilized being, not as a wild barbarian, we may remark, 1st, It is admitted even by the theorists themselves, that in the present state of the evidence the records beneath the earth's surface give no support to the hypothesis that every species grew out of some species less perfect before it. There is not an unbroken chain of continuity. At times, new and strange forms suddenly appear upon the stage of life, with no previous intimation of their coming. 2ndly, In those creatures, in which instinct seems most fully developed, it is impossible that it should have grown by cultivation and successive inheritance. In no animal is it more observable than in the bee: but the working bee only has the remarkable instinct of building and honey-making so peculiar to its race; it does not inherit that instinct from its parents, for neither the drone nor the queen-bee builds or works; it does not hand it down to its posterity, for itself is sterile and childless. Mr Darwin has not succeeded in replying to this argument. 3rdly, Civilization, as far as all experience goes, has always been learned from without. No extremely barbarous nation has ever yet been found capable of initiating civilization. Retrogression is rapid, but progress unknown, till the first steps have been taught. (See Abp. Whately, 'Origin of Civilization,' the argument of which has not been refuted by Sir John Lubbock, 'Prehistoric Man.' Both have been ably reviewed by the Duke of Argyll, 'Primeval Man'). Moreover, almost all barbarous races, if not wholly without tradition, believe themselves to have been once in a more civilized state, to have come from a more favoured land, to have descended from ancestors more enlightened and powerful than themselves. 4thly, Though it has been asserted without any proof that man, when greatly degenerate, reverts to the type of the monkey, just as domesticated animals revert to the wild type; yet the analogy is imperfect and untrue. Man undoubtedly, apart from ennobling influences, degenerates, and, losing more and more of the image of his Maker, becomes more closely assimilated to the brute creation, the earthly nature overpowering the spiritual. But that this is not natural to him is shewn by the fact, that, under such conditions of degeneracy, the race gradually becomes enfeebled, and at length dies out; whereas the domesticated animal, which reverts to the type of the wild animal, instead of fading away, becomes only the more powerful and the more prolific. The wild state is natural to the brutes, but the civilized is natural to man.

Even if the other parts of the Darwinian hypothesis were demonstrable, there is not a vestige of evidence that there ever existed any beast intermediate between apes and men. Apes too are by no means the nearest to us in intelligence or moral sense or in their food and other habits. It also deserves to be borne in mind, that even if it could be made probable that man is only an improved ape, no physiological reason can touch the question, whether God did not when the improvement reached its right point, breathe into him "a living soul," a spirit "which goeth upward," when bodily life ceases. This at least would have constituted Adam a new creature, and the fountain head of a new race.

On the derivation of mankind from a single pair, see Prichard's 'Physical Hist. of Mankind,' Bunsen, 'Philosophy of Universal History,' Smyth, 'Unity of the Human Race,' Quatrefages, 'L'unité de l'espèce Humaine,' &c.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The serpent deceiveth Eve.* 6 *Man's shameful fall.* 9 *God arraigneth them.* 14 *The serpent is cursed.* 15 *The promised seed.* 16 *The punishment of mankind.* 21 *Their first clothing.* 22 *Their casting out of paradise.*

NOW the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, † Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

† Heb. *Yea, because, &c.*

2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

3 But of the fruit of the tree which *is* in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4 [a]And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

[a] 2 Cor. 11. 3. 1 Tim. 2. 14.

5 For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

6 And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* † pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make *one* wise, she took of the fruit thereof, [b]and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

† Heb. *a desire.*

[b] Ecclus. 25. 26. 1 Tim. 2. 14.

7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves ‖ aprons.

‖ Or, *things to gird about.*

CHAP. III. 1. *Now the serpent*] "Almost throughout the East the serpent was used as an emblem of the evil principle," Kalisch, ad loc.: but Kalisch himself, Tuch and others deny that the evil spirit is to be understood in this narrative of Genesis. Yet not only did the East in general look on the serpent as an emblem of the spirit of evil, but the earliest traces of Jewish or Christian interpretations all point to this. The evil one is constantly called by the Jews "the old serpent," *Hannachash hakkadmoni* (so also in Rev. xii. 9, "that old serpent the devil"). In Wisd. ii. 24, we read, "By the envy of the devil death entered into the world." Our Lord Himself says, "the Devil was the murderer of man from the beginning" (Joh. viii. 44). Von Bohlen observes that "the pervading Jewish view is the most obvious, according to which the serpent is considered as Satan; and the greatest confirmation of such an interpretation is the very general agreement of the Asiatic myths" (in loc.). Some have thought that no serpent appeared, but only that evil one, who is called the serpent; but then he could not have been said to be "more subtle than all the beasts of the field." The reason why Satan took the form of a beast remarkable for its subtlety may have been, that so Eve might be the less upon her guard. New as she was to all creation, she may not have been surprised at speech in an animal which apparently possessed almost human sagacity.

Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud...
...For in the wily snake
Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and nature subtlety
Proceeding, which in other beasts observed
Doubt might beget of diabolic power,
Active within beyond the sense of brute.
'Paradise Lost,' IX. 91.

5. *God doth know*] The tempter represents God as envious of His creatures' happiness, the ordinary suggestion of false religion and unbelief. Then he suggests to Eve the desire of self-dependence, that which is in fact the origin of all sin, the giving up of dependence on God, and the seeking for power, wisdom, happiness in self.

as gods] Or more probably, **as God.** The plural word *Elohim* stands at times for false gods, but most commonly for the one true God.

knowing good and evil] Having a clear understanding of all great moral questions; not like children, but like those of full age, who "by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil" (Heb. v. 14). This was the serpent's promise, though he knew that the result would be really a knowledge of evil through the perversion of their own will and their own ill choice.

6. *to make one wise*] Gesenius and others, after the LXX. and Vulgate, render *to look upon.*

7. *the eyes of them both were opened*, &c.] "Their eyes were truly opened as the serpent had promised them, but only to see that in the moment when they departed from God they became slaves of the flesh, that freewill, independence of God, knowing good and evil, in truth deliver them up to the power of evil. Man, who had his glorious destiny before him of becoming by means of the knowledge and love of God, and by obedience, the free lord of the world, ceases, by disobedience, to be master of himself." (O. Von Gerlach, 'Comment.' in loc.)

fig leaves] Celsius, Tuch, and Gesenius, have doubted whether this was the Ficus

8 And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the [1]cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden.

9 And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where *art* thou?

10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself.

11 And he said, Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?

12 And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

13 And the LORD God said unto the woman, What *is* this *that* thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14 And the LORD God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:

15 And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; and it shall

[1] Heb. *wind.*

Carica of Linnæus, supposing it to have been the *Musa Paradisiaca;* but the word is that used throughout Scripture for the well known fig tree (see Rœdiger in Ges. 'Lex.' p. 1490).

8. *the voice of the* LORD *God*] The whole of this history of the creation and the fall is full of these anthropomorphic representations. The Creator is spoken of as if consulting about the formation of man (i. 26), as reflecting on the result of His creation, and declaring it all very good (i. 31), as resting from His work (ii. 2), as planting a garden for Adam (ii. 8), bringing the animals to him to name them (ii. 19), then building up the rib of Adam into a woman, and bringing her to Adam to be his bride (ii. 22). Here again Adam hears His voice as of one walking in the garden in the cool of the day. All this corresponds well with the simple and child-like character of the early portions of Genesis. The Great Father, through His inspired word, is as it were teaching His children, in the infancy of their race, by means of simple language, and in simple lessons. Onkelos has here "The Voice of the Word of the LORD." It is by this name, "the Word of the LORD," that the Targums generally paraphrase the name of the Most High, more especially in those passages where is recorded anything like a visible or sensible representation of His Majesty. The Christian fathers almost universally believed that every appearance of God to the patriarchs and prophets was a manifestation of the eternal Son, judging especially from Joh. i. 18.

cool of the day] Lit. "wind of the day," which is generally understood of the cool breezes of evening. Paradise had been to man the place of God's presence, which brought heretofore happiness, and security. Now that sin had come upon him, the sense of that presence was accompanied with shame and fear.

14. *cursed above all cattle*] 'We can hardly doubt that these words were in part directed against the animal, which was made the instrument of man's ruin, as in the law the ox which gored a man was to be put to death like a malefactor. Thus the serpent was ever to bear about the remembrance of that evil, which he had been made the means of producing, was to be the enemy of man, causing him suffering, but in the end suffering from him utter destruction; yet, as the serpent was but the outward form of the spirit of evil, so the language of the Almighty, which outwardly refers to the serpent, in its spiritual significance is a curse upon the evil one. And as the curse is for the sake of man; so in it is contained a promise that the human race shall finally triumph over that which first caused its fall. The most natural interpretation of the curse might indicate, that the serpent underwent some change of form. It would, however, be quite consistent with the narrative, even in its most literal acceptance, to understand that it merely implied continued and perpetual degradation coupled with a truceless war against mankind.

15. *seed*] Allix, as quoted by Bishop Patrick, observes that in this promise God did a kindness to Adam, who otherwise by the temptation might have been estranged from his wife; but here the promise of redemption is through the seed of the *woman.* "Marriage, which had been the vehicle of the fall, is now also to become that of salvation; the seed of the woman is to bruise the head of the Serpent." (Kurtz, I. 78.) The promise is, no doubt, general, that, though the seed of the serpent (mystically Satan and all his servants) shall continually wage war against the descendants of Eve, yet ultimately by God's appointment mankind (the whole seed of the woman) shall triumph over their spi-

bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

16 Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire *shall be* ‖ to thy husband, and he shall [c] rule over thee.

17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life;

18 Thorns also and thistles shall it † bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;

19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto

‖ Or, *subject to thy husband.*
[c] 1 Cor. 14. 34.
† Heb *cause to bud.*

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ritual enemy. If there were no more than this in the language used, even so there would be, an obscure indeed, but still a significant promise of some future deliverance. But the last words of the verse seem not merely general but personal. In the first clause it is said, that there should be "enmity between thy *seed* and her *seed*;" but in the second clause it is said, "It (or he) shall bruise *thy* head." It was the head of the particular serpent (not of the seed of the serpent only), which the seed of the woman was to bruise. And though we must not lay stress on the masculine pronoun "*he*," because the word for *seed* is masculine in Hebrew, yet there is the appearance here of a personal contest, and a personal victory. This inference is strengthened by the promise being made to the seed of the *woman*. There has been but one descendant of Eve, who had no earthly father; and He was "manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil." Though the Jewish writers do not directly interpret the promise of the Messiah; yet the Targums of Jerusalem and of the Pseudo-Jonathan both say that this victory over the serpent shall be "in the days of the Messiah."

It is well known that Roman Catholic divines have attributed the victory to the Virgin Mary, misled by the rendering of some MSS. of the Latin, *Ipsa*, she. The original Hebrew is perfectly unequivocal; for, though the pronoun might be so pointed as to signify either *he* or *she*, yet the verb is (according to the Hebrew idiom) masculine. Moreover the LXX. has *seed* in the neuter, but the pronoun referring to it, "*he*," in the masculine, which would naturally refer it to some individual son of the woman. The Syriac Version also has a masculine pronoun.

shall bruise] The LXX. followed by the Vulgate and Onkelos has "shall watch," probably meaning to watch and track as a hunter does his prey; but the word in Chaldee signifies "to bruise or crush." In this, or nearly this sense it is used in the only other passages in which it occurs in Scripture, viz. Job ix. 17, Ps. cxxxix. 11, and so it is rendered by most ancient Versions and Comm. as Syr. Sam. Saad. St Paul refers to it in the words "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly." Rom. xvi. 20.

16. *Unto the woman He said*] It is noticed by Tertullian, that though God punished Adam and Eve, He did not curse them, as He did the Serpent, they being candidates for restoration ('adv. Marcion.' ii. 25).

I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception] Some suppose this to be a *hendiaduoin* for "the sorrow of thy conception." The words rather mean that woman's sorrow and her conception should both be multiplied. The mother has not only the pains of childbirth, but from all the cares of maternity greater sorrow connected with their common offspring than the father has. The threat of multiplying conception indicates, not that Eve had already borne children, but that childbirth would not have been unknown had the first pair remained in Paradise.

Thy desire shall be] Desire here expresses that reverential longing with which the weaker looks up to the stronger. The Vulgate therefore renders, "Thou shalt be under the power of thy husband." This is also the interpretation of Abenezra and of many moderns. The comparison with ch. iv. 7 shews that there is somewhat of dependence and subjection implied in the phrases.

17. *And unto Adam He said*] Here for the first time *Adam* occurs without an article, as a proper name.

cursed is the ground for thy sake] The whole earth partakes of the punishment, which the sin of man, its head and destined ruler, has called down. The creature itself is subjected to vanity, Rom. viii. 20. Death reigns. Instead of the blessed soil of Paradise, Adam and his offspring have to till the ground now condemned to bear thorns and thistles, and this is not to end, until the man returns to the earth from which he was taken. Yet even here there is some mark of mercy: for, whereas the serpent is cursed directly, and that with a reference to the earth he was

the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou *art*, and unto dust shalt thou return.

† Heb. *Chavah.*

20 And Adam called his wife's name †Eve; because she was the mother of all living.

21 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them.

22 ¶ And the LORD God said, Behold, the man° is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever:

23 Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

24 So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

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to travel over; here on the contrary the earth, rather than the man, is cursed, though for the man's sake and with reference to him. (Tuch.)

19. See note A at end of Chapter.

20. *Eve*] *Chavvah*, *Life*. Not only because she gave birth to all living, but perhaps with a further prophetic meaning, in reference to the promise just given, because the race of man, now subject to death, should be made alive by the Offspring of the woman.

22. *the man is become as one of us*] Man was not a mere animal, following the impulse of sense, without distinction of right and wrong. He had also a spiritual personality, with moral will and freedom of forechoice. His lower nature, though in subjection to the higher, as that was in subjection to God, yet acted as a veil, screening from him what might have been visible to pure spiritual intelligence: hence, though he knew good from knowing God and living in dependence on Him, yet he knew not evil, having had no experience of it hitherto. His fall therefore, although sinful, was not like the sin of angels, who had no animal nature to obscure vision or to tempt by sense. *Their* fall must have been more deliberate, more wilful, less pardonable. But, when man by fatal mischoice learned that there was evil in the universe as well as good, then he had acquired a condition like to that of spiritual beings, who had no veil to their understanding, and could see both on the right hand and on the left. The meaning then of this mysterious saying of the Most High may be, that now by sin man had attained a knowledge like the knowledge of pure spiritual existences, a knowledge which God has of necessity, a knowledge which the angels have, who might have fallen but who stood upright, a knowledge, which evil angels have from their own deliberate choosing of evil instead of good. The difficulty of this interpretation is, that it supposes God to speak of Himself as One among other spiritual beings, whereas He cannot be likened to any one, but is infinitely above and beyond all created natures. Some therefore would understand here and elsewhere, the plural as a mere plural of majesty. Still there is a manifest plurality of person. It is not merely "like Us," but "like one of Us." Hence it was the universal belief of the early Christians, that here as in Gen. i. 20, God was speaking to, and of, His coeternal Son and Spirit.

See note B at end of Chapter.

lest he put forth his hand] Vatablus, who looks on the tree of life as no more than a mystical emblem, understands that it was as though God had said, "Lest he should have a vain expectation excited in him by laying hold of this symbol of My promise; that shall be taken from him which might give him such a hope of immortality," in loc. But Augustine, who spoke of the tree of life as a sacrament, probably meant by a sacrament something more than a mere emblem; and many of the fathers looked on this judgment of God, whereby man was excluded from the reach of that, which might have made him immortal, as rather a mercy than a judgment. If his life had now been perpetuated, it would have been an immortality of sin. So Gregory Nazianzen says the exclusion from the tree of life was "that evil might not be immortal, and that the punishment might be an act of benevolence." (Greg. Naz. 'Orat.' XXXVII. n. 1. See Patrick).

24. *Cherubims*] **Cherubim.** See note C at end of Chapter.

NOTE A on CHAP. III. v. 19. ON THE EFFECT OF THE FALL.

NOTHING can really be plainer than that the narrative describes a most deplorable change in the condition of the first parents of mankind, a change from a state of holiness resulting from the presence of God and a life in dependence on His support, to a state of sin and shame following on disobedience to His will and a desire to become independent

of Him. It is the distinctest possible account of a sin and of its punishment. Moreover in all subsequent teaching of Scripture the whole human race is represented as sharing in the exile of Adam from his Maker, and hence in his sinfulness; for holiness and happiness are inseparable from the presence and the Spirit of God. It may be impossible fully to explain all the justice or the mercy of this dispensation. Yet we may reflect that man was created a reasonable, free-willing, responsible being. All this implies power to will as God wills, and power to will as God does not will. It implies too something like a condition of trial, a state of probation. If each man had been put on his trial separately, as Adam was; judging from experience as well as from the history of Adam, we may see the probability that a large number of Adam's descendants would have sinned as he sinned. The confusion so introduced into the world would have been at least as great as that which the single fall and the expulsion once for all of our first parents from Paradise have actually brought in. And the remedy would have been apparently less simple and more complicated. As the Scripture history represents it to us, and as the New Testament interprets that history, the Judge of all the earth punished the sin of Adam by depriving him of His presence and His Spirit (that "original righteousness" of the fathers and the schoolmen, see Bp. Bull, Vol. II. Dis. v. and Aquinas, 'Summa,' ii. 1. qu. 82. art. 4), and thus subjecting him to death. But though He thus "concluded all under sin," it was indeed "that He might have mercy on all," Rom. xi. 32. The whole race of man condemned in Adam, receives in Adam also the promise of recovery for all. And in the Second Adam, that special *Seed of the woman*, the recovery of the whole race is effected, insomuch that as in Adam all died, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. And thus in truth the mystery of sin can only be cleared up by the mystery of redemption; whilst both exhibit the justice of God brought out into its fullest relief only under the light of His love.

NOTE B on CHAP. III. V. 22. ON THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE TEMPTATION AND THE FALL.

THE traditions of all, especially Eastern nations, have more or less of resemblance to the record of the first three chapters of Genesis. This is, according to some, to be explained by mere similarity in all early mythology. According to others it results from the Hebrew histories borrowing the myths of neighbouring countries and propounding them as historical truths. There can be no reasonable doubt, that the writer of Genesis puts forth his history as history. Hence some of the early rationalists admitted an historical foundation, though they thought it coloured by subsequent fancy. Eichhorn for instance ('Urgeschichte,' Th. 2. B. 2) supposed that Adam dreamed of the formation of Eve out of his side. Eve (as Abarbanel had also imagined) saw the serpent eating poisonous fruit, then ate of it herself and gave it to her husband; and thus awakened in them both sensual thoughts and the first feelings of shame. A thunderstorm seemed to them the voice of God; they fled in terror from Paradise, and in the unkindliness of a sterile land, the toils of agriculture and the pangs of childbirth found a punishment for their fault. But such forced explanations soon gave way to mythical interpretation. Paradise is but the golden age of the Hebrews; the tree of life is the Ambrosia or Amrita of Greece or India; the tempter finds a parallel in the contests of Krishna with the serpent, or in the Persian myth of Ahriman deceiving the first human beings under a serpent's form. The Indian cosmogony and the history of Krishna certainly bear some resemblance to the Jewish history, though widely distinguished from it by the gross Pantheism of the Hindoo Theology: but that the Hebrews can owe nothing to these is evident from the fact that they are not contained in the Vedas and the most ancient Sanscrit literature, from which alone it is possible that even the later Jewish writers could have borrowed. Indeed the history of Krishna first appears in the 'Bhagavat Gita,' a work assigned to the 3rd century after Christ, and which is supposed to have drawn largely from Christian or Pseudo-Christian sources. The nearest resemblance, however, is traceable between the Biblical record and the teaching of the Zendavesta. As there is a likeness in the history of Creation and in the description of Paradise, so there is a special similarity in the account of the fall. According to the doctrine of Zoroaster, the first human beings, created by Ormuzd, the good principle, lived in a state of innocence in a happy garden with a tree which gave them life and immortality; but Ahriman, the evil principle, assuming the form of a serpent, offered them the fruit of a tree, which he had himself created; they ate and became subject to evil and to a continual contest between light and darkness, between the good motions of Ormuzd, and the evil suggestions of Ahriman. As the Hindoo traditions are disfigured by Pantheism, so are the Persian by dualism; and both are markedly contrasted with the pure monotheism of the Bible History. But Hartmann, Von Bohlen, and other mythical interpreters, have imagined that the Mosaic account was really borrowed from the Zoroastrian; a theory which

could only be established by proving that the early chapters of Genesis were not written till after the Babylonish captivity; for it was then that the Jews first came into close contact with the Persians, and might have borrowed some of their superstitions.

Against so late a date the language of the first chapter of Genesis is conclusive. There are indeed a few Aramaisms in Genesis; but it has been ruled most justly, that "Aramaisms in a book of the Bible are proof either of a very early or of a very late origin." The Patriarchs, who came from Ur of the Chaldees, may have naturally spoken a Hebrew not unmixed with Chaldaisms, and some names, as that of Eve (Chava) and that of the *LORD* (JEHOVAH), both of which have a Chaldee or Aramaic form, could not possibly have been invented later than the age of Moses, unless they were invented after the Babylonian Captivity, when the Jews again came into contact with the Chaldeans in Babylonia. That the Aramaisms of Genesis really mark antiquity, not novelty, should almost be self apparent to one familiar with the original. The Hebrew of the first three chapters of the Bible is most emphatically archaic. It cannot therefore be a modern Chaldaized Hebrew, but is a Hebrew so ancient as still to retain strong traces of its original union with its sister dialect Chaldee. Its peculiar conciseness is the exact opposite of the diffuse and verbose style of the Chaldee in Daniel or Ezra. The 3rd verse of Genesis owes much of its proverbial grandeur to this very conciseness. So many thoughts are perhaps nowhere else in the world uttered in so few syllables. The very reverse of this is true of the language when it had become infected by the Chaldee of the Captivity. But, if the legends of the Zendavesta were not borrowed by the Jews in their captivity, then the real contact point between them and the Jewish history must be found in pre-Mosaic times, in the days of the early patriarchs; and then the fact, that the traditions of Persia were of all others the nearest to the Jewish traditions may easily be explained. Let us suppose the account in Genesis to be the great Semitic tradition, perhaps delivered direct from Shem to Abraham, from Abraham to Jacob, from Jacob to Joseph, and incorporated under Divine guidance by Moses in his history. Is it unlikely that Japhet may have given the very same account to his own posterity? and where would it have been so well preserved, as in Iran, that spot, or at least near to that spot, where the Aryan races seem longest to have dwelt together, and where the tradition was most likely to have been undisturbed by constant migrations? The Persians prided themselves on their pure and ancient descent; and modern ethnologists have given to those tribes which peopled India and Europe the name of Aryan, after the inhabitants of Iran and the noblest race among them, the Arii. If the Hebrews retained the Semitic tradition pure and uncorrupted, through their adherence to the worship of the true God, whilst the Persians had the Japhetic tradition, though corrupted by dualism, the resemblance between their respective accounts would be in every way natural, and the real historical basis of them both would be the simplest solution of the difficulty.

It may only be necessary to add that this reasoning would not be affected by the hypothesis adopted by some otherwise sound divines, that the history of the fall is a true history though veiled under allegorical imagery, *i. e.* that Adam and Eve were created innocent and holy, that they were subjected to a trial and fell under it, thereby bringing in sin and death upon mankind, but that the description given of this in Genesis is not literal but emblematical and mystical (see for instance Quarry 'on Gen.' p. 112, and Warburton quoted by him).

NOTE C on CHAP. III. V. 24. CHERUBIM.

(1) Traditional accounts of the Cherubim. (2) Cherubim figured in Tabernacle and Temple. (3) Cherubim seen in visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, St John. (4) Cherubim of Paradise. (5) Etymology of name.

IN this passage the Cherubim appear to be living beings, angels of God, fulfilling the will of God. Elsewhere (except in brief allusions as Ps. xviii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 11) we find them as sculptured or wrought figures in the Tabernacle and the Temple; or as images in the visions of prophets, which visions have always more or less of the other imagery of the Temple presented in them (Ez. i. x; Rev. iv. and perhaps Is. vi.).

Tradition gives no satisfactory account of the appearance of these cherubic figures. Josephus, ('Ant.' III. 6. § 5) says that they were "winged animals in form like nothing seen by man." It is possible that Josephus' Pharisaic prejudice in interpreting the second commandment may have led him to this profession of utter ignorance concerning the forms of the Cherubim, for he charges Solomon with a breach of the law on account of the oxen under the brazen sea ('Ant.' VIII. 7. § 3), and in the face of Exod. xxvi. 31 (compared with Ezek. x. 20), he denies that the veil of the tabernacle had any living creatures on it ('Ant.' III. 3. § 6). Still the Apostle (Heb. ix. 5), who speaks of "the Cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy seat," adds, "of which we cannot now speak particularly," as though, after the captivity and

the destruction of the first Temple, not only had the sacred figures never been restored, but even the memory of their shapes had been lost.

1. *The Tabernacle and the Temple*] When Moses is commanded to make the ark, we learn that he was to make the *Capporeth*, the mercy seat or covering of the ark, of pure gold, and Cherubim looking towards the mercy seat, stretching forth their wings on high to cover the mercy seat. The Cherubim were to be of a piece with the mercy seat, or at least of the same material (Ex. xxv. 17—20). There is no appearance of more than one face to each Cherub, nor of more than two wings. The Cherubim on the mercy seat in the Tabernacle appear to have been exactly imitated by Solomon in the Temple. Their height is said to have been ten cubits, and their wings touched the walls on either side (1 K. vi. 27). Besides the two Cherubim on the mercy seat, figures of Cherubim were wrought on the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, xxxvi. 8, 35), and were afterwards engraven on the walls and doors of the Temple, along with palms and flowers (1 K. vi. 29, 32, 35): also on the bases of the ten lavers, on the borders that were between the ledges were "lions, oxen, and Cherubims." (1 K. vii. 29.) Then again were four wheels a cubit and a half high, and again we find "Cherubims, lions, and palm trees." (v. 36.)

The special offices of the Cherubic figures in the Tabernacle appear to have been, first, the watching and guarding of the ark and the sacred law deposited within the ark, towards which they are represented as looking and over which they spread their outstretched wings, and secondly, to attend and bear up that mystic presence of God, which appeared in the Cloud of glory over the mercy seat. That Cloud of glory had led Israel through the Red Sea and the wilderness, the guide and guardian of God's people, the symbol of His presence, especially in the giving of the law, having a twofold aspect, at times as darkness, at times as a pillar of light; now a glory settling on the Tabernacle or resting above the ark, at another time accompanied with fire and lightnings, so that the people durst not look on it. (Ex. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 24, xvi. 10, xix. 16, 18, 20, xx. 18, xxiv. 16, 17, xxxiii. 9, xxxiv. 5, xxxvii. 6—9, xl. 34—38; Num. ix. 15—23, xii. 5—10, xvi. 19—42). When the Tabernacle is set up, the Law is deposited in the Ark, the cloud is promised to rest upon the covering of the Ark, and, as the Cherubim guard the Law and the Testimony of God, so they may be supposed reverently to surround the throne of His glory.

If we went no farther, we should naturally conclude, that the Cherubim were winged human figures, sculptured in the Tabernacle and the Temple, representing either the personal angels of God, or at least those ministers and agents of His in creation which do His pleasure and wait upon His will. We should infer, that their offices were (1) to guard what is sacred and unapproachable, the gate of Paradise (Gen. iii. 24), the ark of the covenant of the LORD, in which were deposited the two tables of the Law (compare Ezek. xxviii. 14—16, where the Prince of Tyre is compared to a Cherub, who in Eden covers with his wings the precious stones): (2) to surround the mystic throne of God and to attend His presence (hence the Most High is constantly spoken of as dwelling between the Cherubim, *i.e.* by His Shechinah on the mercy seat, 1 S. iv. 4; 2 S. vi. 2; 2 K. xix. 15; Ps. lxxx. 2, xcix. 1; Is. xxxvii. 16): (3) perhaps to bear up the throne of God upon their wings, and to carry Him when He appeared in His glory. (Comp. 2 S. xxii. 11; Ps. xviii. 10, "He rode upon a Cherub, and did fly: yea, He did fly upon the wings of the wind.")

2. *The visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel and St John*] It is doubtful whether the Seraphim in the vision of Isaiah ch. vi. (the only place in which they are named in Scripture) be the same as the Cherubim or not. The scene is the same as in the Cherubic visions of Ezekiel and St John, viz. in the Temple (vv. 1. 6). The Seraphim occupy a place like that of the Cherubim, viz. just by the Throne of God; and their taking the live coal from the altar seems to connect them with the burning coals of Ezekiel's Cherubim (Ez. i. 13). As far as we can judge these Seraphim resemble the Cherubim of the Tabernacle and the Temple in having human forms and single faces, but they have six wings each: "With twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly."

We come now to the visions of Ezekiel and St John. These visions also have their seat in the Temple as the image of Heaven. (See Ezek. x. 2, 3, 5, 18, where we meet with the altar fire and the courts of the Temple: and Rev. *passim*, where all the imagery is drawn from the Temple, *e.g.* the candlestick ch. i. 12, the High Priest ch. i. 13, the altar ch. vi. 9, &c.) In both visions the throne corresponds with the place on which the Cloud of glory rested between the Cherubim. The Cherubim then are described as living creatures (Ezek. i. 5; Rev. iv. 6), in the form of a man (Ezek. i. 5) with four (Ezek. i. 8, ii. 23, x. 7, 8—21), or with six wings (Rev. iv. 8), having eyes all over (Ezek. i. 18, x. 12; Rev. iv. 8). In Ezekiel they have each four faces, viz. of a man, of a lion, of an ox, of an eagle (Ezek. i. 10, x. 16). In St John they have but one face each, these faces being respectively of a man, of a lion, of a calf and of an eagle (Rev. iv. 7). Their feet appear to Ezekiel as straight

feet, like the feet of oxen (Ezek. i. 7). In Ezek. x. 14, we have the very singular phenomenon that the face of a Cherub seems identified or synonymous with the face of a calf or an ox. (Comp. Ezek. i. 10; Rev. iv. 7.) It is thought by many, that in these latter visions we have a fuller description of the Cherubim of the Tabernacle and the Temple than we could gather from the earlier accounts in Holy Scripture. It is supposed that they too, like the Cherubim in the visions, must have been composite creatures, if of human form, yet with heads of other animals, either as described by Ezekiel or by St John. Moreover, as such composite figures must plainly have been emblematical, it has been thought that the Cherubim by their faces of a man, a lion, a bull and an eagle, perhaps expressed the strength and wisdom of the Divine Majesty, or perhaps the strength and the swiftness, with which His ministers do His will. Again, as they surround the throne and guard the Law of the Most High, so perhaps we may understand, that the natural and the spiritual creation being knit up together in one great scheme, these symbolic creatures indicate that all things, all creation, wait upon God, all do His will, all work together for good to the godly and for judgment on the ungodly. They guard His law, and execute its judgments, and keep off the sinner from the blessing of its rewards.

The existence of composite winged emblematical figures amongst nations more or less connected with the Hebrews is now well known. The Sphinx and the Griffin have long been familiar to us: but it has been remarked as singular that Mr Layard should have discovered in Nineveh gigantic winged bulls with human heads, winged lions, and human figures with hawk or eagle heads, corresponding so nearly with the winged Cherubim of the visions of Ezekiel and St John. These gigantic figures too are generally placed as guards or sentinels at the entrances of temples and palaces, like the guarding Cherubim of Holy Writ. Moreover, they are evidently not objects of idolatrous worship, but appear rather as worshippers than as divinities. It is argued, that it is not improbable that Moses should have adopted similar emblems, opposing the true worship to the false, and placing in the temple of the true God emblems of protection, watchfulness, power, and glory, similar to those used in the temples of the gods of the nations. (See Lämmert, 'Die Cherubim' in 'Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theol.' Zwölfter Band, Viertes Heft, Gotha, 1867). It is, however, to be observed, that nothing connects Moses with Assyria or the Assyrian sculptures: and indeed those found by Mr Layard in the Temple of Kojundjik, which are most to the point, are not considered by him to be of great antiquity. Far more likely is it that some Egyptian type should have been followed: and we find in the Egyptian Sculptures, and in the 18th dynasty, which was probably the dynasty of the Exodus, examples of a shrine or ark wonderfully calculated to remind us of the ark of the Covenant made by Moses. It is carried by persons of the sacerdotal race, by staves, as the Levites carried the ark. In the centre is the symbol of the Deity, and two winged human figures spread out their wings around and over it. (Lepsius, 'Denkm.' III. Bl. 14.) These two figures, however, represent the goddess Ma, under the two-fold notion of "justice" and "truth." This is clear from the ostrich feathers on the heads of the figures. This goddess is often called "the double Ma," but it is very doubtful, whether, notwithstanding this apparent similarity, there is any direct relation between these figures and the Cherubim of the Tabernacle.

What then is to be said of the vision of Ezekiel and of St John who nearly repeats the imagery in Ezekiel? We may observe, that Ezekiel was a priest (Ezek. i. 3). He was therefore probably familiar with the sculptures in the Temple, especially the Cherubim carved on the bases of the ten lavers, along with bulls and lions, and with four wheels curiously connected with them. His vision, the scene of which was the Temple, naturally was mixed up with objects in the Temple. The connection of his Cherubic figures with wheels is explained by 1 Kings vii. 29, 30, 33. Even the lion and bull-heads of these figures may have come from the mingling of the Cherubim with the bulls and lions in the Temple. But, besides this, he saw these visions by the river Chebar in the land of the Chaldeans; and there he and his people would, no doubt, have become familiarized with the gigantic winged guardians of the temples and the palaces in Babylonia and Assyria, the bulls and lions and eagle-headed men, and human-headed bulls. It is highly probable that the difference between the Cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (repeated with certain variations in St John's), and the Cherubim in the Tabernacle and the Temple resulted in part from this. In God's dealings with man, He constantly uses for lessons things just before men's eyes. And so He may have done in this case with Ezekiel. It is almost certain that Ezekiel's visions did not represent accurately that to which he had been used in the Temple. Hence he appears not at first to have recognized them as being Cherubim; but at the end of his second vision he tells us, that now he knew they were Cherubim (Ezek. x. 20). To Moses, on the other hand, God had dictated the carving of figures possibly like those which he had seen in Egypt, figures emblematical of guardianship, and of the reverence of those who wait constantly upon God, but

which had never been objects of idolatrous worship. Thus He sanctioned, or at least tolerated, that which seems so dear to religious humanity, the use of symbolism, where dangers from its abuse were not great. We conclude, therefore, notwithstanding much authority to the contrary, that in all probability the Cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy seat were winged human figures, with human faces too.

The Cherubim of Paradise] It is noticed that Moses describes the placing of the Cherubim at the gates of Eden in words suggested by that which he had to carve in the Tabernacle. "He placed...Cherubim" is in the Hebrew וַיִּשְׁכֵּן "He made to dwell," a term specially belonging to the dwelling of the glory of God in the Shechinah, the cloud of glory. And the Paradise Cherubim were to keep, lit. "to guard," (לִשְׁמֹר) the way to the tree of life, as the Cherubim in the Tabernacle guarded the Ark of the Covenant. Those, who believe the Cherubim in the Tabernacle to have been like those seen by Ezekiel, naturally believe also that they were but emblems of those powers of nature and creation by which the Creator so constantly works His will. The Cherubim and the flaming sword at the East Gate of Paradise to them mean only that the way back to Eden and to the tree of life was closed by such natural hindrances as the Author of nature saw fit to interpose. It is not impossible that even if the Cherubim of the Tabernacle were not composite creatures, but simply winged human figures, much the same may have been meant. There are doubtless hosts of spiritual beings that surround the throne of God and do His will; but all things serve Him. He maketh the winds His angels, and a flame of fire His ministers. The stern, mechanical, turning every way of the sword of flame perhaps points to this; and the sacred writer may possibly have signified under the symbols of angelic beings the great ministering powers of nature.

This at least is taught us by the Cherubim guarding the way to the Tree of life. Paradise had been lost by sin; but it was not gone for ever. The tree of life, and the garden where it grew, were still in full glory under the keeping of God and of His holy angels. The forfeited life is not irrecoverable: but it can only be recovered through fighting and conquest, suffering and death. There were between it and man the ministers of righteous vengeance and the flaming sword.

The Etymology of the word *Cherub* is very obscure. Some derive it from כָּרַב (Cherab) "to plough," it being inferred from Ezek. i. 10 compared with x. 14, that the true Cherub form was that of an ox. Others compare קָרוֹב (Karob) "near," *i.e.* admitted to the special presence of God. The Talmudists assert that the name signifies "a child," and that the faces of the Cherubim were the faces of children. Eichhorn and others compare the Greek γρύψ, γρύπος, from the Persian *greifen* "to hold," and consider the name to be nearly equal in significance, as well as in derivation, with the fabulous Griffin or Gryphon of the East. Gesenius suggests the root כרב (Charab) = חרם (Charam) "to shut out," "to consecrate" (hence *haram*, a sacred shrine). According to this derivation, the Cherubim would be the guardians and defenders of that which is consecrated, of the Shrine or the Paradise. Canon Cook (see Appendix to this volume) has traced the word to an Egyptian root, which probably means "carve," or at any rate "shape." In Matt. xviii. 2, χερεβ is the Coptic for μορφή.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The birth, trade, and religion of Cain and Abel.* 8 *The murder of Abel.* 11 *The curse of Cain.* 17 *Enoch the first city.* 19 *Lamech and his two wives.* 25 *The birth of Seth,* 26 *and Enos.*

AND Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the LORD.

2 And she again bare his brother †Abel. And Abel was †a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.

3 And †in process of time it came

† Heb. *Hebel.*
† Heb. *a feeder.*
† Heb. *at the end of days.*

CHAP. IV. 1. The last Chapter was a history of the first birth of sin; this gives us an account of its developement, as also of the first out-spreading of the human race. Cain and Abel are respectively types of the two opposing principles discernible throughout the sacred history; Cain of the unchecked dominion of evil, Abel of the victory of faith.

I have gotten a man from the LORD] LXX. "by means of the Lord;" Onk. "from the Lord;" Syriac "for the Lord;" Pseudo-Jonathan "a man, the angel of the LORD." Following the latter paraphrast, Luther, Munster, Fagius, Schmidt, Pfeiffer, Baumgart. and others, have rendered "I have gotten a man, even JEHOVAH," as though Eve understood that the *seed*, who was to bruise the serpent, should be incarnate Deity, and supposed that Cain was that seed. We can, however, scarcely see ground enough to believe that Eve's knowledge was so advanced, or her faith in the Messiah so lively as to

to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD.

4 And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his [t]flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had [a]respect unto Abel and to his offering:

[t] Heb. *sheep*, or *goats*.
[a] Heb. 11. 4.

have called forth such an exclamation. It is more probable that the particle rendered in our Version *from* is a preposition (it is in the next chapter (v. 24) rendered *with*), and that it signifies, as the LXX. has it, *by means of*, or, as Gesenius, *by the help of*. There is, however, little doubt that her words had some pregnant meaning, and that she looked on Cain as at all events one of that race which was destined to triumph over the seed of the Serpent.

"The use of the name (JEHOVAH) is significant, though we cannot think that Eve already knew this name of God, which was first revealed to man at a later period of his history, and which is of Hebrew origin, whereas that language probably did not exist until the time of the dispersion at Babel. Yet, doubtless, the historian expresses the true meaning of Eve's speech which she spoke, inspired by that help which had been graciously given her of God" (Keil, 'Bibl. Comment.').

2. *Abel.*] She called her first-born Cain (*possession*), but this second Hebel (*breath, vapour, vanity, nothingness*), because all human possession is but vanity. Yet it is not said, that Abel was so named by Eve herself, as Cain had been. Hence it is possible, that the name Abel was that by which he became known, after his life had passed away like a breath or a vapour.

Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground] The word rendered *sheep* includes sheep and goats. It is observed that the wildest nations live by hunting, those, who have thrown off the first barbarism, are nomadic, feeding sheep and cattle, those more civilized are agriculturists (see Rosen.). Hence the rationalist view coincides with the heathen, that a state of nature was pure barbarism, and that man gradually emerged from it into nomadic, then into agricultural, and finally into civilized life. In contradistinction to this, the account of Genesis represents man as placed by his Maker in a state of very simple civilization. Adam in Paradise was "to dress and to keep" the garden (Gen. ii. 15). His sons must have learned from him the knowledge which he had thus acquired. It is not likely to have been extensive knowledge, probably the very simplest possible, but still sufficient to rescue them from a state of pure barbarism, and from the necessity of living by the chase.

See note A at the end of this Chapter.

3. *in process of time*] Lit. "at the end of days." Abenezra understands "at the end of the year." So Fagius, Bochart, Clericus, Dathe, Rosenmüller, and many others. Clericus quotes from Aristot. 'Ethics,' VIII. 2. "It appears that ancient sacrifices were offered after the gathering of the fruits of the earth, they being a kind of first fruits. Moreover, at that time, men were most at leisure."

an offering] The word here used almost always signifies an unbloody oblation. It is frequently translated "a meat offering." Its nature is defined, Lev. ii. 1 seq.

4. *of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof*] There has been in all times a difference of opinion as to the Divine or human origin of sacrifice. Sacrifices were so thoroughly sanctioned by the Divine law in after times, so generally accepted by God, and made so conspicuously types of the Lamb of God, that it is difficult to conceive how they should have arisen but from a Divine command. Yet, there is a deep silence as to any such command, whilst the institution of the Sabbath and of other positive ordinances is distinctly recorded. Hence, many have thought that sacrifice was dictated by an instinct of natural religion, and then, by a condescension to man's infirmity, sanctioned for a temporary purpose, and constituted an image of redemption. It is impossible to say what the view of the Apostolic fathers was; but from the time of Justin Martyr ('Apol.' II. 5; 'Dial.' pp. 237, 292, ed. Ben.), the fathers generally adopted the belief that sacrifice was a human, not a Divine ordinance. A remarkable exception to this appears in a passage of the most learned of the 4th century divines (Euseb. 'Dem. Evang.' I. 10), in which he distinctly ascribes the origin of sacrifice to a Divine inspiration, though even this does not necessarily imply a Divine command. It may be fairly said, that no certain conclusion on this question can possibly be arrived at, in the silence of Scripture. The principal arguments on the side of the Divine origin may be seen in Bp. Jer. Taylor, 'Duct. Dub.' Bk. II. R. XIII. §§ 27, 30; Witsii 'Ægypt.' III. 14; Kennicott, 'Two Dissertations,' II. p. 184 sq.; Magee 'On Atonement,' Disc. II. and notes; Faber, 'Three Dispensations,' Vol. I. The arguments on the opposite side may be found in Spencer, 'De Legibus Heb.' Lib. III. Diss. ii.; Warburton, 'Div. Legat.' Bks. VI. IX.; Davison's 'Remains,' art. *on origin of Sacrifice*. The work of Outram, 'De Sacrificiis,' should by all means be consulted, which takes an impartial survey of the whole question.

had respect unto] Comp. Num. xvi. 15;

5 But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell.

6 And the LORD said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?

7 If thou doest well, shalt thou not [1] be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And [1] unto thee *shall be* his desire, and thou shalt [2] rule over him.

8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, [3] when

[1] Or, *have the excellency?*
[1] Or, *subject unto thee.*
[2] Wisd. 10
[3] Matt. 23. 35. 1 John 3. 12. Jude 11

Amos v. 22. How did the Almighty express His approval of Abel's offering? According to the ancient Greek translation of Theod., it was by sending down fire to consume the sacrifice, as in Lev. ix. 24; Jud. vi. 21; 1 K. xviii. 38; 1 Chr. xxi. 26; 2 Chr. vii. 1. This explanation has been adopted by St Jerome, Rashi, Abenezra, Kimchi, Luther, Grotius, Delitzsch, and many others. Nothing but conjecture can guide us in this matter. We must be content to suppose, that some sign, intelligible to both the brothers, was given from above. The reason, as well as the mode, of the acceptance of Abel's gift has been greatly debated. Ver. 7, and Heb. xi. 4, seem to prove that the difference of spirit in which the two offerings were made caused the diversity of acceptance. The Apostle says, "By faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice." Faith, therefore, was the motive power; yet the result may have been that the sacrifice so offered was a better, fuller, and more acceptable sacrifice. Some have maintained that Cain brought fruits only, that Abel brought both fruits and the firstlings of his flock (see Kennicott, as above, p. 194); which may seem partly confirmed by the use of the word *mincha* (מִנְחָה) for Abel's offering. But, whilst we may see in the different spirit and disposition of the offerers a reason why one should be accepted and the other rejected, still "the view so often expressed, that Abel's bloody sacrifice resulted from a more profound religious apprehension than that of Cain, which was 'without shedding of blood,' seems to agree with the general bearing of the text" (Kurtz, 'Hist. of O. C.' Vol. I. p. 89); even if it be not admitted that a Divine ordinance had already sanctioned animal sacrifices.

5. *countenance fell*] Cp. the original of Nehem. vi. 16.

7. *shalt thou not be accepted*] **Is there not acceptance?** Lit. "lifting up" either of guilt (*i.e.* pardon), or of the countenance, as when a suppliant bending down his face is accepted, and so his face raised up and cheered. Or more probably as the A. V., Is there not acceptance? Shalt thou not be accepted by God?

if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door] This is generally explained as meaning that sin crouches at the door of the soul, like a wild beast, ready to devour it. Others understand *sin* to mean *the punishment of sin*, in which sense the word is sometimes used, see Zech. xiv. 19 (so Onk., Vatablus, Cornel. a Lapide). Some again interpret "a sin offering" (another frequent sense of the Hebrew word) which in the form of an animal victim lies or crouches at your door (see Kennicott, as above, p. 216, and Lee, 'Lex.' s. v. חַטָּאת). The chief objection to this latter interpretation is that there is no instance of this use of the word before the giving of the Law; which Law appears to have brought out into clearer relief the knowledge of sin and the need of sin-offering. See Rom. iii. 20.

And unto thee shall be his desire, &c.] There are two principal interpretations of these words, which have divided commentators in all times, the one set referring *his desire* to *Abel*, the other to *sin*. The LXX. Version clearly refers it to Abel, which interpretation is adopted by Chrysost., Ambrose, Augustine, and most of the fathers, by Grotius, Vossius, Heidegger, by our own translators, and by a majority of English commentators. The sense will then be, that Cain, whose jealousy had been excited by God's acceptance of Abel, need not, if he behaved well, fear that Abel should be preferred before him; his pre-eminence of birth should still be preserved to him: the desire of the younger brother should be towards him (an idiomatic expression specially noting the longing of one who looks up to another as an object of reverence, and so noting dependence, as of a younger brother on an elder, cp. Gen. iii. 16). The other interpretation, which is apparently, though not certainly, favoured by the Vulgate, is given in the Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan, and adopted by Rashi, and most Jewish writers, by Luther's translation, Munster, Pererius, Rosenmüller, Von Bohlen, Delitzsch, Knobel, Keil, and most of the Germans. The sense of the passage on this supposition would be, "Sin lieth crouching like a wild beast at the door of the soul; its desire is towards thee, yet thou art not given over into its power; but if thou wilt, thou shalt be able to keep it in subjection." The former of these interpretations, which is also the more ancient, seems both more natural and more according with the simple meaning of the original.

8. *Cain talked with Abel*] The original

they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.

9 ¶ And the LORD said unto Cain, Where *is* Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: *Am* I my brother's keeper?

10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's † blood crieth unto me from the ground.

† Heb. *bloods.*

11 And now *art* thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand;

12 When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

13 And Cain said unto the LORD, ‖ My punishment *is* greater than I can bear.

‖ Or, *My iniquity is greater than that it may be forgiven.*

14 Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, *that* every one that findeth me shall slay me.

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means more naturally "Cain *said* to Abel." Accordingly in some few of the Masoretic MSS. there is the mark of an omission here. The Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX., Syr., Vulg., read "Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field." These latter words, however, do not occur in the Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, or the most ancient Targum, that of Onkelos It is probable that the words were inserted in the Sam., LXX., &c. as a gloss, from the difficulty of explaining the passage without them; and that this is really an example of an ancient and obsolete usage of the verb *to say*, which here means either *to talk with*, as the A. V., or to *tell*, as Jerome, or to *command*, to *lay a command upon*, according to Arabic usage, as Prof. Lee.

10. *the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me*] The verb "crieth" here agrees with "blood," which is in the plural, in which form it is used specially of blood shed, drops of blood, above all of blood shed by violence and murder. Murder is a crime which cries to heaven for vengeance, and though the blood may be hidden, its voice cannot be silenced.

11. *now art thou cursed from the earth*] The words are variously rendered (1) "Cursed art thou from the ground," *i.e.* the curse shall come upon thee from the earth, which shall not yield thee her fruit (Abenezra, Kimchi, Knobel). (2) "Cursed art thou away from the land," *i.e.* Thou art cursed and banished from the land, in which thou hast dwelt, and in which thy father and brethren are dwelling (Rosenm., Vater, Tuch, Knobel). (3) "Cursed art thou even more than the earth" which had been cursed (ch. iii. 17). Of these (3) seems quite inadmissible; either of the others yields a pertinent sense. The second is the most probable.

12. *When thou tillest*, &c.] The curse was in effect, that Cain should be banished from the land inhabited and cultivated by Adam and his family, should wander about without a settled habitation or a fertile dwelling place, living hardly in a barren and inhospitable wilderness.

13. *My punishment*] There is great variety of interpretation here. The Hebrews constantly expressed *sin* and *punishment for sin* by the same words; moreover to *bear*, and *to take away* or *forgive*, were thoughts closely connected. Hence (1) "My sin is too great to be forgiven" (as in the Marg.) is the rendering of LXX., Onk., Syr., Vulg., Saad. Whilst (2) Abenezra, Kimchi, and the majority of modern commentators, render as the A. V., "My punishment is greater than I can bear." Both these renderings can be defended on good grounds by Hebrew usage. The latter seems more accordant with the temper of Cain's mind, and is probably correct.

14. *from thy face shall I be hid*] Though God no longer constantly manifested His presence as in Eden, yet there were at times some indications of that presence, (*e.g.* see v. 4). It may perhaps be inferred that some special place had already been set apart for Divine worship and sacred service. (On this subject see Blunt, 'Undesigned Coincidences,' 1. p. 9, eighth Edition, 1863).

every one that findeth me shall slay me] Josephus, Kimchi, Michaelis, and others, have supposed that Cain feared death from the beasts of the field; but most commentators rightly understand that his fear was from the vengeance of his own kindred. It is observed by Kurtz that, according to hints gathered from Gen. iv. 25, the murder of Abel probably took place just before the birth of Seth, *i.e.* 130 years after the creation of man, Gen. v. 3. We need not suppose that Cain, Abel, and Seth, were the only sons of Adam. Indeed, from Gen. v. 4, we infer that there were others. Cain, Abel, and Seth, are mentioned for obvious reasons; Abel for his piety and his early death, Cain for his wickedness

15 And the LORD said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the LORD set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.

16 ¶ And Cain went out from the presence of the LORD, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.

17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare †Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.

18 And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat †Lamech.

19 ¶ And Lamech took unto him two wives: the name of the one *was* Adah, and the name of the other Zillah.

†Heb. *Chanoch.*

†Heb. *Lemech.*

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and the worldly wisdom of his posterity, Seth, because he was the ancestor of the promised seed. There may then, in 130 years, have grown up a very considerable number of children and grandchildren to Adam and Eve. An Eastern tradition assigns to them no less than 33 sons and 27 daughters.

15. *Therefore*] The LXX., Symm., Theodot., Vulg., Syr., read *Not so.* So Dathe and others.

whosoever slayeth] Cain, though guilty of a terrible sin, may not have had the full and fixed purpose to commit murder, but in a moment of furious anger have seized a weapon and dealt a murderous blow, perhaps hardly aware of its deadly consequences. Hence, it may be, the Most High forbids him to be put to death, but sentences him to a perpetual banishment from his early home, and to a life of misery and sorrow. Kalisch well observes, "The early death of Abel can be no punishment; he seemed in fact to enjoy the peculiar favour of God; his offering was graciously accepted. We find, therefore, in this narrative the great and beautiful thought, that life is not the highest boon; that the pious find a better existence and a more blessed reward in another and a purer sphere; but that crime and guilt are the greatest evils; that they are punished by a long and wearisome life, full of fear and care and compunction of conscience."

set a mark upon Cain] **Gave a sign to Cain.** LXX. The interpretation that God provided Cain with some mark which would make him known is adopted by Pseudo-Jonathan, most of the Jewish Commentators, Luther, Calvin, Piscator, Wogal, &c. Most modern commentators agree that God gave some sign to Cain to assure him that he should not be slain, (Abenezra, Gabe, Dathe, Rosenm., Gesen., Maurer, Hitzig, V. Bohl., Tuch, Baumg., Kalisch, Delitzsch). Of what nature the sign may have been, we have now no means of learning.

16. *the presence of the Lord*] It is questioned whether this means merely from conversing with the Lord, or whether Eden, though not the *garden* of Eden, in which Adam had dwelt since the fall, was esteemed a sacred spot, a spot in which still a peculiar presence of God was looked for by man. See on v. 14.

Nod] *i.e.* "wandering." It is impossible to say where Nod was situated, except that it lay east of Eden.

17. *Enoch*] It has been contended that in these genealogies Adam = Enosh, Enoch or Chanoch = Enoch, Cain = Kenan, Irad = Jered, Mehujael = Mahalaleel, Methusael = Methuselah. In the first place, however, there is a manifest difference in the roots of the names so identified; next, the paucity of names at this early period may have naturally led to similar names being adopted in different families; 3rdly, the relationship of the families of Seth and Cain, and the probably occasional intercourse between them, would not unnaturally tend to the same result. Dettinger is quoted by Kurtz (Vol. I. p. 91), as having called attention to the fact, that the text furnishes more detailed particulars about Enoch and Lamech, whose names were so similar to Sethite names, in order to prevent the possibility of their being confounded, and to shew more clearly that the direction in which these two lines tended was markedly opposite. See Kurtz as above, Hävernick, 'Introd. to Pentateuch,' p. 109.

builded a city] Rather "began to build a city," lit. "was building a city." It is not necessary to suppose that the city was built immediately on the birth of Enoch. It may have been built when Cain had lived many years and was surrounded by children and grandchildren. The word *city* is, of course, not to be interpreted by modern ideas: a village of rude huts, which was distinguished from the booths or tents of the nomads, would satisfy all the conditions of the text.

19. *Lamech took unto him two wives*] Here we have the first example of polygamy; which, though afterwards tolerated, had its rise among the sons of Cain, and is evidently mentioned for reprobation.

20 And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and *of such as have* cattle.

21 And his brother's name *was* Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ.

22 And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, an † instructer of every artificer in brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain *was* Naamah.

23 And Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: for ‖ I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man ‖ to my hurt.

† Heb. *whetter.*

‖ Or, *I would slay a man in my wound, &c.*

‖ Or, *in my hurt.*

20. *the father of such as dwell in tents, and... have cattle*] Perhaps "and among cattle." Jabal invented tents and introduced the custom of pasturing cattle round the tents, and perhaps even of stalling them in tents. Moreover, the word here used for cattle implies larger cattle, whereas that used of Abel (v. 2) applied only to smaller cattle: Jabal therefore was the first who introduced the thorough nomadic life. (See Bochart, 'Hieroz.' P. 1. Lib. II: c. 44.)

21. *the harp and the organ*] The *kinnur*, which descended to the Greeks and was by them called Kinura, is described by Josephus as having ten strings and as played on by a plectrum; but in 1 Sam. xvi. 23, xviii. 10, xix. 9, David is said to have played on it with his hand. It was probably, when invented by Jubal, the simplest form of stringed instrument. The word rendered *organ* was apparently a pipe, bagpipe, panpipe, or some very simple wind instrument: Onkelos renders it by pipe or flute. "It is not an accidental fact, that the lyre and the flute were introduced by the brothers of a nomadic herdsman. It is in the happy leisure of this occupation that music is generally first exercised and appreciated." Kalisch.

22. *an instructer of every artificer in brass and iron*] So Onkelos. Perhaps (with LXX. and Vulg.) *a sharpener of every instrument in bronze and iron.* The word rendered *brass* is certainly either *bronze*, or, more probably, a native metal, *copper* (see Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. *Brass*). Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin, very much harder than either of them and also than brass, with a little more tin it becomes bell-metal: Previously to this time all weapons for defence or instruments of husbandry may have been of flint, or wood, or bone. Uncivilized nations at the present time have weapons made of flint, wood, bone, shark's teeth, &c. Where nations have lost the usages of more civilized life, they seem to have fallen back on a flint age, then to have invented bronze weapons (in the case of South America weapons of gold), and lastly to have discovered the use of iron. Tubal Cain is here described as the first who made metal instruments and sharpened them. It is not to be objected, that this was too early for the invention of metals. If Tubal Cain was contemporary with Enoch (the descendant of Seth in the same degree) he must have been born at least 500 years after the creation of Adam, according to the Hebrew Chronology, or 1000 years according to the LXX. Chronology. Whether we must understand that he invented the use of both copper and iron, or only of copper or bronze, which led in course of time to the farther invention of iron, it may be difficult to decide from the concise and obscure wording of the text. That the most ancient inhabitants of Europe were ignorant of the use of metal, as indicated by the discovery of flint weapons in the gravel, can be no proof that they were unknown to the early descendants of Adam. If the colonists of Australia were for the next thousand years to be separated from all connection with the rest of the world, it is quite possible, notwithstanding their present high state of civilization, that they might utterly lose many of the arts of civilized life, and perhaps, if there were a deficiency of coal, or lime, or native metals, even the use of metallic instruments.

Nothing can be more natural or probable than the difference of character and development in the descendants of Cain and Seth respectively. In the former we see the children of this world wise in their generation, rapidly advancing in art and the acquirement of riches, but sensual, violent and godless. In the latter we find less of social and political advancement, but a life more regulated by the dictates of conscience and by faith in the Providence and Grace of God.

Resemblances to the names of Lamech's family have been traced in the names of those to whom the Latins attributed similar inventions. Thus Tubal Cain has been thought = Vulcan, Naamah, "the lovely, or beautiful," may then = Venus, Jubal, the inventor of the lyre = Apollo. It is observed also that the refinement and perhaps the luxury of the descendants of Cain appear in the names of their wives and daughters, Naamah, lovely, Adah, beauty or ornament, Zillah, shadow.

23, 24. *And Lamech said*, &c.]

And Lamech said unto his wives,
Adah and Zillah, hear my voice.
Ye wives of Lamech, give ear unto my speech,
For I slay a man if he woundeth me,
Even a young man, if he hurteth me,
Lo! Cain would be avenged seven-fold,
But Lamech seventy-and-seven fold.

24 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

25 ¶ And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son, and called his name †Seth: For God, *said she*, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.

26 And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name †Enos: then began men ‖to call upon the name of the LORD.

† Heb. *Sheth.*

† Heb. *Enosh.* ‖ Or, *to call themselves by the name of the LORD.*

The speech of Lamech has exercised the skill of translators and interpreters of all times. Its obscure and enigmatical character is admitted as a mark of its remote antiquity even by the most unfavourable critics. The apparent meaning of the words is this. Amid the violence of the times, especially among the descendants of Cain, Lamech comforts his wives with the assurance that with the aid of the bronze and iron instruments now in his hands, he could kill any one who injured him ("I slay or would slay a man for wounding me"); and that, if it had been promised to Cain, that he should be avenged seven fold, there was power in the hands of Lamech's family to avenge seventy-seven fold. The speech is one of confident boasting. Lamech trusts in his weapons of brass and steel to maintain his cause, even when referring to words used by God to his forefather Cain.

The chief difficulty lies in the use of the perfect tense in the verb *slay:* lit. "I have slain," (which is the rendering of the LXX. Vulg., Syr., &c.). That difficulty seems to have suggested the supposition that a *not* may have fallen out (which is the rendering of Onkelos, "I have not slain,") or that it should be rendered interrogatively ("Have I slain?"): but the more probable explanation is, that in this ancient distich the perfect tense is used to express the arrogant confidence of the boaster; even as at times the perfect is adopted in the most sure word of prophecy, the future being represented as having all the certainty of the past. The words rendered in the A. V. "to my wounding"—"to my hurt"—probably mean "for my wounding," &c. *i.e.* "for wounding me," or "in revenge for his wounding me."

25. *Seth*] *i.e.* "Foundation," from the word signifying *to place*, rendered here "appointed." Seth came into the place of Abel, as the ancestor of the Theocratic race and of the promised seed.

26. *then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD] It is quite possible to point the verb so as to make it an old form of the Hiphil, and then to render it as most of the Vss. do, "Then began he to call on the name of the LORD." The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Vulgate refer the words to Enos, "Then he, *i.e.* Enos, began to call on the name of the LORD." The LXX. has "Then he hoped," &c., it being possible to refer the verb to a root signifying "to hope," whence some have understood, that the birth of Enos inspired a new hope that the promise to Eve should be fulfilled. The Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan has "In those days men began to make themselves idols, which they called after the name of the Word of the LORD." This interpretation is adopted by some celebrated Jewish commentators (Kimchi, Rashi, &c.), who derive the verb from a root signifying "to profane," and render "Then was there profanation in calling on the name of the LORD." Jerome ('Quæst.') mentions this as the opinion of many Jews in his days. The most natural sense, if we take the verb in the Hiphil, is, that when Enos was born, Seth began to praise the LORD and to call on Him with reassured hope in His mercy and His promises. There is nothing to connect the verb with Enos rather than with Seth; nor again is there any good ground for the notion that emphasis is to be placed on the special name of God, JEHOVAH; as though then for the first time He was invoked under that name. The sacred narrative has all along used the name JEHOVAH; and whether we believe it to have been known from earlier times or to have been revealed first to Moses, there is nothing whatever to connect its revelation and acknowledgment with the birth of Enos.

NOTE A. ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. IV. V. 2. ON THE EARLY CIVILIZATION OF MANKIND.

HAVERNICK ('Introd. to the Pentateuch,' Translation, p. 104) has shewn that the traditions of ancient nations, the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, &c. refer the invention of agriculture to the earliest mythic ages; and that the investigators of history, Herder, Link, Schlosser, &c. have been led to the conclusion that "the discovery of the breeding of cattle, of agriculture, and of the preparation of metals, belong to prehistoric times, and that in the historic period these arts have made comparatively no great advances." The recent discoveries of human remains, and of the implements of human industry in the gravel and drift formations on the Earth's surface, may seem to contradict all this. Ethnologists distinguish a flint age, a bronze age, and an iron age, as having ex-

isted in ancient Europe; during the first of which only flint instruments, during the second bronze, during the third, iron instruments appear to have been in use. And, as for the most part in the earlier periods, the skulls seem to have been smaller and of a lower type than those of later date, the theory of early barbarism and of progressive civilization has been thought to derive confirmation from Geology. Sir Charles Lyell says also, that "had the original stock of mankind been really endowed with superior intellectual power and with inspired knowledge, and had possessed the same improvable nature as their posterity, the point of advancement, which they would have realized ere this, would have been immeasurably higher" ('Antiquity of Man,' p. 378). He goes on to say that, instead of rude pottery and flint weapons, we should in that case have found works like those of Phidias and Praxiteles. It may be answered, that Scripture does not represent the first man as "endowed with superior intellectual power and with inspired knowledge." All that we learn is, that Adam was placed in Eden to till it, that his power of speech was exercised by having to name the brute creation, that he had a simple command given him, and afterwards a special promise. Morally he may have been, in the first instance, in a state of innocence, without being intellectually in a condition of eminence. As for the advance of knowledge, many nations have been in a state of mental cultivation and of art knowledge incomparably beyond that of Adam and his children, and yet have remained for centuries upon centuries without any apparent progress; for instance, the people of China. All that we say is, that his primary state was not a state of savageness, but rather of rudimentary civilization. And this is really not opposed, but confirmed, by the records of Geology. "We must remember, that as yet we have no distinct geological evidence, that the appearance of what are called the inferior races of mankind has always preceded in chronological order that of the higher races" (Lyell, as above, p. 90). On the contrary, some of the most ancient remains of man and man's art give indications of considerable civilization. In the valley of the Ohio there are hundreds of mounds, which have served for temples, for places of defence and of sepulture, containing pottery, ornamental sculpture, articles in silver and copper, and stone weapons, with skulls of the Mexican type. Above these have grown a succession of forests, in which the Red Indians for centuries may have housed and hunted (Lyell, pp. 39, 40). They prove that in those very ancient days there must have been a civilization, of which all traces have vanished above the surface of the earth. As regards the fossil skulls found in Europe, that known as "the Neanderthal Skull" is of the lowest type, and is said to be the most apelike skull ever seen, though its capacity, 75 cubic inches, is greater than that of some individuals of existing races. It was discovered in a cavern with the thigh of a bear: but there is nothing to prove its great antiquity. It may be very ancient, but may be comparatively modern. But the skull found at Engis near Liege, which appears to have been contemporary with the Mammoth, and is assigned by Lyell to the post-pliocene age, although the forehead is somewhat narrow, may be matched by the skulls of individuals of European race (Lyell, p. 80): and the skull of the fossil man of Denise, though said to be contemporary with the Mammoth and coeval with the last eruption of the Puy Volcanoes, and therefore as old as, or older than, any other human skull yet discovered, is of the ordinary Caucasian or European type (Lyell, p. 200). No prudent Geologist will admit, concerning any of these crania, more than that they bear marks of rude as compared with civilized races, rather more mastication, more prominent marks of muscular attachment and the like, all things of every day occurrence. So, in fact, the argument from Geology is really coincident with the testimony of Scripture and of universal primitive tradition, viz. that man, in his original condition, was not a helpless savage, but had at least the rudiments of civilization and intelligence.

When we read that Cain was a tiller of the ground, we do not necessarily conclude, that he cultivated wheat and barley; he may have known only of fruits, vegetables, roots, &c. Yet it is observable, that cereals have been discovered with some of the very early remains of human industry.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The genealogy, age, and death of the patriarchs from Adam unto Noah.* 24 *The godliness and translation of Enoch.*

[a] 1 Chron. 1. 1. THIS *is* the [a]book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him;

2 [b]Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created. [b] Wisd. 2. 23.

CHAP. V. 1. *the book of the generations*] The record or recounting of the genealogical history of Adam and his descendants. See ch. ii. 4.

3 ¶ And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat *a son* in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth:

4 [c] And the days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters:

5 And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.

6 And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat [†] Enos:

7 And Seth lived after he begat Enos eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters:

8 And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.

9 ¶ And Enos lived ninety years, and begat [†] Cainan:

10 And Enos lived after he begat Cainan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters:

11 And all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years: and he died.

12 ¶ And Cainan lived seventy years, and begat [†] Mahalaleel:

13 And Cainan lived after he begat Mahalaleel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters:

14 And all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

15 ¶ And Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, and begat [†] Jared:

16 And Mahalaleel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters:

17 And all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

18 ¶ And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and he begat Enoch.

19 And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:

20 And all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.

[c] 1 Chron. 1. 1. &c.

[†] Heb. *Enosh.*

[†] Heb. *Kenan.*

[†] Gr. *Maleleel.*

[†] Heb. *Jered.*

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3. *Adam lived*, &c.] The genealogy given is that of the Sethites, probably as the line of the promised seed. The genealogy of the Cainites was given much more imperfectly in the last chapter, and with no dates or chronological marks, because, says Keil, being under the curse of God, they had no future. He quotes Baumgarten as saying, that this genealogy was "a memorial witnessing both the truth of God's promises and also the faith and patience of the fathers." The chronology of this chapter is very different in the Hebrew, the Samaritan and the Septuagint, as will be seen in the following table of the generations from Adam to the flood (see also note infra).

	Hebrew Text.			Samaritan Text.			Septuagint.		
	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.
Adam	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enosh	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Cainan	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalaleel	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969
Lamech	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah	500			500			500		
Shem at the Flood	100			100			100		
Date of Flood	1656			1307			2262		

6. *Enos*] *i.e.* man. Adam signifies *man, mankind*, generally. Enos, or Enosh, is rather *mortal, miserable man.* The now growing experience of human sorrow and fragility may have suggested this name.

9. *Cainan*] *i.e.* possession.

12. *Mahalaleel*] The Praise of God.

15. *Jared*] The root of this name signifies *to descend*, Descent.

18. *Enoch*] *i.e.* consecrated.

21 ¶ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat † Methuselah;
22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:
23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:
24 And [a] Enoch walked with God: and he *was* not; for God took him.
25 And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat † Lamech:
26 And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters:
27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.
28 ¶ And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son:
29 And he called his name † Noah, saying, This *same* shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD hath cursed.
30 And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters:
31 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.
32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

† Gr. *Mathusala.*
[a] Ecclus. 44. 16. Heb. 11. 5.
† Heb. *Lemech.*
† Gr. *Noe.*

21. *Methuselah*] Perhaps "the missive of death." Bochart interprets "His death the sending forth," as indicating that his death was contemporary with the pouring forth of the waters, for Methuselah must have died in the very year of the flood. Gesenius gives the sense of the word as *vir teli*, "the man of the sword" or "of the dart." From its frequent occurrence in Phœnician inscriptions, &c., there can be little doubt that Methu = Betha = man.

24. *he was not; for God took him*] The LXX. rendering seems to interpret this of translation. So do all the Targums. In Ecclus. xliv. 16, we read "He pleased the Lord and was translated (into Paradise, according to the Vulgate), being a pattern of repentance." The words are, no doubt, obscure. Yet, when we remember how universally the promise of the Old Testament is of life and blessing in this world, not of an early and happy death, we could scarcely doubt that the ancient interpretation was the true one, even if it had not been that given in Heb. xi. 5. The history of Enoch is reasonably supposed to be the origin of the Phrygian tradition concerning a certain Annacus or Nannacus, who lived upwards of 300 years, concerning whom it was prophesied that after him all would be destroyed. This caused great grief among the Phrygians, whence "to weep as in the days of Annacus" became a proverb. At his death came the deluge of Deucalion, and all men were destroyed (Suidas, v. Νάννακος, Steph. Byz. v. Ἰκόνιον).

29. *he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us*, &c.] The name "Noah" signifies "Rest," and the connection between the thought of rest and that of comfort is obvious. Lamech appears as one oppressed with the toil and labour needful to subdue the earth, and with the feeling that God had cursed it and made it sterile. He expresses a hope, that Noah would be a comfort to his parents and the bringer of rest; whether the mere natural hope of a father that his son should be a support and comfort to him, or a hope looking to the promise made of old to Eve, or a hope inspired by prophetic vision that Noah should become the second founder of a race, the head of a regenerated world, it may be hard to say. There may have been an unconscious prophecy in the expression of a merely pious hope.

Which the LORD *hath cursed*] This occurs in a chapter which modern critics call Elohistic. Therefore they consider this an interpolation. The truer inference would be that the Elohistic theory is unfounded.

NOTE A. ON THE CHRONOLOGY IN CH. V.

Difficulties in the Chronology. 1 Difference of texts. 2 Longevity of Patriarchs. 3 Antiquity of human race, as deduced (1) from Geology, (2) from History, (3) from Language, (4) from Ethnology.

THE genealogies in this chapter and in chapter xi. are the only sources extant for the construction of a chronology of the patriarchal ages. The questions which arise are of the same kind in both genealogies, and may be considered together. The difficulties which suggest themselves may be arranged as follows:

1. The disagreement between the Hebrew, Samaritan and Septuagint texts.

2. The extreme longevity assigned to the patriarchs.

3. The insufficient time allowed for the existence of man upon the earth.

1. The first of these difficulties is such as to render it impossible to arrive at a certain conclusion as to the exact dates of the creation of man, the Deluge and the call of Abraham; but it in no degree affects the veracity of the Sacred Record. It is true, that there appears something like design in the alterations which must have taken place; thus the Hebrew gives the age of Adam as 130 + 800 = 930, whilst the LXX. give 230 + 700 = 930, and so on in the case of most of the Patriarchs, the results being frequently made to tally, whilst the constituents of these results disagree. This only brings us in face of what is already familiar to all critics, viz. that the errors of copyists were sometimes intentional, but that even these do not affect the general integrity of the text. It is well known that there have been some few designed corruptions in the text of the New Testament. It need not surprise us therefore, if we find reason to think that there were some attempts of a like kind in the text of the Old Testament. If anywhere the temptation to correct existed, it could never be stronger than in the genealogical tables of the ancestors of the Jewish race. Indeed, as numbers are of all things the most liable to become confused in ancient documents, very great errors in restoring them may be consistent with the most honest intention on the part of the restorers. We have no right to expect that a miraculous power should have preserved them from all possible errors of transcription, though a special Providence may have guarded them from such loss or mutilation as would have weakened their testimony to Divine and spiritual truth.

2. As to the extreme longevity of the Patriarchs, it is observable that some eminent physiologists have thought this not impossible; and even Buffon, by no means inclined to credulity on the side of Scripture, admitted the truth of the record, and could see physical causes for such long life in early times. (See 'Aids to Faith,' p. 278.) It is undoubted, that the traditions of ancient nations, as Greeks, Babylonians, Egyptians, Hindoos, and others, point to the great longevity of the early inhabitants of the globe; and though sceptics argue that this only places the Scriptural account on a level with other mythic histories (see Von Bohlen, Vol. II. p. 100), yet we may reply that, if the Scripture account were true, the traditions of other nations would be almost sure to preserve some traces of the truth, and that this is a more probable explanation of the fact, than the supposition that all these nations, however unconnected with each other, should have stumbled upon the same fabulous histories.

It is true that modern physiologists do not generally agree with Buffon, as referred to above, arguing that the teeth and bones of men found in caverns and in drift are of the same texture as those of the present day, and give no proof that they were made for greater longevity. It would, however, be worth enquiry whether any comparison of the structure of the teeth or any chemical and anatomical examination of the structure of animals would enable physiologists to determine, that the teeth of a dog were made to last only fifteen years, whilst the teeth of a man would often last for seventy years; or again, that the life of a dog would seldom extend to twenty years, and of a horse to forty, whilst the life of a man and of an elephant would sometimes extend to 100. Whether the destiny of the life-period be impressed on the anatomy, or be one of the secrets of the great life-mystery, is a problem which may not yet be solved. And the difference between the age of man at the beginning and the age of man now may be due to some cause, which it is no more possible to reach, than the cause of life itself.

It is well observed by Delitzsch; "We must consider that all the old-world population was descended from a nature originally immortal (in Adam and Eve), that the climate, weather, and other natural conditions were very different from those which succeeded, that the life was very simple and even in its course, and that the after-working of the Paradisiacal state was not at once lost in the track of antiquity." Supposing, however, that physiology should ultimately decide that the extreme longevity of the patriarchs was not possible, without a continued miracle, we should only be driven to the principle already conceded, that numbers and dates, especially in genealogical tables, are liable in the course of transcription to become obscured and exaggerated.

3. The third objection is derived from the opinion now very generally gaining strength, that man must have been in existence on the earth more than four or even six thousand years before the Christian era.

The arguments for the antiquity of man are:

(1) Geological.
(2) Historical.
(3) Linguistic.
(4) Ethnological.

(1) The very eminent British geologist, Sir C. Lyell, has argued that man, having been contemporary with the mammoth and other extinct mammalia, must have been living at least 100,000 years on the earth. Although in physical science a great name always carries with it a crowd of followers, far more than in politics, literature or religion, yet in the present instance Sir C. Lyell has failed to carry conviction to some of the most eminent of his contemporaries. Elie de Beaumont and several other distinguished geologists demur to his conclusions. The conclusions are based on two principal assumptions; first, that relics of

man, flint instruments or the like, are found in recent and post-pliocene formations, which have been deposited in juxtaposition with bones of the mammoth and other extinct mammalia; secondly, that the present rate of deposition must be reckoned as the normal rate, and that at that rate the beds, which overlie the extinct mammal and human remains, must have taken a vast time to form. Of course much depends on the argument from uniformity. There are many men of science, who, accepting Lyell's general principles, yet believe that in former ages there were causes at work, which would have produced much speedier deposition and greater rapidity in the formation of beds of all kinds, than we see going on at present. It may perhaps be true, that man was coeval with the mammoth; but a mammoth was found early in this century in Siberia preserved in the ice, with skin and hair fitting it to live in a cold climate, and with flesh upon it, of which it was possible to make soup. Now, even allowing for the great preserving power of ice, there is neither proof nor probability that this animal had been dead 100,000 years or even more than 6,000 years. But again, it seems probable that man was in existence at a time when animals now inhabiting tropical climates roamed at large in the forests of Gaul and Britain. How long it may have taken to reduce the climate of Great Britain from a tropical to its present temperate condition, is a question very difficult to solve. A change in the Gulf Stream, an alteration in the respective elevation of land and water, let alone all question of the gradual cooling down of the earth itself, would do much towards this. Besides, not *human bones*, but only flint instruments are found in the gravel and caverns with bones of extinct mammals. Moreover, the present opinions of geologists rather go to negative entirely the tropical character of the British climate in the mammoth and tiger periods. Sir Chas. Lyell admits that even now "the Bengal tiger ranges occasionally to latitude 52° North" (*i.e.* the latitude of England, and probably in a climate much colder than England), "and *abounds* in latitude 48°, to which the small tailless hare or pika, a polar resident, sometimes wanders southwards" ('Antiq. of Man,' p. 158). We may see therefore many contingencies which might have brought human remains into contact with the remains of tropical animals, at a period much more recent than that assigned to such proximity by this eminent writer.

Difficulties of various kinds attach to Sir Charles Lyell's very large numbers; for instance, at anything approaching to the present rate of increase the descendants of a single couple would have multiplied to nearly the number of the present population in about 6000 years. Again, according to Sir C. Lyell's own admission, "we must remember, that as yet we have no distinct geological evidence that the appearance of what are called the inferior races of mankind has always preceded in chronological order that of the higher races." p. 90. On the contrary, it was shewn above that the evidence which we have points to some degree of civilization in the earliest periods. Indeed had it not been so, it is hardly possible that man should not soon have become extinct in the presence of so many animals whose mere physical powers were so much greater than man's. But then is it credible, that for some 90,000 years the human race should have been stationary, having acquired almost from the first the art of making flint instruments, but all farther progress in the arts of civilization having apparently been reserved to the last 6,000 years? On the whole, it seems impossible not to conclude that the geological evidence as to the antiquity of man is as yet imperfect and imperfectly read.

(2) The historical arguments are chiefly derived from Egyptian sources; for, though the Indians, the Chinese, and the Babylonians profess to go back to hundreds of thousands of years of past history, it is generally admitted that their historic times do not at the very utmost extend farther back than to the 27th century B.C. The eminent Egyptologers, Bunsen and Lepsius, relying on the monuments of Egypt and the statements of Manetho, claim for Egypt a national history from nearly 10,000 years B.C. It is, however, quite certain that much of the evidence for this is of the vaguest possible character, and that very large deductions must be made for myth and for contemporary dynasties. In all probability the earliest Egyptian dynasty cannot be dated farther back than B.C. 2700. (See 'Aids to Faith,' Essay VI. 17, pp. 252 sq., also 'Biblical Dict.' Artt. *Chronology*, *Egypt*, and the Excursus at the end of this volume).

(3) The linguistic argument is of this nature. Languages are of slow growth. The divergence of several modern European languages from Latin has been comparatively inconsiderable in 1500 years. Can we then believe all languages to have been formed, and to have diverged so widely from each other, since the dispersion at Babel? One answer to this is, that only those languages which have a literature change slowly. As long as the Authorised Version of the Scriptures and the works of Shakspeare are read in English, the English language will never be much unlike what it is now, or what it was three centuries ago. But where there is no literature, a few years create a complete revolution; wild tribes in a single generation cease to understand each other. And, even keeping out of sight the miracle of the dispersion at Babel, emigration, which carried no literature with it, would soon have created an endless diversity of tongues. The chief difficulty, however, is in the slow growth of

languages to a high degree of grammatical perfection, such as of Greek to the language of Homer some 900 years B.C., and of Sanskrit to the language of the Vedas, nearly 1200 years B.C. But we must remember, that the Samaritan and LXX. chronology allow an interval of more than 3000 years from the Flood to the Christian era, and 1800 years (the difference between 3000 and 1200) will give considerable scope for grammatical developement.

(4) The ethnological argument is grounded principally on the apparently unchanging character of some of the races of mankind. Especially it is observed, that in very ancient Egyptian monuments the negro race is depicted with all its present features and peculiarities. It would therefore be impossible, it is argued, that all the varieties of man should have sprung up, if their ancestors were a single pair, brought into being not more than 6000 or 8000 years since. It is replied, that supposing, which is disputed, the alleged antiquity of the monuments in question, still a race, continuing under nearly the same circumstances, is not likely to change since first its peculiarities were produced by those very circumstances. Such has been the case with the negroes since the time of the Egyptian monuments. If we take the LXX. chronology as correct, the negroes may have been in Africa for nearly 1500 years before the reign of Sethos I., when we find them so clearly depicted on the monuments. Their change to that climate, their fixed habits of life, and isolation from other races, may have soon impressed a character upon them, which, whilst continuing to live under the same condition ever since, they have never lost for a period extending now to more than 3000 years. But we witness rapid changes in race when circumstances rapidly change. The European inhabitants of the North American States are said even in two or three generations to be rapidly acquiring a similarity of feature and conformation to the original inhabitants of the soil, though not losing their European intelligence and civilization. Many similar facts are noticed; which prove that changes of race, though sometimes so slow as to be imperceptible, are at other times extremely rapid. The early condition of mankind, with its frequent migrations, wide separations and little intercommunion, must have been favourable to rapid change, whilst its later more stationary condition is favourable to continuance and perpetuity of type.

There is one other important objection made to the genealogies in this chapter and in Chapter xi. viz. that each gives a catalogue of but ten generations; which looks as if neither were historical. A probable solution of this difficulty would seem to be, that the genealogies neither were, nor were intended to be, complete. Like other genealogies or pedigrees, sacred and profane, they omitted certain links, and perhaps only recorded and handed down to posterity those ancestors of the race who, for some reason or other, were more than the rest deserving of remembrance. This solution would be entirely satisfactory, if it were not for the appearance of chronological completeness which both the genealogies exhibit in their present form; the age of the patriarch at the birth of his son and successor, and the number of years which he lived after that birth, being given in every case. If therefore the above explanation be adopted, it would almost be necessary to add that, in the course of transmission and transcription, a greater appearance of completeness had been given to the catalogues than had existed in the original record. Such hypotheses are never to be too lightly adopted; but they are far more probable than those of the modern critical school, which reject the historical truth of the earlier books of the Bible. The genealogies of our Lord given in the Gospels have undoubtedly some links omitted, and yet are reduced to a form of great completeness. This is a strong argument for believing that the genealogies in Genesis may have been treated in the same manner. We may observe that this supposition, viz. that some links are omitted, will allow a much greater antiquity to the race of man, than may at first appear on the face of the text of Scripture. In fact, if it be correct, the time which it would allow, is almost unlimited.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The wickedness of the world, which provoked God's wrath, and caused the flood.* 8 *Noah findeth grace.* 14 *The order, form, and end of the ark.*

AND it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,

2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they *were* fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.

3 And the LORD said, My spirit

CHAP. VI. 1. *And it came to pass*] The inspired writer has now given us an account of the first rise of sin, of its terrible manifestation in the murder of Abel, of its further

shall not always strive with man, for that he also *is* flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

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developement in the race of the first murderer, and of the separation from the profane of the descendants of the pious Seth. He proceeds in this chapter to assign a reason for the still more universal spread of ungodliness throughout the world, such as to call down from heaven a great general judgment on mankind.

2. *the sons of God saw the daughters of men*] Who were the sons of God? and who the daughters of men?

1. Perhaps the most ancient opinion was that the sons of God were the young men of high rank (as in Ps. lxxxii. 6, "I have said, Ye are gods, and ye are all the sons of the most Highest"), whilst the daughters of men were the maidens of low birth and humble condition; the word for *men* in this passage being a word used at times to signify men of low estate (cp. Isai. ii. 9, v. 15). According to this interpretation the sin lay in the unbridled passions of the higher ranks of society, their corrupting the wives and daughters of their servants and dependants, and the consequent spread of universal licentiousness. This seems to have been the earliest interpretation among the Jews. It is adopted by the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, by Symmachus, Abenezra, Rashi, Kimchi, and by some moderns, Selden, Vorstius, and others. The chief objection to this is that there is scarcely proof enough that the name "sons of God" was ever given to men of high rank, or that the word for man (*Adam*) ever meant people of low rank, except when contrasted with another word for man (namely, *Ish*). Compare *vir* and *homo* in Latin.

2. A second interpretation, also of great antiquity, is that the sons of God were the angels, who, moved to envy by the connubial happiness of the human race, took to themselves human bodies, and married the fair daughters of men. This interpretation is supposed to have the support of some ancient MSS. of the LXX. (as mentioned by August. 'De Civ. Dei,' xv. 23). It is argued that St Jude (6, 7) evidently so understood it, as he likens the sin of the angels to the sin of the cities of the plain, "the going after strange flesh." The same is thought to be alluded to in 2 Pet. ii. 4. Philo ('De Gigant.' Vol. I. p. 262), Josephus ('Antiq.' Lib. I. c. 4, § 1), and the most ancient of the Christian fathers, as Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, moved probably by their reading of the LXX. and being ignorant of Hebrew, adopted this interpretation. The Apocryphal Book of Enoch and some of the Jewish writers also expounded it so. The later fathers, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret, condemn this view as monstrous and profane. The rationalistic interpreters (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Von Bohlen, Tuch, Knobel, Ewald, Hupfeld, Kalisch, Davidson, &c.) naturally prefer it, as favouring their belief, that the first chapters of Genesis exhibit merely the Hebrew mythology. But it is also adopted by several of the more orthodox German commentators, as Hofmann, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Kurtz, who contend that some very portentous wickedness and excess of sin must have been the cause of the Deluge; a complete subverting of the whole order of God's creation, so that the essential condition of man's social life was imperilled and overthrown. The chief arguments in favour of this view are (1) that "sons of God" mostly mean angels, see Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7; Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25; (2) that the "daughters of men" can only be antithetic to something not human; (3) that the context assigns a monstrous progeny to this unnatural union; (4) that St Jude and St Peter appear to sanction it; (5) that any ordinary promiscuous marriages are not sufficient to account for the judgment of the flood.

3. The third interpretation is that "the sons of God" were the descendants of Seth, who adhered to the worship and service of the true God, and who, according to some interpretations of ch. iv. 26, were from the time of Enos called by the name of the Lord, and that "the daughters of men" were of the race of the ungodly Cain. This was the belief of the eminent Church fathers, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Augustine, and Jerome. It was adopted by Luther, Calvin, and most of the reformers, and has been the opinion of a great majority of modern commentators.

4. It was suggested, by Ilgen, that the Cainites were called "sons of the gods" because of their ingenuity and inventions, and that their intermingling themselves with the other races of men caused the general corruption of mankind.

5. The author of 'the Genesis of the earth and of man' suggests that "the sons of the gods" (so he would render it) may mean the worshippers of false gods. These he looks on as a pre-Adamite race, and would render, not "daughters of men," but "daughters of Adam." The pre-Adamite worshippers of the false gods intermarried with the daughters of Adam.

Of these interpretations it appears most probable that the right is a modification of 3. We are not probably justified in saying that there were but two races descended from

4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare *children* to them, the same *became* mighty men which *were* of old, men of renown.

5 ¶ And God saw that the wicked-

Adam, the race of Cain and the race of Seth. Adam may have had many sons; but the history of the Cainites is preserved because both of their impiety, and of their ingenuity; that of the Sethites, because at least in one line of that race piety and true religion flourished, and of them came the family of Noah which was preserved in the ark. There appears to have been a growing corruption of mankind, more rapid, no doubt, in the family of Cain than in any other race, but still spreading far and wide. The line of the Sethites, traced in ch. v., alone appears to have kept itself pure, the little Church of God, in the midst of gathering darkness of the world around. This little Church may well have been called "the children of God," a term by no means limited in Scripture to the holy angels. They alone were the salt of the earth; and if that salt should lose its savour, all would become worthless and vile. When therefore some of these "sons of God" went out from their own little home circle, to make mixed marriages with the general heathenized 'races round them, the elements of corruption were brought from the world into the Church, the Church itself became corrupted, and the single family of Noah appears to have been kept pure from that corruption, just as afterwards the family of Lot was the only family in Sodom free from the pollution and depravity of the cities of the plain. The salt had lost its savour. At all events too little was left to purify and to save the world. It could but save the souls of the few righteous that were therein.

Concerning the *giants*, see note on v. 4.

3. *My spirit shall not always strive*] Is rendered, (1) "shall not dwell" by LXX., Vulg., Syr., Onk., Saad., and others. (2) "Shall not judge," or which probably is the same thing, "shall not strive," by Symm., Targg. Jon. and Jerus., Rashi, Kimchi, Luther, Rosenmüller, &c. This is the rendering of the A. V. and is probably correct. (3) "Shall not rule," by De Wette, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Knobel, Delitzsch, &c. (4) "Shall not be humbled," Gesenius, Tuch, &c. No great difference in the general significance of the passage will be produced by adopting a different translation. Kimchi, and some of the German commentators, understand, not that the Holy Ghost shall no longer dwell or strive with man, but that the spiritual principle implanted by God in man shall no longer rule in him, or no longer contend against his animal nature.

for that he also is flesh] The modern interpreters, Gesenius, Vater, Schum, Tuch, render "Because of his error he is become wholly flesh," or, as Rosenmüller, "whilst their flesh causeth them to err." The objection to the reading of the Authorized Version, which is that of all ancient Versions and commentators, is that the particle rendered *that* never occurs in the Pentateuch, but only in the later Psalms and other clearly more modern books of the Old Testament. It is in fact an Aramæan particle. But it must never be forgotten, that Aramaisms are to be expected, either in the most modern, or *in the most ancient portions of Scripture*. There is therefore good reason to adhere to the Authorized Version.

yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years] Josephus ('Ant.' I. 3, 2) and after him, Tuch, Ewald, Hävernick, Baumgarten, Knobel, Hupfeld, Davidson, &c., suppose that this alludes to the shortening of the term of human life. But all the Targums, Saad., Luther's Version, Rosenm., Hengst., Ranke, Hofmann, Kurtz, Delitzsch, understand "There shall yet be a respite or time for repentance of 120 years, before the threatened vengeance shall overtake them." The normal duration of human life did not, as Delitzsch truly observes, become from this time 120 years, and the whole context shews, that the judgment impending was that of the Flood, and that it was a respite from that, which is here promised, that time might be given for Noah's preaching, and man's repentance. The only argument, that can even appear to have weight against this interpretation is that of Tuch, repeated by Bp. Colenso, viz. that Noah was 500 years old (cp. ch. v. 32) when this saying, "His days shall be 120," is ascribed to the Almighty, and that he was 600 years old (c. vii. 6) when the Flood came. Hence there were but 100 years, not 120 given as a respite. But there is really no ground whatever for asserting that all which is related in ch. vi. took place after Noah was 500 years old. What is said in v. 32 is that Noah was 500 years old, when his three sons were born. The Deluge may have been threatened long before this.

4. *There were giants in the earth in those days, and also after that*, &c.] It is hence argued that by "Sons of God" must be meant angels or fallen angels; from the union of whom with the daughters of man sprang the race of giants. But there is no-

ness of man *was* great in the earth, and *that* ‖every imagination of the thoughts of his [a]heart *was* only evil †continually.

‖ Or, *the whole imagination.* The Hebrew word signifieth not only *the imagination,* but also *the purposes and desires.*

[a] chap. 8. 21. Matt. 15. 19.

† Heb. *every day.*

6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; †both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

† Heb. *from man, unto beast.*

8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

9 ¶ These *are* the generations of Noah: [b]Noah was a just man *and* ‖perfect in his generations, *and* Noah walked with God.

[b] Ecclus. 44. 17. 2 Pet. 2. 5.

‖ Or, *upright.*

10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

11 The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence.

12 And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy ‖them with the earth.

‖ Or, *from the earth.*

14 ¶ Make thee an ark of gopher wood; †rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

† Heb. *nests.*

15 And this *is the fashion* which

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thing said of a race of giants springing from this union. "In those days were the (well-known) *Nephilim* in the earth" cannot have such a sense, especially when what follows is taken into account, "and also after that, when the sons of God went in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them, these became mighty men, men of renown." Evidently the passage shews, that *Nephilim* were on earth before this union, and afterwards also from these marriages sprang men of warlike spirit, who made themselves a name. The result was, as when the Israelites afterwards made marriages with the Midianites, a great and general corruption of manners. The warlike character and perhaps bodily strength of these *Nephilim* is specially noted, as explaining what is said in v. 13, that the earth was filled with *violence*.

Nephilim. The LXX., Vulg., Syr., and Targum render "Giants;" Aq. and Symm. "violent men." Most derive the word from a root signifying to *fall;* and understand "the fallen" (whether men or angels), or, more probably, "those who fall on others," *robbers* or *tyrants*. (Aquila, Rosenm., Gesenius, Kurtz.) Others (among whom Tuch and Knobel) derive from a root signifying *wonder*, and understand *monsters, prodigies*. We meet with the name again Num. xiii. 33, as that of one of the Canaanitish tribes, who appear to have been men of large stature, as were the Rephaim, the Anakim and others. This very likely was the reason, why the word came to be rendered "giants," which does not seem to have been its original meaning.

6. *it repented the* LORD] All the language of this portion of Scripture is suited to the infant condition of the world. Hence human sentiments are even more than in the later books of Scripture attributed to the Almighty. No sound criticism would see any appearance of myth in this.

9. *These are the generations of*] See note on ch. ii. 4.

14. *an ark of gopher wood*] The word for *ark* occurs only here and in Exod. ii. 3, 5 of the ark or boat of papyrus or bulrushes. This word might perhaps lead us to suppose that the ark was of the form of a vast chest or coffer, rather than of the form of a ship; fitted to carry a heavy burden, not to sail over the waters; yet the proportions given are those of a ship, though of rather greater width than usual, *see on* v. 15.

gopher wood] It is uncertain what this wood was. The Targumists followed by many Jewish and Christian commentators rendered *Cedar*, others *Juniper* or *Box*. Fuller, Bochart and Celsius suggested *Cypress*, in which they have been followed by most modern commentators. The affinity between the roots *gophar* and *cupar* is great, and cypress is a wood well fitted for ship-building and abounding in the parts of Syria next to Babylon, which many have supposed to be the country inhabited by Noah.

rooms] literally *nests*, different compartments fitted for the habitation of men and animals.

pitch] more probably asphaltos, **bitumen**, which is said to be particularly suited for closing up the interstices of the timbers and making a vessel watertight.

15. *this is the fashion*] The actual form of the ark is not described. The proportions only are given, which are not very

thou shalt make it *of:* The length of the ark *shall be* three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; *with* lower, second, and third *stories* shalt thou make it.

17 And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein *is* the breath of life, from under heaven; *and* every thing that *is* in the earth shall die.

18 But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.

19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every *sort* shalt thou

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different from those of "The Great Eastern." Reckoning the cubit at 21 inches; the proportions would be length 525 ft., breadth 87 ft. 6 in., height 52 ft. 6 in.; those of "The Great Eastern" being length 680, breadth 83, depth 58. (See Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' Art. *Noah.*) The length of the cubit is doubtful, as there appear to have been 2 or 3 different measures so called. In all probability it means the length from the elbow to the end of the hand, a variable measure, of course, but sufficiently accurate for the purposes of those simple times. It is mentioned by the German commentators that Peter Jansen in 1609 built a vessel of the same proportions as the ark, though smaller, viz. Length 120, width 20, depth 12 ft. It was found most convenient for stowage, containing one-third more freight than ordinary vessels of the same tonnage, though it was unsuited for making way quickly through the water.

John Temporarius quoted by Heidegger ('Historia Sacra,' I. p. 338) made a curious calculation, according to which the ark would have afforded abundant room for all the animals then known, and food for their voyage. Tiele also in his commentary calculates that there was room for 7000 distinct species. (See Kurtz, I. p. 101.)

16. *A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above*] There is a great variety of interpretation here, some rendering *a window*, others *light*, or *daylight* or a *transparent substance*, others, after the LXX., *an inclined roof*, or *sloping deck*. Much too has been said against the historical truth of a narrative, which could assign but one window of a cubit long to so vast a ship. The interpretation of Gesenius seems evidently the true, viz. that the unusual word translated "window" (the word in ch. viii. 6, is quite another word) means really a set of windows, a window course, a system of lighting: and the use of the feminine gender in the pronoun suggests to the same high authority, that the right rendering would be, "A window system shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish them from above." It is quite possible that it may have been a window course running for a cubit long under the top or deck of the ark, lighting the whole upper story very similar to the clerestory of churches (see Knobel here). The word is translated by Symmachus "*a transparency.*" It seems not impossible that some transparent substance was used. This may easily have been known to the Antediluvians, who had made the progress in arts described ch. iv. 21, 22. Perhaps the invention was lost after the Deluge, an event which must have reduced mankind to almost original simplicity and rudeness. It is by no means clear, that these windows were all in the roof or deck. They may have been in the gunwales, *i.e.* on the higher part of the sides of the vessel, like the port-holes of a modern ship of war. And, if they were covered with a transparent substance, it is quite possible that they may not have been confined to the upper story of the ship, as the word "*above*" does not necessarily mean on the upper part of the vessel, but may mean the top of the window course.

the door of the ark] There was naturally but one opening beside the window course, through which all the inhabitants of the ark were to be let into it.

19. *two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark*] Of course if we will admit nothing out of the ordinary course of nature, we shall be unable to receive the Mosaic history of the Deluge. Yet, even on natural principles, we may in some measure explain Noah's power over the beasts. When a terrible catastrophe is closely impending, there is often a presentiment of it in the brute creation. Under the pressure of great danger or great suffering, the wildest animals will at times become perfectly tame and tractable. Most likely too, Noah and his family would choose pairs of very young animals, just old enough to feed themselves, as being the most tractable and as requiring less room than those full grown.

bring into the ark, to keep *them* alive with thee; they shall be male and female.

20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every *sort* shall come unto thee, to keep *them* alive.

21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather *it* to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.

[c] Heb. 11. 7. 22 [c]Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Noah, with his family, and the living creatures, enter into the ark. 17 The beginning, increase, and continuance of the flood.

AND the [a]LORD said unto Noah, [a] 2 Pet. 2. 5. Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by [†]sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that *are* not clean by two, the male and his female.

[†] Heb. *seven seven.*

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I [†]destroy from off the face of the earth.

[†] Heb. *blot out.*

If the ark was to hold, not only birds and quadrupeds, but insects and reptiles, possibly eggs or larvæ may have been preserved.

CHAP. VII. 1. *And the* LORD *said unto Noah*] The preceding chapter accounts for a period of 120 years. At the beginning of that period, God had declared His will to destroy mankind by a flood, unless they profited by the time still given them for repentance. Noah is ordered to prepare an ark, the building of which may have occupied the greater part of this season of respite. He is told at the very first that he and his sons are to go into the ark, and that a pair of every kind of cattle and fowls and moving things should go in with him and be preserved alive. In the present chapter we reach the end of the 120 years. The ark has been built in the prescribed form with due preparation and capacity. Noah has done according to all that God had commanded him (ch. vi. 22), and now the Lord gives to Noah fuller directions concerning the animals which he was to take with him.

2. *Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female*] It is questioned whether there were to be seven or seven pairs of every clean beast. Some think there were to be only seven, the odd number being accounted for by the fact that the clean beasts were preserved for sacrifice, that therefore more of them were needed than of unclean beasts, and the number seven was adopted as a sacred number. The addition of the words "the male and his female" (comp. v. 9), seems to favour the belief that seven pairs are intended. In any case there is no inconsistency between this verse and ch. vi. 20, "two of every sort." The command here is but an amplification of the former injunction, which had probably been given 120 years before. In the first instance it was said that Noah's family should be preserved together with a pair of every kind of beast. In the second, that, whilst the general rule should be the saving of a single pair, yet, in the case of the few clean beasts, there should be preserved, not one pair only but seven. The objection that this was an anticipation of the Levitical distinction of beasts into clean and unclean, is wholly groundless. The boundary line between clean and unclean animals is marked by nature. Every tribe of mankind would distinguish between the sheep and the hyæna, between the dove and the vulture. Whether animal food was eaten before the Deluge or not, it is certain that flocks and herds were fed for the sake of their milk and wool, and that of them victims were offered in sacrifice. This alone would separate between the clean and the unclean. It is not improbable, that the distinction even of the names "clean and unclean" had been fully established by custom, long before it was recognized and ratified by the Law.

3. *Of fowls also of the air by sevens*] In the Samaritan, the LXX. and Syr. this verse runs, "And of all the fowls of the air which are clean by sevens, the male and the female, and of all fowls which are not clean by two, the male and the female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth." This must have been a very ancient reading; but it appears to have arisen from a gloss or commentary having crept into the text. It probably gives the true sense of the passage.

4. *yet seven days*] The 120 years ended and the ark prepared for the saving of his house, Noah is allowed yet seven days more

5 And Noah did according unto all that the LORD commanded him.

6 And Noah *was* six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

7 ¶ And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

8 Of clean beasts, and of beasts that *are* not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth,

9 There went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah.

10 And it came to pass ‖ after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

‖ Or, *on the seventh day.*

11 ¶ In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the ‖ windows of heaven were opened.

‖ Or, *flood-gates.*

12 And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark;

14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every ‖ sort.

‖ Heb. *wing.*

15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein *is* the breath of life.

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for gathering all safely into the place of refuge before the flood sets in.

9. *two and two*] This again is no contradiction to v. 2. The rule was that all animals, clean or unclean, should go in two and two, that rule was not broken, but amplified, by the direction in verse 2, that of clean animals there should be more than a single pair, viz. seven or seven pairs.

11. *In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month*] The questions concerning the Deluge year are complicated by the uncertainty, 1. whether the year was the old civil year beginning with the month Tisri in the autumn, or the sacred year which from the time of the Exodus was appointed to begin with the month Abib, the Passover month, in the spring: 2. whether the calculation be Lunar or Solar.

As regards the first question, we may notice that the year did not begin from Abib, until the time of the Exodus, and that even then the civil year was reckoned from Tisri. Hence we may naturally conclude, that the year of the Flood began with Tisri, or about the autumnal Equinox. If so, the 17th day of the second month would bring us to the middle of November, the beginning of the wintry and rainy season.

The second question seems at first sight resolved by comparing this verse (vii. 11) with vii. 24 and viii. 4, from which comparison it appears that the flood began on the 17th of the second month, lasted 150 days, i.e. five months of 30 days, and had subsided, so that the ark could rest on Ararat on the 17th of the seventh month. Thus the 17th of the seventh month appears to have been exactly five months of thirty days after the 17th of the second month. This would make the Noachic year a year of 360 days, corresponding with the old Egyptian year, unless any intercalation of five days was made use of. On the presumption that this reckoning is conclusive, it has been argued that the account of the Flood must have been of much later date than Moses, as the Israelites never learned to reckon by solar time till after the Babylonish captivity. It is certain however that the Egyptians used solar time long before the date of the Exodus, which is answer enough to this difficulty.

With regard to the forty days' rain, it seems pretty certain that those were not additional to, but part of, the 150 days of the prevalence of the flood. Supposing the above calculation to be correct, we have the very remarkable coincidences that on the 17th day of Abib the ark rested on Mount Ararat—on the 17th day of Abib the Israelites passed over the Red Sea—on the 17th day of Abib Christ our Lord rose again from the dead.

were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened] It cannot be imagined, that this is a philosophical explanation of the flood. The use of Scripture is always to describe the phenomena of nature, not to trace their hidden causes. The words here written express only the effect produced upon man's senses. There was a flood of waters from above and

16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him: and the LORD shut him in.

17 And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

18 And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.

19 And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that *were* under the whole heaven, were covered.

20 Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.

[b] Wisd. 10. 4. 21 [b] And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

[†] Heb. *the breath o the spirit of life.* 22 All in whose nostrils *was* [†] the breath of life, of all that *was* in the dry *land*, died.

23 And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and [c] Noah only remained *alive*, and they that *were* with him in the ark. [c] Wisd. 10. 4. [4.] 2 Pet. 2. 5.

24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 The waters asswage. 4 The ark resteth on Ararat. 7 The raven and the dove. 15 Noah, being commanded, 18 goeth forth of the ark. 20 He buildeth an altar, and offereth sacrifice, 21 which God accepteth, and promiseth to curse the earth no more.

AND God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that *was* with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged;

2 The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained;

3 And the waters returned from off the earth [†] continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. [†] Heb. in *going and returning.*

4 And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.

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from beneath. The clouds poured down rain, and the seas and rivers swelled and burst their boundaries; so that to one who witnessed it it seemed as though "the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."

16. *and the* LORD *shut him in*] By some providential or supernatural agency the door of the ark, which could not have been secured with pitch or bitumen by Noah, was secured and made water-tight.

17, 18, 19. In these verses the frequent repetition of the same thought in almost the same words has been supposed by Astruc and others to evidence the work of different hands. Repetition, however, is universal in a simple state of society, wherever great strength of expression is aimed at. Even in late Hebrew such repetition is familiar, but in early Hebrew it meets us at every turn.

20. *Fifteen cubits upward*] *i. e.* from 25 to 28 feet: a depth apparently above the neighbouring mountains, perhaps depressed by convulsion, or otherwise. See note on the Deluge at the end of the eighth chapter.

CHAP. VIII. 1. *God remembered Noah*] As it is said, 1 Sam. xv. 11, "It repenteth Me that I have anointed Saul to be king," *i.e.* I have decreed to put another in his place, and above (Gen. vi. 7), "It repenteth Me that I have made man," *i.e.* I have determined to destroy man; so here "The Lord remembered Noah" does not point to a previous forgetfulness, but to God's great mercy towards him (Theodoret).

2. *The fountains*, &c.] The clouds were dispersed by a wind, the waters no longer increased, and the effect was, as though, after the forty days of rain and flood, the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed.

4. *Ararat*] The belief that this is the mountain-range now commonly called Mount Ararat, the highest peak of which rises nearly 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, rests on a very uncertain foundation. Far more probable is the opinion that Ararat was the ancient name of Armenia itself, or, rather, of the Southern portion of Armenia. The name occurs only here, and in 2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38, where it is mentioned as the place

† Heb. were *in going and decreasing.*

5 And the waters †decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month*, on the first *day* of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

6 ¶ And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made:

† Heb. in *going forth and returning.*

7 And he sent forth a raven, which went forth †to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth.

8 Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground;

9 But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters *were* on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and †pulled her in unto him into the ark.

† Heb. *caused her to come.*

10 And he stayed yet other seven

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to which the sons of Sennacherib fled, after the murder of their father. Most of the ancient VSS. render the word by *Armenia* (Aq., Symm., Theod., Vulg., and in Kings and Isaiah the LXX., though in Gen. the LXX. leave it untranslated). The Targums render Kardu or Kardon, probably meaning Kurdistan, or the Gordyæan mountains, which run to the South of Armenia, dividing the valley of the Tigris from Iran, on, or near to which mountains, in the Chaldæan tradition of the Deluge preserved by Berosus, Xisuthrus is said to have landed. Jerome ('on Isai.' xxxvii.) tells us, that "Ararat is a champaign country of incredible fertility, situated in Armenia, at the base of Mount Taurus, through which flows the river Araxes." Moses, Archbishop of Chorene, A.D. 460, the famous historian of Armenia, also tells us that Ararat was a region, not a mountain. A Mohammedan tradition has no doubt placed the site of the ark's resting on the top of the highest ridge of the mountain, called anciently Macis, by the Persians Coh Noah; and this has been thought to correspond with what is related by Nicolaus of Damascus, that there was a mountain in Armenia called Baris, to which people escaped in the general Deluge, and on which a vessel struck, parts of which long remained (Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 4). All this, however, is somewhat vague. We can only say with certainty that, so long as the time when the LXX. VS. was made, Ararat was believed to correspond with, or to constitute a part of Armenia. Moreover, general belief has pointed to the neighbourhood of Armenia as the original dwelling-place of the first fathers of mankind.

Yet the claims, not only of the central mountain peak, but even of any portion of Armenia, to be the site of Noah's landing-place, have been disputed by many. In Gen. xi. 2 the migration of the sons of Noah towards Shinar is said to be "from the East." If so, it could not have been from Armenia. It is, however, most probable that the right rendering should be, as in Gen. ii. 8, xiii. 11, not "from the East" but "eastward," and such is the marginal rendering of the A.V. which though not supported by the VSS. is accordant with other Hebrew idioms (see Quarry, 'Gen.' p. 397). Another objection to Armenia is found in the statement of Strabo (lib. XI. p. 527), that the vine does not grow there (cp. Gen. ix. 20). Accordingly Hardouin contends that Ararat could not have been in Armenia, but is to be sought for in the North of Palestine, where it borders on Antilibanus and Syria ('De Situ Parad. terres.' in Franzii Edit. Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' Tom. x. pp. 259, 260). Yet the 10,000 are said to have found old wine in Armenia (Xen. 'Anab.' 4. 4, 9); and vines are said at this day to grow in the highlands of Armenia, at a level of 4000 feet above the sea. (See Ritter, quoted by Knobel, on ch. IX. 20.) Von Bohlen, arguing from Gen. xi. 2 that Ararat lay eastward of Shinar, identifies it with Aryavarta, the sacred land to the North of India, to which the Hindoo tradition points. The Samaritan VS. places it in the Island of Ceylon. Though on such a question certainty is impossible, the arguments in favour of Armenia are very strong.

6. *the window*] or *opening*, from a verb meaning *to perforate* or *open*. This is quite a different word from that used vi. 16. The A.V. would suggest the idea, that Noah was commanded (vi. 16) to make a window, and that now he opened that window; whereas the original expresses the fact, that Noah was commanded to make a window-course, or light system, and that now he opens the window, or casement, in the ark, which he had made on purpose to open.

7. *went forth to and fro*] It has been supposed that there were carcases of men and beasts floating on the waters, that from them the raven found a place to light upon, and also food; and hence, though it returned from time to time and rested on the ark, it never again sought an entrance into it.

8. *a dove*] Noah, finding no sufficient indication from the raven, now sends forth the dove, a bird which rests only on dry places and feeds only on grain.

days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark;

11 And the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth *was* an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.

12 And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.

13 ¶ And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first *month*, the first *day* of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.

14 And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried.

15 ¶ And God spake unto Noah, saying,

16 Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.

17 Bring forth with thee every living thing that *is* with thee, of all flesh, *both* of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth.

18 And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him:

19 Every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, *and* whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their †kinds, went forth out of the ark.

† Heb. *families.*

20 ¶ And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl,

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11. *an olive leaf*] Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' L. IV. c. 8, and Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' L. XIII. c. 25, are cited as saying that the olive grew under water in the Red Sea, and bore berries there. Whether this be so or not, it is probable that the olive may live more healthily under a flood than most other trees. It is eminently hardy, and will grow in a favourable soil without care or culture. The following passage illustrates the extraordinary powers of adaptation to circumstances possessed by some plants. "The formation of sprouts gives the plant the means of attaching itself to the most varied conditions, of persisting through periods of continued cold and heat, damp or drought, according as the climate may produce, and guarding against death in all cases of frustrated seed-development..... Thus *Littorella lacustris*, which never flowers under water, maintains and increases itself by lateral runners, year after year, at the bottom of the lakes of the Black Forest, and only comes into flower when the water retreats in the driest years, which scarcely occur oftener than once in ten" (A. Braun, 'Rejuvenescence in Nature,' p. 41, 42, Ray Society). The olive (Olea Europea) is generally a plant of the Mediterranean: other species occur at the Cape of Good Hope, the Himalaya mountains, and elsewhere.

pluckt off] rather, as Vulg., fresh.

20. *every clean beast*] Probably not every beast which was afterwards permitted to the Israelites for food, but those which were esteemed clean for sacrifice; viz. oxen, sheep and goats, doves and pigeons. Some of the German commentators see in the account of this sacrifice a late interpolation, derived from the Mosaic or Levitical customs of sacrifice. Delitzsch justly observes that in most of the traditions of the Deluge, external to the Israelites, as the Phœnician, Indian, Greek, &c., a sacrifice forms part of the legend. The pretence, therefore, that in the Biblical narrative this was an afterthought of a Jehovist interpolater must be gratuitous.

21. *a sweet savour*] Lit. "the savour of satisfaction or delectation," the word *Nichoach*, "satisfaction," having a reference to *Noach*, "rest." Cp. like expressions in Lev. ii. 12, xxvi. 31; Ezek. vi. 13, xx. 41. The gratitude of Noah, and his faith as manifested by the sacrifice, were acceptable to God.

for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth] In ch. vi. 5, it is written that God's anger was moved, "because every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." Here, on the contrary it is said, that "the Lord said in His heart, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake, for the imagination of his heart is evil from his youth." The Germans discover an inconsistency between the words of the Elohist in vi. 5, and those of the Jehovist here, Some have endeavoured to reconcile these passages by translating "although" instead of "for." The true solution is, that in the first instance (ch. vi. 5) the actual sinfulness of man, the constant tendency of every imagination of his thoughts to evil, is represented as moving the anger of God, and tend-

and offered burnt offerings on the altar.

† Heb. *a savour of rest.*

21 And the LORD smelled †a sweet savour; and the LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the [a] imagination of man's heart *is* evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.

[a] chap. 6. 5. Matt. 15. 19.

22 †While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

† Heb. *as yet all the days of the earth.*

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ing to man's destruction; but in the present instance (ch. viii. 21) the Lord is described as considering the feebleness of his nature, and pitying that natural propensity to evil, which every man inherits at his birth.

The word in the original for *imagination*, is the word which the Rabbins used to express that desire of evil, which results from original sin (Buxt. 'Lex. Chald.' p. 973; Ges. 'Thes.' p. 619). Accordingly in ch. vi. we see God's righteous indignation against the hardened, impenitent, unbelieving sinner. Here, on the contrary, we read of the Lord's compassionate kindness to His feeble and erring creatures, and how He is moved not to curse, but to pity and to bless those who turn to Him with penitent hearts and faith in that great Sacrifice, of which Noah's offering was a type and a prophecy.

22. *seedtime and harvest*] The Deluge had confounded earth and sea. There reigned as it were one long winter, almost one unbroken night, over the whole world. But thenceforth the Lord decreed, that seasons should follow in their course, the season of sowing and the season of reaping, the cold and the heat, the summer and the winter, the day and the night.

NOTE A on CHAP. VIII. THE DELUGE.

1. Was it historical? (*a*) Traditions among all races of men. (*β*) Explicable only on the supposition of historical foundation. 2. Was it universal? (*a*) How to judge of the narrative. (*β*) Universal probably to mankind. (*γ*) Geological difficulties. (*δ*) Rationale of Deluge.

Two great questions concerning the Flood of Noah naturally present themselves: 1. Is the account of it historical or mythical? 2. Was the Deluge partial or universal?

1. Many of the Germans, and according to Davidson "all good critics" have abandoned the historical character of the narrative. The physical difficulties are supposed to be insuperable. The whole therefore is said to be "mythical, embodying the old Hebrew belief in the retributive character of sin" (Davidson, 'Introd. to O. T.' Vol. I. p. 187). How then, it may be asked, does it happen, that so many nations retained a recollection of the same great event? The races of mankind have been divided by modern Ethnologists into Semitic, Aryan (Iranian or Indo-European) and Turanian. It will be found, that in all these races there are traditions of a flood, which destroyed all mankind except one family. The Semitic account is to be found in the Bible and in the Chaldæan tradition, which is the nearest to that of the Bible, and which comes down to us in the fragments of Berosus preserved by Josephus and Eusebius. According to that tradition, Sisuthrus or Xisuthrus being warned of a flood by the god Cronus, built a vessel and took into it his relatives and near friends, and all kinds of birds and quadrupeds. The vessel was five stadia in length and two in breadth. When the flood had abated, he sent out birds, which first of all returned to him, but, after the second trial, returned no more. Judging then that the flood was abated, he took out some of the planks of the vessel, and found that it had stranded on the side of a mountain. Whereupon he and all his left the ship, and offered sacrifice to the gods. The place of landing was in Armenia; where part of the vessel still remained, from which the people of the country scraped off the bitumen and made amulets (see Cory's 'Ancient Fragm.' pp. 22, 29, 1st Edition). Of the Aryan traditions, first, the Greek is to be found in the well known classical legend of the floods of Ogyges and Deucalion. Pindar ('Ol.' IX. 37), first mentions the flood of Deucalion. The account is given at length by Ovid; by whom the reason assigned is the general prevalence of violence and wickedness ('Metam.' I. 240, &c.). Apollodorus (Lib. I.) ascribes the deluge of Deucalion to the determination of Jupiter to destroy the men of the brazen age. And Lucian ('De Syra Dea') speaks of it as having destroyed the whole human race. The Persian tradition may be that embodied in the Koran, though there probably incorporated with the Scriptural narrative. The Hindoo tradition represents Manu as warned by a great fish to build a ship, that he might be preserved during an impending deluge. The ship was saved by being lashed on to the horn of the fish, and was ultimately landed on a northern mountain. (See the tradition at length, Hardwick, 'Christ and other Masters,'

p. ii. ch. III. § 3.) The Phrygian story of Annakos (supposed to be Enoch) who foretold the Deluge, is singularly confirmed by a medal struck at Apamea (called Apamea Kibotus, i.e. Apamea, the Ark) in the reign of Septimius Severus, on which is depicted an ark or chest floating on the waters. Two people are seen within it and two going out of it. On the top of the ark a bird perches, and another flies towards it with a branch between its feet, on the vessel; in some specimens of this coin, are the letters NΩ. It can hardly be doubted, however, that this coin, and the tradition connected with it, come somewhat directly from Hebrew sources. The third division of the Human Race, the Turanian, has also everywhere traditions of the Deluge. In China, Fa-he, the reputed founder of Chinese civilization, is represented as escaping from the waters of a deluge, and he reappears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, attended by his wife, three sons and three daughters (Hardwick, Part III. p. 16). The inhabitants of the Polynesian Islands, who are probably of Malay origin, especially the Figi islanders, have distinct accounts of a deluge, in which a family, eight in number, was saved in a canoe (Hardwick, III. 185). Similar traditions prevailed throughout the continent of America, the aboriginal inhabitants of which are now generally believed to be all of one stock, and by their physical and linguistic peculiarities are by the greatest ethnologists identified with the Turanian races of Asia. (See Bunsen, 'Philos. of Univ. Hist.' Vol. II. p. 112.) In South America, the inhabitants of Mexico had paintings representing the Deluge, a man and his wife in a bark or on a raft, a mountain rising above the waters, and birds, the dove, the vulture, &c. taking part in the scene. In North America, the Cherokee Indians had a legend of all men destroyed by a deluge, except one family saved in a boat, to the building of which they had been incited by a mysterious dog, which recalls the Indian fable of the friendly fish (see Hardwick, Part III. pp. 161—164).

Thus among the more civilized countries of Europe, and in well nigh every portion of Asia and America, in every different race of mankind, we find traditionary accounts of this great catastrophe, and of the miraculous deliverance of a single family. The mythical interpreters insist, that every nation had its mythic age, its mythic traditions, and that as we discover the same myth of a deluge in all other nations, we naturally conclude that the Hebrew narrative is in like manner mythical. But how can it be explained, that in all parts of the world, people have stumbled on the same myth? What is there, apart from tradition, that so commends the fable of a Deluge and of the saving of one household to the imagination and invention of mankind? The existence of cosmogonies, more or less alike, may be easily conceived of. But, that in all parts of the world, among races the most remote and dissimilar, there should prevail a belief, that, after man was created on the earth, all men but one family, were destroyed by a Deluge, is intelligible only on the supposition, that some such event actually did occur; an event simply, graphically and accurately related in the Book of Genesis, but variously distorted and disguised in the legends of the heathen world. An universal belief, not springing directly from some instinctive principle in our nature, can with reason only be ascribed to tradition of an historical fact. The only other explanation suggested is utterly impossible, viz. that in many parts of the world among the more civilized and the most barbarous alike, remains of marine animals found beneath the Earth's surface had suggested the same belief, viz. that there must have been an universal Flood. Even supposing this possible, how does this account for the similarity of the tradition not generally only, but in minute particulars in the remotest parts of the inhabited world?

2. The second question, Was the Deluge Universal? has long divided those who believe that it was historically true, and that it is correctly related by Moses. The most literal interpretation of the language, especially of the words, Gen. vii. 19, "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven, were covered," would lead to the conviction that it must have been universal. Yet it is certain, that many, who accept implicitly the historical truth of the narrative, believe the inundation to have been partial. Of such we may distinguish two classes of writers, 1st those who think that all the then living race of man was destroyed; but that those regions of the earth not then inhabited by man were unaffected by the Flood: 2nd, those who believe that the Flood swept away only that portion of mankind with which the Sacred narrative is chiefly concerned; and which had become corrupted and vitiated by the promiscuous marriages mentioned in ch. vi. 1, 2.

In order to place ourselves in a fair position for judging of these questions, it may be well to consider the nature of the narrative, and the common use of language among the Hebrews. And if we do so carefully, we shall surely be led to conclude, that the Deluge is described as from the point of view of an eye-witness. It has been so much our wont to look on all the early portions of Genesis as a direct revelation from God to Moses, that we rather consider the picture to be drawn, if we may speak so, as from the point of view of the Omnipotent. Yet, even if we are right in esteeming all as a simply direct revelation, it may be, that the reve-

lation was given in prophetic vision, and that Moses wrote, not merely what he had heard, but also, and rather, what he had seen. But we may remember too, that the custom of Scripture is to refer historical records to the evidence of eye-witnesses. This is very much the case in the New Testament. The Apostles and Evangelists constantly claim to have been present at the scenes which they relate (see especially Luke i. 1, 2; Joh. xix. 35, xxi. 24; Acts i. 3; 1 Cor. xv. 3—8; 2 Pet. i. 16; 1 Joh. i. 1); and they relate them as those scenes appeared to them. The baptism of Jesus, the transfiguration, the walking on the waters, the multiplying the loaves and fishes, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the tongues of fire at Pentecost, are all simply painted as they who were present saw and conceived of them. And this is equally true in the Old Testament. Take for instance the much debated miracle of the sun and the moon standing still at the command of Joshua. The phenomenon is related just as the contending armies witnessed it. It is not referred to its natural causes, whatever they may have been. That merely is related which actually appeared. At Joshua's command, and of course by Divine intervention, the Sun and the Moon, which would naturally have seemed to describe an arc in the heavens and to descend into the west, then, on the contrary, seemed to stand still in the midst of heaven. Now just so is the Deluge described in Genesis. It is pictured, as it would have presented itself to the eyes of Noah and his family. Moreover, on the principle just mentioned, it is in the highest degree probable, that the description is really that which was given by one of such eye-witnesses. It would have been very strange if no such description had been given and preserved. Shem would almost certainly have related it, over and over again, to his children and grand-children. They would have treasured it up in their memories and have handed it on. As has been so notoriously the case among later nations (see Max Müller's 'Sans. Lit.' p. 500) the very words of the original narrative would be carefully recorded from father to son, whether in writing or by oral tradition; and so, in all probability, we have in Genesis the very syllables in which the Patriarch Shem described to the ancestors of Abraham that which he himself had seen, and in which he had borne so great part. The Divine authority of the narrative would be no more affected by this, than the authority of the Gospel of St Mark is affected by the probable fact that St Mark relates that which St Peter communicated to him as the result of his own ocular and aural experience. Let us then view it thus. One of the eight human beings saved in the ark relates all that he saw. He mentions first God's warning to Noah and denunciation of judgment on mankind. He describes the building and the proportions of the ark. He narrates the 40 days of rain and the swelling of the rivers and of the ocean, in the words which most forcibly describe that great catastrophe (Gen. vii. 11). He then describes how the waters prevailed, till the ark was raised up and floated over them (v. 18). At length, not only did the ark float, but the highest hills disappeared (v. 19); nothing was visible under the whole vault of heaven, but sea and air. The very words are "All the high hills under the whole heaven were covered." Where the ark was at this time, or where Noah and his family had been dwelling before, we cannot tell. The country may have been mountainous, and so, in order to hide the hills from view, the waters must have been very deep, or it may have been a plain country, as many think the region round about Babylon, with few hills in sight and those not of great altitude; in which case but a moderate depth of water would have sufficed to cover all the highest hills under the whole canopy of heaven. The inhabitants of the ark probably tried the depth of the Deluge by a plumb line, an invention surely not unknown to those who had acquired the arts of working in brass and iron (ch. iv. 22), and they found a depth of 15 cubits. Then all flesh, all that was on the dry land, died. And, as the gathering of the waters is thus described, so in ch. viii. the subsidence is given in the same simple graphic style. At length, on a specified day, the ark rests. It is found that it had stranded near to some of the hills in a generally plain country, perhaps to the south of Armenia, perhaps in the north of Palestine, perhaps somewhere in Persia, or in India or elsewhere. The waters continually decrease, it may be the vapours also clear off; and at length the summits of the surrounding hills become visible, though the plain country still is flooded. Noah then sends out the Raven. It goes to and fro, but returns no more to the ark. No account is given of its wanderings; what appears to Noah and his family is all that we learn. So too of the Dove. It goes forth and, finding no rest, comes back again. Once more it is sent out. Whither it goes no one can tell, all that appears is, that it has found dry land. It brings back an olive leaf in its beak; and Noah judges that the waters were abated. From first to last the description is just that which Shem or Noah would have given of all that he had himself seen.

If this be the true explanation of the narrative, we may then more readily see how the question of the universality of the Deluge stands. The words used may certainly mean that the Deluge was universal, that it overwhelmed, not only all the inhabited parts

of Asia, but also Europe, Africa, and America, Australia, New Zealand, and Oceanica; most, if not all, of which Islands and Continents were probably then without human inhabitants. Yet, if only the inhabited world was inundated, and all its inhabitants destroyed; the effect would have been the same to Noah, and would, most likely, have been described in the same words. The purpose of God was to sweep away the sinful race of Adam. That purpose would have been effected by a Deluge, which covered the whole of that portion of the globe, which may be called the cradle of the human race. The words of the narrative are perhaps no stronger than would have been naturally used to describe such a catastrophe. The most striking is the passage, "All the high hills under the whole heaven," ch. vii. 19. But this is no more than such expressions as, "I begin to put the dread of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven," Deut. ii. 25: "all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn," Gen. xli. 57: "as the Lord thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee, &c.," 1 Kings xviii. 10. When the ancients speak of the whole world, they mean at most the whole world as known to the ancients. When they speak of the whole heaven, they mean the whole visible canopy or expanse of the sky; and so, when they speak of the earth, the land, the dry ground, they mean at times very limited portions indeed of the earth's surface. The strictest interpretation of the record, according to the habit of speech among Semitic nations, will allow us to understand that a Deluge prevailed, extensive enough to destroy all the living race of man, and to cover with water the whole visible face of nature. It is another question, whether we may admit, that any portion of the human race, except the eight persons miraculously preserved, can have escaped. Some suppose the descendants of Cain to have peopled China, and not to have been involved in the Deluge, which, in their belief, was sent on purpose to destroy those apostate and degenerate Sethites, who had defiled the chosen race by intermarrying with unbelievers. Others think that the Nephilim of Numb. xiii. 33 were descendants of the Nephilim of Gen. vi. 4, who must therefore have survived the Deluge. Others again, as the authors of 'The Genesis of the Earth and Man,' and of 'Adam and the Adamites,' suppose that there was a pre-Adamite race of men, and that the history in Genesis relates only the fortunes of the Adamites, having no reference to the rest. Without pronouncing too hastily on any fair inference from the words of Scripture, we may reasonably say, that their most natural interpretation is, that the whole race of man had become grievously corrupted, since the faithful had intermingled with the ungodly, that the inhabited world was consequently filled with violence, and that God had decreed to destroy all mankind, except one single family; that therefore all that portion of the earth, perhaps as yet a very small portion, into which mankind had spread, was overwhelmed by water. The ark was ordained to save the one faithful family; and lest that family, on the subsidence of the waters, should find the whole country round them a desert, a pair of all the beasts of the land and of the fowls of the air were preserved along with them, and along with them went forth to replenish the now desolated continent. The words of Scripture (confirmed as they are by an universal tradition), appear, at least, to mean as much as this. They do not necessarily mean more.

The geological objections to the history of the Deluge are chiefly such as the discovery of loose scoriæ on the tops of the extinct volcanoes of Auvergne and Languedoc, the impossibility of the waters extending to the height of 15 cubits above the mountains, and the permanent distribution of the animal kingdom over the different parts of the world.

It is said the loose scoriæ on the mountains of Auvergne and Languedoc must have been swept away by an universal flood. It is, however, quite conceivable, even if the Deluge extended to those regions and to the tops of those hills, that the gradual rise and subsidence of the waters may have left there remains of volcanic action, which are not so light as has been asserted, almost untouched. The difficulty in conceiving of the waters rising 15 cubits above the highest mountains is a difficulty in the mind of the objector, not in the text of Scripture, which nowhere speaks of such a rise. (See the earlier part of this note.) The possibility of vegetation surviving has been considered in the note on ch. viii. 11. The most serious difficulty in conceiving of a Flood universal (not only to the world inhabited by man, but to the whole surface of the globe) is in the history of the distribution of the animal kingdom. For example, the animals now living in South America and in New Zealand are of the same type as the fossil animals which lived and died there before the creation of man. Is it conceivable that all should have been gathered together from their original habitats into the ark of Noah and have been afterwards redistributed to their respective homes? The difficulty, however, vanishes entirely, if the sacred narrative relates only a submersion of the human race and of its then dwelling-place, a sense of that narrative, which exact criticism shews to be possible, perhaps even the most probable, irrespective of all questions of natural science. The cavils against the single window, the proportions of the ark, &c. have been considered in their respective places. The peculiar unfairness of the objections

urged is to be found, not so much in the objections themselves, as in the insisting at the same time on an interpretation of the Scripture narrative, on principles which would not be applied to any other history whatever. Not only are we required to expound ancient and Eastern phraseology with the cold exactness applicable only to the tongues of Northern Europe, but moreover to adhere to all the interpretations of past uncritical ages, to believe that there was but a single window in the ark, that the ark stranded on the top of a mountain, within sight of which it very probably never sailed, that the waters of the Flood rose three, or even five miles above the sea level, and other prodigies, which the sacred text, even in its most natural significance, nowhere either asserts or implies.

If it be inquired, why it pleased God to save man and beast in a huge vessel, instead of leaving them a refuge on high hills or in some other sanctuary, we perhaps inquire in vain. Yet surely we can see, that the great moral lesson and the great spiritual truths exhibited in the Deluge and the ark were well worth a signal departure from the common course of nature and Providence. The judgment was far more marked, the deliverance far more manifestly Divine, than they would have been, if hills or trees or caves had been the shelter provided for those to be saved. The great prophetic forepicturing of salvation from a flood of sin by Christ and in the Church of Christ would have lost all its beauty and symmetry, if mere earthly refuges had been sufficient for deliverance. As it is, the history of Noah, next after the history of Christ, is that which perhaps most forcibly arrests our thoughts, impresses our consciences and yet revives our hopes. It was a judgment signally executed at the time. It is a lesson deeply instructive for all time.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *God blesseth Noah.* 4 *Blood and murder are forbidden.* 8 *God's covenant,* 13 *signified by the rainbow.* 18 *Noah replenisheth the world,* 20 *planteth a vineyard,* 21 *is drunken, and mocked of his son,* 25 *curseth Canaan,* 26 *blesseth Shem,* 27 *prayeth for Japheth,* 29 *and dieth.*

AND God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, [a] Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

[a] chap 1. 23. & 8. 17.

2 And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth *upon* the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the [b] green herb have I given you all things.

[b] chap 1. 29.

CHAP. IX. 1. *And God blessed Noah,* &c.] Noah, now become the second head of the human family, receives a blessing, the former part of which is but a repetition of the blessing first pronounced on Adam, ch. i. 28. The sin of man had frustrated the intent of the first blessing. The earth had been filled with licentiousness and violence, fatal to the increase of mankind, and at length bringing down a judgment, which swept all but one family away. Now all begins anew; and God repeats the promise of fecundity, which sin had made of none effect.

2. *the fear of you and the dread of you*] The small remnant of mankind just rescued from the Deluge might have perished from the attacks of wild beasts, which had probably been young and tame in the ark, but were now adult or adolescent and returning to their own wild natures. The assurance given in this verse was therefore a very needful comfort to Noah and his family.

3. *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you*] In the primal blessing (ch. i. 28, 29, 30) there had been mention of man's supremacy and power over the inferior animals. It has been a question whether there had been a permission of animal food or not. The almost universal opinion of the ancients was that only vegetable food was then permitted; and if we remember that most probably the early race of men lived in a warm and genial climate, and that even now some of the Eastern nations are contented and healthy upon a vegetable diet, we shall be the more disposed to acquiesce in an interpretation which seems to do less violence to the text. It cannot, however, be said that there was from the first a *prohibition* of animal food. From very early times we find sheep and cattle kept at least for milk and wool, and slain for sacrifice, ch. iv. 2, 20. Whether then it had been conceded or not from the first; it is likely that those who fed and sacrificed sheep, like Abel, who kept cattle, like Jabal, or who handled instruments of bronze and iron, like Tubal Cain, would in the course of time have learned the use of animal food. If so, we may consider the words of this verse as a concession to the infirmities or the necessities of mankind, coupled with restrictions,

[c] Lev. 17. 14.

4 [c]But flesh with the life thereof, *which is* the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.

5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.

[d] Matt. 26. 52. Rev. 13. 10. [e] chap. 1. 27.

6 [d]Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: [e]for in the image of God made he man.

7 And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

8 ¶ And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying,

9 And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you;

10 And with every living creature that *is* with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go

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which may have been called for by the savage practices of the Antediluvians.

4. *flesh with the life thereof*] Rashi and some other Jewish commentators understand a prohibition of the practice of eating flesh cut from the living animal, and so Luther translated, "the flesh which yet lives in its blood." The monstrous wickedness of the Antediluvians, by which the earth was filled with violence, may have taken this form among others; and these words without doubt condemn by implication all such fiendish cruelty. They prohibit also the revolting custom of eating raw flesh; for civilization is ever to be a handmaid to religion. But over and above all this, there is reference to that shedding of blood, or pouring out of life, which formed so great a part of typical sacrifice, and which had its full significance in that pouring out of the soul unto death, which won for man the resurrection to eternal life. We need not look for any scientific explanation of the connection between life and blood here, or in the subsequent legal enactments (*e.g.* Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xvii. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 32; Ez. xxxiii. 25). The ancients no doubt generally believed the blood to be the seat of the life; but it is also literally true, that the shedding of blood is equivalent to the destruction of life; and so in these early injunctions the God of mercy taught the value not only of human, but of all animal being, and along with the forbidding of manslaughter forbade wanton cruelty and indifference to the sufferings of His brute creatures.

5. *And surely your blood of your lives will I require*, &c.] There have been many proposed translations of this verse. The A.V., which accords with the most important ancient versions, no doubt gives the true meaning. "The blood of your lives" probably signifies "your life blood." Under the law the ox that gored was to be killed (Ex. xxi. 28), which seems a comment on this passage. In Ps. ix. 12 God is said to be the requirer of blood, a phrase identical with that made use of here.

6. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood*] Here the manner in which God will require the blood of the murdered man is specified. There shall be a legal retribution, life for life.

for in the image of God made he man] The slaughter of brute animals was permitted, though wanton cruelty towards them was forbidden; but man was made in the image of God, and to destroy man's life has in it the sin of sacrilege. Moreover, the image of God implies the existence of a personal, moral, and therefore, in the creature, a responsible will. Though the holiness, which was part of the likeness, was lost in the fall, still the personality and the moral being remained. To destroy the life of such an one is therefore to cut short his time of probation, to abridge his day of grace, to step in between him and his moral Governor, to frustrate, as far as may be, God's purposes of love and mercy to his soul. Hence the sin of murder is the greatest wrong which man can do to his brother man; perhaps also the greatest insult which man can offer to Him who is the loving Father of all men. The Jews held that there were seven precepts given to Noah, which were binding on all mankind, to be observed by proselytes of the gate and by pious Gentiles, viz. abstinence from murder, from eating the flesh of living animals, from blasphemy, idolatry, incest, theft, and the submission to constituted authority; the first two and the last are expressly enjoined in the words recorded in this chapter, the other four result from the dictates of natural religion.

9. *I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you*] A new covenant is now made with all the human beings rescued from the flood, and through them even with the beasts of the field, that there should not again be a flood to destroy all flesh. This, perhaps, more than any other part of the history, seems to prove that the Deluge extended at least to the destruction of all the then living race of man.

10. *from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth*] An idiomatic ex-

out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.

f Isai. 54. 9. 11 And f I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.

12 And God said, This *is* the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that *is* with you, for perpetual generations:

13 I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.

g Ecclus. 43. 11, 12. 14 g And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud:

15 And I will remember my covenant, which *is* between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.

16 And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that *is* upon the earth.

17 And God said unto Noah, This *is* the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that *is* upon the earth.

18 ¶ And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham *is* the father of † Canaan.

† Heb. *Chenaan.*

19 These *are* the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.

20 And Noah began *to be* an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:

21 And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.

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pression, signifying that the covenant shall extend not only to those that go out of the ark, but also to every beast of the earth. Not only those preserved in the ark, but all other animals are to be interested in this promise. From which we can hardly fail to infer that the destruction of the lower animals was confined to a certain district, and not general throughout the earth.

13. *I do set my bow in the cloud*] Lit. I have set My bow. The covenant was an universal covenant; the sign of the covenant was therefore to be one visible to all nations, and intelligible to all minds. It appears at first sight as if the words of the sacred record implied that this was the first rainbow ever seen on earth. But it would be doing no violence to the text to believe, that the rainbow had been already a familiar sight, but that it was newly constituted the sign or token of a Covenant, just as afterwards the familiar rite of baptism and the customary use of bread and wine were by our Blessed Lord ordained to be the tokens and pledges of the New Covenant in Christ between His Heavenly Father and every Christian soul.

20. *Noah began to be an husbandman*] Husbandry had been much used before the flood; but now there was a new condition of the earth, and all was, as it were, begun again. As an incursion of barbarians has often swept away the civilization of a whole region or continent, so the flood had reduced mankind almost to the simplicity of the days of Adam. Still, without doubt, many of the inventions of the antediluvian race would have been preserved by the family of Noah; and probably among the rest the cultivation of the vine.

21. *he drank of the wine*] Many have supposed that Noah was the discoverer of the art of making wine, and even that he was the great planter of the vine. So they have palliated his fault by ascribing it to ignorance of the effects of wine. It is hardly probable that, with all the difficulties of his new position, Noah should have invented fermentation. More likely is it, that the ingenious and intemperate descendants of Cain had long before discovered it. Noah may have been but little used to strong drink, and hence may not have known that it would so soon overcome him; yet we may well follow the wisdom of Calvin, and say, "Leaving all this in uncertainty, let us learn from Noah's intemperance how foul and detestable a vice drunkenness is." The Holy Scriptures never conceal the sins even of God's greatest saints, and the sins of saints are sure to meet with chastisement. Noah's piety is plainly recorded. It is also plainly recorded that he fell into sin, whether partly of ignorance or wholly of infirmity; that sin brought with it shame, and, as is so often found, was the occasion of sin to others, and led on to consequences disastrous to the descendants of all those who

22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.

23 And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid *it* upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces *were* backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.

24 And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.

25 And he said, Cursed *be* Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

26 And he said, Blessed *be* the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be [1]his servant.

27 God shall [1]enlarge Japheth, and

[1] Or, *servant to them.*

[1] Or, *persuade.*

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in any degree shared in the guilt of it. Noah sinned, Ham sinned, perhaps, too, Canaan sinned. So there was a heritage of sorrow to the descendants of Noah in the line of Ham, to the descendants of Ham in the line of Canaan.

22. *Ham, the father of Canaan*] The great difficulty in this history is that Ham appears to have sinned, and Canaan is cursed. Some see in this simply the visiting of the sins of the fathers on their children. But then why only on one of those children? A propriety has been discovered in the curse on Canaan, as he was Ham's youngest son, just as Ham was the youngest son of Noah. Yet this is all gratuitous and without authority from the text of Scripture. It has been thought, once more, that Noah's prophecy extended to all the posterity of Ham, but that only that portion which affected Canaan was preserved by Moses, in order to animate the Israelites in their wars against the Canaanites; others again have conjectured, that in the prophecy of Noah, instead of "cursed be Canaan," we ought to read, "cursed be Ham the father of Canaan;" but such conjectures, without authority of MSS. are quite inadmissible. The extreme brevity of the narrative renders it impossible to explain it fully. Nothing is said, save only that Ham saw his father naked, and then told his brethren. We are even left to infer that he told this scoffingly; but for the curse that follows, we might suppose that he had only consulted them as to how best to conceal their father's shame. Something therefore there plainly is, which requires to be supplied in order fully to clear up the obscurity. Yet this cannot now be discovered. Conjecture only is possible.

Origen mentions as a tradition among the Jews, that Canaan first saw the shame of his grandfather and told it to his father. In that case, it may have been that the chief sin lay with Canaan, and hence that he especially inherited the curse. Many commentators have adopted this opinion, and it would certainly solve most of the difficulty.

24. *His younger son*] Ham is always named second among the sons of Noah; but it has sometimes been thought, that Japheth was the eldest and Ham the youngest, the order being changed for the sake of putting first Shem, who was the progenitor of the chosen seed. Yet many writers of great authority, both Jewish and Christian, understand by the term here used, "his younger (lit. little) son," not his son Ham, but his grandson Canaan. (So Levi Ben Gerson, Abenezra, Theodoret, Procopius, Joseph Scaliger, &c.). This would correspond with the tradition mentioned by Origen (see last note), that the sin of Ham was shared by Canaan, or perhaps that Canaan was the guilty person, his father only not having condemned, but rather joined in his wickedness.

25. *Cursed be Canaan*, &c.] In the patriarchal ages, when there was no regular order of priests or prophets, the head of the family was the priest, and these blessings and curses spake they not of themselves, but being high priests they prophesied. Yet we can hardly fail to see also in these histories a lesson, that a parent's blessing is to be valued, a parent's curse to be dreaded.

26. *Blessed be the LORD God of Shem*] The prophecy here assumes the form of a thanksgiving to God, from whom all holy desires and good counsels come, and who had put into the heart of Shem to act piously. At the same time, it is clearly implied, that the Lord, JEHOVAH, should be very specially the God of Shem, which was fulfilled in the selection of the descendants of Abraham to be the peculiar people of God.

Canaan shall be his servant] Noah foretells the subjugation of the land of Canaan by the people of Israel, when the Canaanites should become servants of the descendants of Shem.

27. *God shall enlarge Japheth*] There is a paronomasia on the name Japheth, which probably signifies "enlarged." The Hebrew word "shall enlarge" is, neglecting the vowel points, letter for letter the same as the word Japheth. The prophecy looked forward to the wide territory which was assigned to the descendants of Japheth, reaching from India and Persia in the East to the remotest boun-

he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

28 ¶ And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.

29 And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The generations of Noah.* 2 *The sons of Japheth.* 6 *The sons of Ham.* 8 *Nimrod the first monarch.* 21 *The sons of Shem.*

NOW these *are* the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem,

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daries of Europe in the West, and now spreading over America and Australia.

and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem] (1) The Targum of Onkelos, Philo, Theodoret and some other interpreters, Jewish and Christian, understood He *i.e.* God, shall dwell among the descendants of Shem." (2) Many more, (*e.g.* Calvin, Bochart, Rosenm., Tuch, Del., Reinke, Keil), following the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan, consider Japheth to be the subject of the proposition. Jonathan's paraphrase is "The sons of Japheth shall be proselyted and dwell in the schools of Shem," and the majority of Christian interpreters understood the prophecy to be similar to that in Isai. lx. 3, 5, "Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising ...the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." Nearly all those nations whose history and language shew them to be Japhetic have been converted to a belief in the religion of the God of Shem, which has long been the religion of all Europe, and which is now making way even among the Aryan races of Asia. (3) It has been suggested by some, though with little ground of probability, that instead of "tents of Shem," we should render "tents of renown," the tabernacles of Japheth being spoken of as famous and illustrious. Of the three interpretations, (2) may be pronounced somewhat confidently to be the true. By that the continuity of the whole prophecy is preserved. The first part, v. 25, refers only to the descendants of Ham and Canaan. The second is the blessing on Shem, with a repetition of the condemnation of Canaan. The third is the blessing on Japheth, concluding also with the condemnation of Canaan.

The prophecy then embraces the following particulars: 1. That the world should be divided among the descendants of Noah, but that Japheth should have the largest portion for his inheritance. 2. That the descendants of Shem should preserve the knowledge of the true God, and be specially chosen to be His inheritance and His peculiar people. 3. That the descendants of Japheth should ultimately dwell in the tents of Shem, that is, according to Jewish interpretation, should learn from the descendants of Shem the knowledge of the true God. 4. That Canaan, and perhaps other Hamitic nations, should be depressed and reduced to a condition of servitude.

How fully all these predictions have been carried out in the history of Asia, Europe and Africa, hardly need be said.

28. *And Noah lived*, &c.] These two verses seem the natural conclusion of ch. v. but are disjoined from it in order to insert the history of the life of Noah.

CHAP. X. 1. *Now these are the generations*] From the history of Noah the sacred narrative proceeds to the genealogy of the sons of Noah. It is admitted on all hands that there exists no more interesting record, ethnological and geographical, independently of its Scriptural authority.

The genealogy traces the origin of all nations from a single pair. The human race descended from Adam had been destroyed by the flood, with the exception of Noah and his family. Though it is quite possible to interpret the language of the sacred narrative consistently with the belief that the Deluge was not universal, it at least appears most probable that the man-inhabited world was submerged. And again, although some have contended that the different races of man are so dissimilar, that they must have descended from different primitive stocks; yet the inquiries of naturalists and physiologists at present tend rather to diminish than to increase the number of distinct species, both in the animal and the vegetable world, and so to make it even the more certain that human beings constitute but one species deducible from a single pair. The same anatomical structure, especially of the skull and brain, the same intellectual capacities, though differently developed in different nations, the same general duration of life, the same liability to disease, the same average temperature of the body, the same normal frequency of the pulse, the fruitful intermarriage of all races, and that with no instinctive natural repugnances, are manifest indications of an unity of species (Del.). From the time of Blumenbach (whose book 'De naturæ generis humani unitate' is still a standard work on this subject) down to the present day, the most eminent physiologists agree in considering these and similar arguments well nigh conclusive in favour of the unity of the human race. (Consult especially Prichard, 'Phys. Hist. of Mankind;' Smyth, 'Unity of Human Race;' Quatrefages, 'L'unité de l'espèce humaine,' and his report on 'Anthropologie'). To these physiological considera-

Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.

[a] 1 Chron. 1. 5. 2 [a]The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.

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tions we may now add the evidence to be derived from human language. "It was a profound saying of William Humboldt, that man is man only by means of speech, but that in order to invent speech, he must be man already" (Lyell, 'Antiquity of Man,' 468). This alone is an argument for the unity of that race which is distinguished from all other animals by the possession of articulate language. But, moreover, the greatest philologists of the present day seem to be approaching the conclusion that the evidence of comparative grammar, so far as it goes, is in favour of the original unity of human language. "One of the grandest results of modern comparative philology has been to shew that all languages belonging to one common stock—and we may say, enlarging this view, all languages of the earth—are but scattered indications of that primitive state of human intellect, and more particularly of the imitative faculty, under the higher excitement of poetical inspiration, in which the language originated, and with which every language remains connected, as well through the physiological unity of the human race, as through the historical unity of the family to which it more especially belongs" (Meyer ap. Bunsen, 'Christianity and Mankind,' Vol. III. p. 163). So writes Dr Meyer: and Prof. Max Müller says, "These two points Comparative Philology has gained. (1) Nothing necessitates the admission of different independent beginnings for the material elements of the Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan branches of speech: nay, it is possible even now to point out radicals, which, under various changes and disguises, have been current in these three branches ever since their first separation. (2) Nothing necessitates the admission of different beginnings for the formal elements of the Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan branches of speech; and though it is impossible to derive the Aryan system of grammar from the Semitic, or the Semitic from the Turanian, we can perfectly understand how, either through individual influences, or by the wear and tear of grammar in its own continuous working, the different systems of grammar of Asia and Europe may have been produced" (Max Müller, *Ibid.* pp. 479, 480). Once more, although it may not be possible simply to assign all Semitic tongues to the descendants of Shem, Aryan to the descendants of Japhet, and Turanian to the descendants of Ham; it is still observable that comparative philology seems to have reduced all languages to three distinct stocks, even the rapid degeneracy of barbarian dialects not wholly obscuring their relationship to one of these three families. This is the more to be noticed, when we learn that in savage tribes those who speak the same dialect will sometimes, by separation and estrangement, become in the course of a single generation unintelligible to each other.

Certain rules are to be observed for the clearing up of some difficulties in the genealogy of this chapter. 1. Though some notice may be taken of the progenitors of all nations, yet naturally those families, more or less connected with the Hebrews, are the longest dwelt upon. 2. Whereas all are said to have settled and dispersed themselves "after their families in their nations," it will appear that only the larger division by *nations* is traced in the case of more remote peoples, whilst those related to or bordering on the Hebrews are traced both according to the wider division of *nations*, and the narrower of *families*. 3. Although the first division of the earth is spoken of as made in the time of Peleg, and some families may be traced no farther than up to the time of such division, yet the developement of those more specially treated of is brought down to the time of Moses. 4. For none, however, must we seek a very remote settlement, as the original dispersion could not have extended so far. 5. In some cases the names of nations or tribes appear to be substituted for the names of individuals, such as the Jebusite, the Hivite, the Arkite &c., very probably also such as Kittim, Dodanim, Mizraim &c.; and even perhaps Aram, Canaan and the like. This may be accounted for in more than one way. The purpose of the sacred writer was to trace nations and families, rather than to give a history of individuals, and he therefore speaks of nations known by name to the Israelites as begotten by (*i.e.* descended from) certain patriarchs, in preference to tracing their descent through unknown individuals. Perhaps too individual patriarchs and progenitors had become known by tradition to posterity, not by their own original names, but by the name of the place they had settled in, or by the name of the tribe which they had founded and ruled. The origin of names is often very obscure, and it has been common in most rude societies for persons to be called after places or properties. It is quite possible that even the very earliest patriarchs, as, Shem, Ham and Japheth, Canaan and the like, may have been known in after ages by names which adhered to them through events in their history or places where they had fixed themselves. Thus Shem may have been the man of *name*, the most renowned of Noah's sons, Ham, the

3 And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.

man who settled in the *warm regions* of Africa, Japheth the father of the *fair* people of Europe, or perhaps the man whose descendants *spread abroad* more widely than the rest. Canaan again may have been the dweller in *low* lands, while *Aram* may have derived a title from having chosen the *high* lands for his home. This theory, if true, would not interfere with the historical character of this Chapter; especially if we consider that Hebrew may not have been the primitive tongue, in which case all these names must either have been translations of the original names, or names by which the bearers had become known to posterity. We have many examples in Scripture of persons changing their names or adopting new names from events in their history, *e.g.* Abram changing into Abraham; Esau to Edom; Jacob to Israel; Saul to Paul, &c., &c. The whole number of families noticed in this chapter amounts to 70; but it is to be observed that in some cases the descent is traced only to the grandsons, in other cases to the great grandsons of Noah: in the family of Shem only, the ancestor of the Hebrews, the descent is traced through six generations.

2. *Japheth*] It is doubtful whether Japheth was the eldest or the second son of Noah, see on v. 21. He is generally mentioned last in order, Shem, Ham and Japheth, but from ix. 24, it is generally inferred that Ham was the youngest. In this genealogy he occurs first, the reason being probably this; Shem is reserved to the last that his descent may be traced to a greater length, and Ham last but one, because his descendants were those most closely connected with the descendants of Shem. The etymology of the name Japheth should seem from ix. 27 to be from the root *Pathah, to extend.* But the language in ix. 27, may be only an example of the paronomasia so common in Hebrew poetry; and Gesenius, Knobel and others prefer to derive from *Yaphah, to be fair*, from the fair complexion of Japheth and his descendants.

Gomer] Josephus ('Ant.' I. 7) says that Gomer was the ancestor of those whom the Greeks called Galatians, who were formerly called Gomarites. The descendants of Gomer have accordingly been generally identified with the Celtic race called in the time of Homer Cimmerii, who are first known as inhabiting the Chersonesus Taurica, which still retains the name *Crimea.* (See Herod. IV. 12, 45. Æsch. 'Prom.' v. 729.) The relation of Gomer to Magog and Madai corresponds with the original juxtaposition of the Cimmerians to the Scythians and Medes, the Cimmerians dwelling first on the confines of Asia and Europe. Being driven thence by the Scythians in the reign of Cyaxares, they made an irruption into Asia Minor, from which they were driven back again by Alyattes. Their name, which then nearly disappears in Asia, is recognized again in the Cimbri, who occupied the Cimbrian Chersonesus and other parts of the North of Europe, and in the great Celtic tribe of Cymry, the ancient inhabitants of Britain and the present inhabitants of Wales.

Magog] The statement of Josephus ('Ant.' I. 6), that the descendants of Magog were the Scythians is generally accepted as true. In Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 14; xxxix. 2. 6, we find Magog as the name of a people inhabiting "the sides of the North" closely connected with Meshech, the Moschi, and Tubal, the Tibarenes, with a prince named Gog, having horses and armed with bows, which corresponds with the local position and military habits of the Scythians. The Scythians, according to their own traditions, lived first in Asia near the river Araxes, afterwards they possessed the whole country to the ocean and the lake Mæotis, and the rest of the plain to the river Tanais (Diod. Sic. II. 3). Herodotus (I. 103—106) relates their descent upon Media, and Egypt, till they were surprised and cut off at a feast by Cyaxares. From their intermixture with the Medes, the Sarmatians appear to have arisen, and from them the Russians. See Knobel.

Madai] The Medes were called *Mada* by themselves, as appears from the arrow-headed inscriptions, changed in the Semitic to Madai, and by the Greeks to Medoi. They dwelt to the S. and S. W. of the Caspian, and coming over to Europe in small parties mingled with the Scythians, whence sprang the Sarmatians.

Javan] From Javan was "Ionia and the whole Hellenic people" (Jos. 'Ant.' i. 6). Cp. Is. lxvi. 19, Ezek. xxvii. 13, Daniel viii. 21, where Alexander is called king of Javan; Joel iii. 6, where "the sons of the Javanites" are put for the Grecians (υἱες Ἀχαίων), Zech. ix. 13. Greece is called *Ionia* in Egyptian hieroglyphics and Yuna in a Cuneiform inscription at Persepolis (Gesen. s.v.). The Ionians were the most Eastern of the Hellenic races, and so were the best known to the Asiatics. The course of migration had evidently been from Ionia to Attica and other parts of Greece.

Tubal, and Meshech] These names constantly occur together; see Ezek. xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1; where we find them joined with the invading army of Gog and Magog, and going with Javan to Tyre to purchase slaves and vessels of brass. Meshech is by Josephus said to be the father

4 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.

of the Cappadocians, who had, he tells us, a city called Mazacha, and to Tubal he traces the Iberians who dwelt between the Euxine and the Caspian. Later writers have long identified Meshech with the Moschi, inhabitants of the Moschian mountains between Armenia, Iberia and Colchis. Bochart was the first to identify Tubal with the Tibareni, who dwelt on the Southern shore of the Euxine towards the East and near to the Moschi. Knobel considers the Tibareni to be connected with the Iberians: Tubal = Tibar = Iber.

Tiras] Josephus identifies the descendants of Tiras with the Thracians. So Jerome, the Targums, and most modern commentators. The Getæ and Daci, north of the Danube, belonged to the Thracian stock. According to Grimm and some other authorities, the Getæ were the ancestors of the Goths, which would immediately connect the Thracian and Teutonic races together. The chief reason, however, for considering Tiras the ancestor of the Thracians seems to be the similarity of the names. Accordingly other resemblances have been found. Tuch for instance is in favour of the Tyrseni or Tyrrheni.

3. *the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz*] There is little to guide us to the identification of Ashkenaz, except the name and the mention of Ashkenaz Jer. li. 27 in company with Ararat and Minni, which makes it probable that the descendants of Ashkenaz dwelt near the Euxine and the Caspian. Bochart suggests Phrygia, where were the lake and river Ascanius. The Rabbi Saadias says the Slavi. Targ. of Jonathan gives Adiabene. Some have discovered a resemblance of sound in *Scandinavia*, and also to *Saxon*. The modern Jews called Germany Ashkenaz; and Knobel considers this to be the true interpretation of the name; though etymologically he finds in it the race of Asa or the Asiatics, Ash-genos. These Asa or Asiatics he thinks, dwelt in Asia Minor (comp. *Ascania*), and after the Trojan war migrated towards Pannonia and thence towards the Rhine. The Scandinavians traced their origin to Asia, and called the home of their gods Asgard. It has been conjectured by Bochart and others, that the Black sea was called the sea of Ashkenaz, which sounded to the Greeks like Axenos, their original name for it, and which by an euphemism they changed to Euxeinos.

Riphath] Josephus says Paphlagonia, in which he is followed by Bochart, Le Clerc, &c. Most modern commentators compare the Riphæan mountains, which the ancient geographers (Strab. VII. 3, § 1. Plin. 'H. N.' IV. 12. Mela, I. 19, &c.) place in the remote North. Mela (II. 2) places them East of the Tanais. Knobel conjectures that the Celts or Gauls were the descendants of Riphath, and that they first lived near the Carpathians, which he identifies with the Montes Riphæi.

Togarmah] Mentioned again Ez. xxvii. 14, xxxviii. 6. Josephus identifies with the Phrygians, Bochart with the Cappadocians. Michaelis, and after him most moderns, prefer the Armenians; so Rosenm., Gesen., Winer, Knobel, &c. The Armenians themselves traced their origin to Haic the son of Thogoreu or Thorgau (Mos. Choren. I. 4, § 9). Ezekiel (xxvii. 14) attributes to Togarmah great traffic in horses; and Strabo (XI. 13, § 9) speaks of the Armenians as famous for breeding horses. Modern philologists consider the Armenian as an Aryan or Indo-European language, which corresponds with the descent from Japheth.

4. *And the sons of Javan; Elishah*] Ezekiel (xxvii. 7) mentions the isles of Elishah as those whence the Tyrians obtained their purple and scarlet. Some of the Targums identify with Hellas, in which they are followed by Michaelis, Rosenm., and others. Josephus ('Ant.' I. 6) identifies with the Æolians, which is the view adopted by Knobel. Bochart preferred the Peloponnesus, which was famous for its purple dye, and of which the most important district was called *Elis*. Whichever view be adopted, there is little doubt that the descendants of Elishah in the time of Ezekiel were a maritime people of the Grecian stock.

Tarshish] By Josephus identified with Tarsus in Cilicia; by the LXX. (Is. xxiii. 1, &c.), Theodoret, and others, with Carthage; by Eusebius, who is followed by Bochart and most moderns, with Tartessus in Spain. Tarshish, from the various notices of it, appears to have been a seaport town towards the West (cp. Ps. lxxii.; Is. lx. 9); whither the Phœnicians were wont to traffic in large ships, "ships of Tarshish" (see 1 K. x. 22, xxii. 48; Ps. xlviii. 7; Is. ii. 16, xxiii. 1, 14, lx. 9) sailing from the port of Joppa (Jon. i. 3, iv. 2). It was a most wealthy and flourishing mart, whence came silver, iron, tin, and lead (Ps. lxxii. 10; Is. lxvi. 19; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25). The name Tartessus is identical with Tarshish, the *t* being constantly substituted by the Syriac for the Hebrew sibilant (cp. Bashan = Batanæa, Zor = Tyre, &c.). The Spanish were among the most famous of the Phœnician colonies, and were specially rich in metal (Diod. Sic. v. 35—38; Arrian. II. 16; Plin. 'H. N.' III. 3; Mela, II. 6, &c.); of which colonies Tartessus was the most illustrious. It appears to have been situated at the mouth of the Guadalquiver (Strabo, III. p. 148). Two passages in Chronicles (2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36) seem irre-

5 By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.

6 ¶ [b]And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. [b] 1 Chron. 1. 8.

7 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah,

concilable with this, and induced St Jerome ('in Jerem.' x. 9), and after him Bochart and others, to suppose that there must have been another Tarshish in the Indian Ocean, which could be approached by the Red Sea, an opinion now generally rejected. Knobel supposes that the original inhabitants of Tarshish were the Tusci, Tyrsenians, or Tyrrhenians, a Pelasgic, though not Hellenic race, inhabiting great part of Italy, Corsica, and Sardinia, and that very probably Tartessus in Spain was a colony or offshoot from these people.

Kittim (or *Chittim*)] Identified by Josephus with Cyprus, in which we meet with the town of Cittium; by Eusebius, and after him by Bochart, with the inhabitants of the part of Italy contiguous to Rome. In 1 Maccab. i. 1 Alexander is said to come from Chittim, and (1 Macc. viii. 5) Perseus is called King of the Kitiæans, which induced Michaelis and others to suppose the Chittim to be the Macedonians. Most modern interpreters seem to acquiesce in the opinion of Josephus, that Cyprus (see Is. xxiii 1, 12) may have been a chief seat of the Chittim, but add that probably their colonies extended to the isles of the Eastern Mediterranean (see Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6). So Gesen., Knobel, Delitz., Kalisch.

Dodanim] has been compared with Dodona in Epirus. By Kalisch it is identified with the Daunians. Gesenius suspects Dodanim to be equivalent (perhaps by contraction) with Dardanim = Dardani or Trojans, an opinion which he confirms by the authority of the Bereschit Rabba on this verse. Knobel conjectures that we have traces of Dodanim both in Dodona (a name which he says prevailed through Illyricum and Northern Greece) and also in Dardania and the Dardans. There is another reading in 1 Chr. i. 7, and here also (Gen. x. 4) in the Gr. and Samaritan, viz. Rodanim, Rhodii, the people of Rhodes.

5. *isles of the Gentiles*] The word here rendered *Isle*, very probably meaning originally "habitable region" (Is. xlii. 15), is generally used either of islands or of places on the sea coast. On the whole of this verse see Jos. Mede, Bk. 1. 'Disc.' XLIX. L. By the phrase "Isles of the Gentiles" were understood those countries of Europe and Asia Minor to which the inhabitants of Egypt and Palestine had access only by sea.

6. *Ham*] It is generally thought that the name means warm, which is to be compared with the Greek Aithiops (Ethiopian), which has a similar significance. The word *Kem*, the Egyptian name for Egypt, probably the same word as Ham, signifies *blackness*, with perhaps some notion of heat (see Plutarch, 'De Iside et Osiride,' § 33). The blackness is now generally admitted to refer to the soil, denoting its colour and fertility. (See Excursus.) In Ps. lxxviii. 51, cv. 23, cvi. 22, Egypt is called the land of Ham, which seems to confirm the belief that Kem (in Greek Chemia) is the same as Ham. The descendants of Ham appear to have colonized Babylonia, Southern Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and other portions of Africa.

Much has been written of late about the Hamitic languages. The frequent mixture of the Hamites with the descendants of Shem makes it very difficult to discern clearly between their tongues. Bunsen considers Chamitism to be the most ancient form of Semitism, in fact Semitism, before the Hamites and Shemites thoroughly parted off from each other and from their primeval dwelling-place. The ancient Egyptian has a Semitic base with Turanian (negro) infusion, but the Hamitic races have so frequently been conquered, morally and physically, by the descendants of Shem and Japheth, that their original languages have been lost or corrupted by the prevalence of Semitism or Aryanism.

Cush] The name Cush is generally translated Ethiopia. The Ethiopians at the time of Josephus were called Chusæi, Cushites, and that is still the Syriac name for the Abyssinians. There is, however, good reason to believe, with Bochart, and others, that the first home of the Cushites was Chuzistan and the adjoining parts of Southern Asia, from whence they spread in different directions, a main body having crossed the sea and settled in Ethiopia.

Certainly some of those, who are here mentioned (*e.g.* Raamah, Sheba, Dedan, vv. 7, 8) as the descendants of Cush, established colonies in Asia. Some passages in the Old Testament seem to require that we should place Cush in Asia, as Gen. ii. 13; so also Exod. ii. 16, 21, compared with Num. xii. 1; in the latter of which Zipporah is called a Cushite, whilst in the former she is said to be a daughter of the priest of Midian. This connects Cush with Midian, which was in Arabia Felix, near the Red Sea. Again, in Hab. iii. 7 Cush and Midian appear to be connected. In Job xxviii. 19 we read of "the topaz of Cush." Now, there is no reason to suppose that Ethiopia produced topazes, but Pliny (XXXVII. 8) speaks of an island of Arabia in the Red Sea as famous for this

and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.

8 And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

gem, which is also noted by Diodorus (III. 39). All this connects Cush with Asia, and seems to prove that the first settlement of the Cushites was in Asia. Their subsequent emigration into Africa, so that one division was on the East and the other on the West of the Gulf of Arabia, may account for the language of Homer, who speaks of the Æthiopians as divided into two distinct tribes ('Od.' I. 23), a distinction observed by Strabo ('Geogr.' I. p. 21), by Pliny (lib. v. c. 8), and by Pomponius Mela (lib. I. cap. 2).

Mizraim] is undoubtedly Egypt. The origin and meaning of the word has been much debated, but with no certain conclusion. If the singular be the Hebrew Mazor, it should signify a *mound* or *fortified place*. Gesenius and others prefer the Arabic Meser, *a limit* or *boundary*. The dual form has been supposed to indicate Upper and Lower Egypt. It perhaps may be the rendering or transcription of Mes-ra-n "children of Ra," i.e. of the Sun. The Egyptians claimed to be sons of Ra. (See Excursus.) It certainly seems as if the name belonged rather to a race or nation than to a man; and, therefore, the son of Ham here named is probably designated as the founder or ancestor of the Egyptians or people of Mizraim.

Phut] The name *Phut* occurs several times in the Old Testament, and generally in connection with the Egyptians and Ethiopians, sometimes with Persia and Lud. See Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5, xxxviii. 5; Nah. iii. 9. The LXX. in Jeremiah and Ezekiel always render *Libyans*. So Josephus says ('Ant.' I. 6), that Phut colonized Libya, and that the people were from him called Phutites. The Coptic name of Libya is Phaiat ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲧ. St Jerome speaks of a river of Mauritania, and the region round it, as called Phut to his time. ('Tradit. Hebr.')

Canaan] The name is thought by some to be derived from the nature of the country in which the descendants of Canaan lived, viz. a flat, depressed region, from the Hebrew root *Cana* (hiph.) to depress. The fact, that the Canaanites appear to have spoken a Semitic tongue has been alleged as a reason why they should not have been of Hamitic descent. Knobel has well observed, however, that they are said by the ancients to have removed from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, with which agrees the mythology which brought into relation the Phœnicians' ancestors Agenor and Phœnix sometimes with Belus and Babylonia, sometimes with Ægyptus and Danaus (the Æthiop), Cepheus and Libya. In the earliest days the Hamites and Shemites were near neighbours; there may have sprung from them a mixed race, which spread toward Tyre and Sidon and dispossessed, partly also intermingled with, a Semitic race originally inhabiting the region of Palestine and Phœnicia. As Abraham and his descendants appear to have changed their native Aramean for the Hebrew of Palestine, so very probably the Hamitic Canaanites, long mingled with Shemitic races, acquired the language of the children of Shem. The whole character of the Canaanitish civilization and worship was Hamite, not Semitic. Like the sons of Seth, the sons of Shem lived a nomadic, pastoral life; whilst, with a like resemblance to the descendants of Cain, the Hamites were builders of cities and fortresses, and rapidly grew into prosperous, mercantile races, with an advanced, but corrupt civilization. Compare Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Sidon, and contrast with them the Israelites, Ishmaelites, Arabs, &c.

7. *the sons of Cush; Seba*] Seba appears to be the name of a commercial and wealthy region of Ethiopia; see Ps. lxxii. 10; Is. xliii. 3, xlv. 14. In the last passage the Sabeans (Sebaim) are called "men of stature;" and Herodotus says that the Macrobian Ethiopians "were reported to be the tallest and comeliest of men" (III. 20). According to Josephus ('Ant.' II. 10), Meroë was anciently called Seba, until Cambyses gave it the name of his sister Meroë. Meroë is described as a strong fortress situated in a most fertile country at the confluence of the rivers Astophus and Astaborus. The ruins of Meroë still remain to the north-east of the Nubian town of Shendy.

Havilah] Havilah, the son of Joktan, occurs, v. 29, among the descendants of Shem. Some identify the descendants of Havilah the son of Cush with the Avalitæ on the coast of Africa; whilst others place them in Chawlan of Arabia Felix. There is an inevitable confusion from the name of a grandson of Ham being the same as that of a descendant of Shem. Niebuhr and others have asserted that there were two Chawlans, and have ascribed one to the Shemite, the other to the Hamite. It seems very possible that the descendants of Havilah the son of Cush intermingled with the descendants of Havilah the Joktanide, and so ultimately formed but one people, whose dwelling-place was Chawlan, the well-known fertile region of Yemen.

Sabtah] By Gesenius and others, who confine the Cushites to Africa, the descendants of Sabtah are placed on the African shore of the Gulf of Arabia. More commonly, and more probably, their home is sought for in

9 He was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD.

10 And the beginning of his kingdom was † Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. † Gr. *Babylon.*

Hadramaut, a province of Southern Arabia, where Pliny (VI. 32) places the city of Sabbatha or Sabotha. It is said, that to this day in Yemen and Hadramaut there is a dark race of men distinguished from the fairer Arabs, and belonging evidently to a different original stock. (Knobel.)

Raamah] LXX. Rhegma. The connection of Raamah with Sheba and Dedan, of whom he is here said to be the father (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 22), leaves no doubt, even with those who confine the other Cushites to Ethiopia, that the settlement of Raamah must be sought for in Southern Arabia, in the neighbourhood of Sheba and Dedan. Ptolemy (VI. 7) places Rhēgma, and Steph. Byzant. Rhēgma on the shore of the Persian Gulf.

Sabtechah] is by some placed in Ethiopia. Bochart, who is followed by Knobel, places it in Caramania, on the Eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, where the ancients (Ptolem. VI. 8; Steph. Byz. 2) mention Samidace or Samydace.

Sheba, and Dedan] Sheba occurs again in v. 28 as a son of Joktan, and Sheba and Dedan together, Gen. xxv. 3, as children of Joktan, the son of Abraham and Keturah. This is evidently another example of the intermingling of the Cushites with the Joktanides, and generally of the early descendants of Shem and Ham. In Ezek. xxvii. 15—20 we find the Cushite Dedan supplying Tyre with merchandise brought from beyond the sea, while the Shemite Dedan supplies the produce of flocks. Sheba is known to us as an important and opulent region of Arabia Felix. (1 K. x. 1; Ps. lxxii. 10. 15; Job i. 15, vi. 19; Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22; Joel iii. 8.) The Sabeans are spoken of by Strabo (XVI. p. 777) as a most opulent and powerful people, famous for myrrh, frankincense, and cinnamon, their chief city being Mariaba, (in Arab. Marib). This was afterwards the famous kingdom of the Himyaritic Arabs, so called probably from the ruling family of Himyar. It is probable, that the Cushite Sheba, and his brother Dedan, were settled on the shore of the Persian Gulf (see Raamah above); but afterwards were combined with the great Joktanide kingdom of the Sabeans.

8. *Cush begat Nimrod*] Nimrod is here separated from the other sons of Cush, perhaps because of his great fame and mighty prowess; but it is quite possible, that the words "Cush begat Nimrod" may only mean that Nimrod was a descendant of Cush, not immediately his son, the custom of the Hebrews being to call any ancestor a father, and any descendant a son. The name Nimrod is commonly derived from the Hebrew *marad*, to *rebel*. The Eastern traditions make him a man of violent, lawless habits, a rebel against God, and an usurper of boundless authority over his fellow-men, at whose instigation men began the building of the tower of Babel. (Jos. 'Ant.' I. 4.) He has accordingly been identified with the Orion of the Greeks, and it has been thought that the constellation Orion, called by the Hebrews *Kesil* "the fool, the impious," and by the Arabs "the giant," was connected with Nimrod, who is said in the LXX. to have been a "giant on the earth." The Scripture narrative, however, says nothing of this violence and lawlessness, and the later tradition is very doubtful and vague. The LXX. spell the name Nebrod, so also Josephus, which some have referred to a Persian root signifying *war*, a warrior; but this etymology is altogether uncertain, and not to be relied on.

he began to be a mighty one in the earth] He was the first of the sons of Noah distinguished by his warlike prowess. The word "mighty one" (in the LXX. "giant") is constantly used for a great warrior, a hero, or man of renown. Cp. Gen. vi. 4; Judg. vi. 12; xi. 1; 1 S. ix. 1; 2 K. v. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 16, lxxviii. 65; Is. xiii. 3, &c.

9. *He was a mighty hunter*] LXX. "a giant hunter." Bochart says that by being a famous hunter, he gathered to himself all the enterprising young men of his generation, attached them to his person, and so became a kind of king among them, training his followers first in the chase, and then leading them to war. Compare Hercules, Theseus, Meleager, &c. among the Greeks. The Jerusalem Targum renders "He was mighty in hunting and in sin before the Lord, for he was a hunter of the sons of men in their languages." The Syriac also renders "a warrior." Following these, many have understood, that he was a hunter of men, rather than a hunter of beasts.

before the LORD] Is most likely added only to give emphasis, or the force of a superlative (cp. Gen. xiii. 10, xxx. 8, xxxv. 5; 1 S. xi. 7, xiv. 15, xxvi. 12; Ps. civ. 16; Jonah iii. 3; Acts vii. 20): though some understand "against the Lord," as 1 Chron. xiv. 8, where it is said "David went out against them," literally "before them."

10. *And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel*] The later Chaldæans and Babylonians

11 Out of that land [1]went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and [1]the city Rehoboth, and Calah,

12 And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same *is* a great city.

[1] Or, *he went out into Assyria.* [1] Or, *the streets of the city.*

spoke a Semitic language, but the most ancient Babylonian inscriptions shew that the earliest inhabitants spoke a Turanian or Cushite tongue, and were therefore of the same race as the Ethiopians and Southern Arabians. Moreover, the most ancient traditions bring the first colonists of Babylon from the South. Thus Belus, son of Poseidon and Libya, is said to have led a colony from Egypt into Babylonia, and there fixing his seat on the Euphrates, to have consecrated the priests called in Babylon Chaldæans (Diod. Sic. lib. I. c. ii.): and the fish-god Oannes, the great civilizer of Babylon, is said to have risen out of the Red Sea (Syncell. 'Chron.' p. 28). Nimrod is probably to be identified with Belus; but the word Belus itself (= Bel = Baal) is not so much a name as a title, meaning *lord* or *master*, and may have been given traditionally to the first founder of empire in the earth. The words "beginning of his kingdom" may signify that Babel was the *first*, or possibly that it was the chief city founded by Nimrod.

Erech] The Targums, Ephraim Syr. and Jerome, render *Edessa*. Bochart says Areca on the confines of Babylonia and Susiana: but it is now generally agreed to be Archoë, the ruins of which, called Warka, lie about thirty hours to the south east of Babylon. The numerous mounds and remains of bricks and coffins indicate that this was probably the burying place of the kings of Assyria. (See Rawlinson, 'Five Monarchies,' Vol. I. p. 23.)

Accad] Spelt Archad by the LXX. and Achar by the Syr., has been compared by Bochart with the river Argades in Sithacene, the whole region having perhaps been called Archada. Le Clerc, who is followed by Gesenius, suggests Sacada, a town lying not far below Nineveh, where the Lycus falls into the Tigris. Knobel proposes a tract north of Babylon called Accete. The only ancient authorities (the Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan, Ephraim Syrus, Jerome, Barhebræus) render the word by *Nisibis*, a city on the river Khabour. Michaelis and many moderns adopt this as the probable site of Accad.

Calneh] (Calneh, Amos vi. 2. Calno, Is. x. 9, perhaps Canneh, Ezek. xxvii. 23, where one of De Rossi's MSS. reads Kalneh). Targg. Jer. and Pseudo-Jon., Euseb., Jerome, Ephr. Syr. give Ctesiphon on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite Seleucia, N.E. of Babylon. The name Calneh survived in Chalonitis, a region of Assyria, where Pliny places Ctesiphon. In this identification of Calneh with Ctesiphon most modern interpreters agree.

Shinar] Unquestionably the country round about Babylon, the great plain or alluvial country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. The name seems to have been Jewish; though there was a town in Mesopotamia known to the ancients, called Singara (Arab. Sinjar); and Rawlinson found in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions the name *Sinkareh* in cuneiform characters. The name too is found in Egyptian monuments of the 18th dynasty, from Thothmes I.

11. *Out of that land went forth Asshur*] So LXX., Syr., Vulg., Saad., Luth., Calv., J. D. Michael., Dathe, Ros., V. Bohlen. But the reading of the margin, "**From this land he went out into Assyria**," is the rendering of all the Targums, of Nachmanides, and after them, of Drusius, Bochart, Le Clerc, De Wette, Baumg., Tuch, Gesenius, Knobel, Delitzsch, Kalisch, and most modern interpreters. The syntax fully admits of this interpretation; and the general sense of the passage requires it. Nimrod is the subject here treated of. Asshur, the son of Shem, v. 22, was at least a generation older than Nimrod, who may probably have first colonized the country called after him, Asshur (or Assyria); Nimrod, or one of his descendants, afterwards invading and governing that country. Asshur was a region through which the Tigris flowed, to the N.E. of Babylonia, including a portion of Mesopotomia.

and builded Nineveh] According to Herodotus, Ninus (the mythic founder of Nineveh) was the grandson of Belus, the mythic founder of Babylon (Herod. I. 7). This, the most ancient Greek tradition, well corresponds with the account of Scripture, for the words "he went out into Asshur," might be rendered "one went out into Asshur," not distinctly defining Nimrod as the individual who built Nineveh.

Nineveh, the ancient metropolis of Assyria, on the East branch of the Tigris, became in after ages the largest and most flourishing city of the old world. It is described in the book of Jonah as "an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (Jon. iii. 3), with 120,000 children "who knew not their right hand from their left" (Jon. iv. 11), which would make a population of about 2,000,000. According to Diodorus Siculus, it was no less than 55 miles in circumference (Diod. II. 3), built, no doubt, like the ancient cities of the East, with pastures and pleasure grounds interspersed among streets and houses. Even in Babylon, which was of less extent than Nineveh, Diodorus (II. 9) says, that there were gardens and orchards, and land sufficient

13 And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim,

14 And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim.

to provide corn for all the people in case of a siege. Nineveh is mentioned among the cities or fortresses captured by Thothmes III. (see Excursus, p. 1). It was attacked by Phraortes the Mede, who perished in the attempt to take it (Herod. I. 102). His successor, Cyaxares, having laid siege to it, B.C. 625, was obliged to raise the siege by an incursion of Scythians (Herod. I. 103); but finally succeeded in reducing it, B.C. 597 (Herod. I. 106). From that time it lay desolate, though Tacitus ('Ann.' XII. 13) and Ammianus (XVIII. 7) mention a fortress of the name. Its site has been identified by modern travellers with the ruins of Nebbi Yunus and Koyunjik, nearly opposite to Mosul on the East banks of the Tigris. (See esp. Layard, 'Ninev.' Vol. II. pp. 136 ff.) The language of the inscriptions discovered in these ruins appears to be an ancient Semitic dialect. This is not inconsistent with the foundation of the city by a descendant of Nimrod; for the indigenous race was no doubt derived from the colonization by Ashur, the son of Shem, and the adoption of the Semitic language has parallels in the cases of Babylon and Canaan (see above on v. 6). Moreover, it is thought that in Assyria, as well as in Babylonia, two distinct languages existed, the older being Turanian, the other Semitic; accordingly, at Koyunjik, vocabularies have been discovered with two languages arranged in parallel columns, and tablets apparently in a Turanian dialect have been found in the ruins.

11. *and the city Rehoboth*] Lit. "the streets of the city."

12. *the same is a great city*] It is extremely difficult to identify Rehoboth, Resen and Calah with any known sites. Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that the four cities here named, viz. Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Resen, and Calah, were all afterwards combined under the one name of Nineveh, and that the words, v. 12, "the same is a great city," applied to this united whole, not to the single state of Resen. This is adopted by Niebuhr, Grote, Knobel, Rawlinson, Delitzsch.

13. *Ludim*] There was also a son of Shem named Lud, v. 22; but these Ludim were an African tribe. They are probably the same as Retu, the Egyptian name for "man," especially the Egyptians. The name appears to have belonged to the old population of Central Egypt. In Jerem. xlvi. 9, Cush, Phut, and Ludim are mentioned together, the Ludim are said to "handle and bend the bow," and all are placed in the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt. Again, in Ezek. xxx. 4, 5, Cush, Phut, and Lud are connected with Mizraim. In Isaiah, on the contrary, we find (lxvi. 19) Lud "that draw the bow" connected with Asiatic and European tribes, Tarshish, Pul, Tubal, and Javan. The existence of the two tribes both called Lud, the one Semite and the other Hamite, is inevitably a cause of confusion.

Anamim] Another Mizraite race, concerning whom no certain or very probable conjecture can be made. Knobel identifies them with an Egyptian name of the Delta.

Lehabim] Generally agreed to be the same as the Lubim, 2 Chr. xii. 3, xvi. 8, reckoned among the Ethiopian forces, and in Nah. iii. 9, Dan. xi. 43, named with the Egyptians; according to Josephus, the Libyans. The original home of this people appears to have been to the west of the Delta.

Naphtuhim] Mentioned only here and 1 Chr. i. 11. Bochart, followed by Michaelis, Jablonski, Gesenius and others, compares the name of the Egyptian goddess Nephthys, the wife of Typhon, to whom the parts of Egypt bordering on the Red Sea were consecrated. Plutarch ('De Is.' p. 355) says, "The Egyptians call the extremities of the land bordering on the sea by the name of Nephthys." If this be so, the Naphtuchim were probably a people dwelling on the Red Sea on the confines of Egypt. Knobel supposes them to have been the midland Egyptians, who in their great city Memphis worshipped Phthah, and were called in Coptic Phaphthah, "the (people) of Phthah."

14. *Pathrusim*] The people of Pathros, mentioned often in the prophets (as Is. xi. 11; Jer. xliv. 1; Ezek. xxix. 14, xxx. 14). The name Pathros occurs, sometimes as if it were separate from Egypt, sometimes as if it were part of Egypt; whence Bochart concluded that the Thebaid was intended, which at times is reckoned as in Upper Egypt, at times as distinct from it. Pliny mentions Phaturites as a præfecture of the Thebaid, ('Hist. Nat.' l. v. c. 9, § 47). The words of Ezekiel (xxix. 14), where Pathros is called the land of the Egyptians' birth, is compared with Herod. (II. 15), who says Thebes was anciently called Egypt. Pa-t-res in Egyptian means "the land of the south."

Casluhim] Bochart conjectured the Colchians, who were an Egyptian colony (Herod. II. 104; Diod. Sic. I. 28; Strabo., I. 3). In this he is followed by Gesenius and others, though the similarity of name seems the chief reason for the identification. Forster ('Ep. ad Michael.' p. 16 sqq.) conjectured Casiotis,

15 ¶ And Canaan begat [1]Sidon his firstborn, and Heth,

16 And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite,

[1] Heb. *Tsidon.*

a region between Gaza and Pelusium, so called from Mount Casius. He is followed in this by Knobel, who says the name in Coptic signifies *burning*, hence applicable to a dry, arid, desert region. He combines Bochart's view with Forster's, supposing that the Colchians were a colony from Casiotis. This view is adopted and ably defended by Ebers ('Ægypten,' &c. p. 120).

Out of whom came Philistim] In Jer. xlvii. 4, Amos ix. 7, the Philistines are traced to the Caphtorim. Hence Michaelis and others think that there has been a transposition in this verse, and that it ought to run "and Caphtorim, out of whom came Philistim." The Samaritan text, however, and all Versions read as the Hebrew. Bochart therefore has conjectured, that the Casluchim and Caphtorim were tribes which intermingled, the Caphtorim having strengthened the Casluchian colony by immigration, and that hence the Philistines may have been said to have come from either. The name Philistine, which probably comes from an Æthiopic verb fălăsă, *to emigrate*, is often rendered by the LXX. (as Judg. xiv. 3, xiv. 1) by *allophyloi*, aliens, foreigners.

The following difficulties are urged against the Egyptian origin of the Philistines; first, that their language was probably, like that of the other inhabitants of Canaan, Semitic; secondly, that they were uncircumcised (1 S. xvii. 26), whilst Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians were circumcised. The linguistic difficulty may be explained by the very probable supposition, that the invading Philistines or Caphtorim adopted the language of the conquered Avim (Deut. ii. 23), or other tribe amongst whom they settled. The other disappears, if we consider, that everything in dress, customs, and religion of the Philistines indicates that they separated off from the other Mizraic tribes at a very early period, and that circumcision was probably adopted by the Egyptians at a much later date.

Caphtorim] It is plain from Jer. xlvii. 4, where the Philistines are called "the remnant of the isle (or maritime country) of Caphtor," that we must look for the site of the Caphtorim near the sea. The Targums and ancient Versions render Cappadocia, followed by most of the ancients, and by Bochart. Others (Swinton, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, &c.) have conjectured Cyprus, the original name of which has been thought to have been Cubdr or Cyptrus. Calmet and others prefer Crete, comparing the statement of Tacitus ('Hist.' v. 2) concerning the Cretan origin of the Jews, and supposing that he may have confounded the Jews with the Philistines. Gesenius mentions this with approval, and it is advocated by Knobel. Recent investigations in Egyptian identify Caphtor with Capht-ur, i. e. the Great Capht. This is compared with the Egyptian name Coptos. Again, the name Ægyptus is probably identical with Ai-Capht, i. e. the coast of Capht, (compare אִי כַּפְתּוֹר, *I-Caphtor*, "the isle or coast of Caphtor," Jer. xlvii. 4). This Capht, or Capht-ur, was probably the Northern Delta, from which the Phœnicians emigrated into Asia. Thus Capht became the Egyptian name for the oldest Phœnicians, whether in Asia or in Africa. (See Ebers, 'Ægypt.' &c. voc. *Caphtorim;* see also Excursus.)

15. *Sidon his first-born*] Sidon was, according to Justin (XVIII. 3), the oldest Phœnician state. Of all the Phœnicians Homer knew only Sidon. The city stood on the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean, about 20 miles North of Tyre, which latter is said by Justin to have been a colony of Sidon. So important was Sidon in most ancient times, that all the Phœnicians are comprised under the name of Sidonians (Josh. xiii. 6; Judg. xviii. 7): and this extension of the name was known to the Greeks and Romans (compare *Urbs Sidonia, i.e.* Carthage, which was a colony of Tyre, Virg. 'Æn.' I. 677; and *Sidonia Dido*, 'Æn.' I. 446, 613, &c.). The name Sidon is supposed to be derived from *fishing;* for the Phœnicians called fish Sidon (Gesen. 'Thesaur.' p. 1153).

Heth] The ancestors of the Hittites, who inhabited the hill country of Judea, especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron. These, however, were but one portion of the race, which according to Josh. i. 4 (cp. Ezek. xvi. 3) became more important. In the time of Solomon and Joram there were independent kings of the Hittites, 1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6. They are by most Egyptologers identified with the Kheta, a very powerful tribe, and masters of Syria.

16. *the Jebusite*] Inhabitants of Jebus, the ancient name of Jerusalem, mentioned Judg. xix. 10, 11; 1 Chr. xi. 4, 5. The Jebusites, a mountain tribe (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3), seem never to have been conquered, or to have recovered possession of Jerusalem and to have retained it, till David took Jebus, 1 Chr. xi. 4, 5: and even after the conquest we find Araunah the Jebusite, who is called "Araunah the king" (2 S. xxiv. 23) living in peace and prosperity in the land.

the Amorite] Apparently the most powerful and widespread of all the Canaanitish tribes, dwelling chiefly in the hill-country of Judæa, subject to five kings (Josh. x. 5), but

17 And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,

18 And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.

19 And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto [1]Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha.

20 These *are* the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, *and* in their nations.

21 ¶ Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were *children* born.

[1] Heb. *Azzah.*

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also spreading to the other side of Jordan, to the North of the Arnon (Numb. xxi. 13), even to the river Jabbok (Num. xxi. 24). Simonis, followed by Gesenius, traces the name to an old word Amor or Emor, *elevation, mountain*, the Amorites being mountaineers or highlanders.

the Girgasite] Josephus ('Ant.' i. 6) says we have the name and nothing else of this people. Eusebius and others have identified them with the Gergesenes (Matt. viii. 28), who lived to the East of the Lake of Gennesaret. There is a difference of reading in St Matt.; some MSS. having Gerasenes, others Gadarenes; but Gesenius thinks, that Gerasa is but a corruption by the omission of *g* from Girgasa.

17. *the Hivite*] A people living in the neighbourhood of Hermon and Lebanon (Josh. xi. 3, Judg. vi. 3), near Sichem also (Gen. xxxiv. 2), and Gibeon (Josh. ix. 1, 7): Gesenius interprets the name to signify *pagani*, the inhabitants of villages.

the Arkite] Inhabitants, according to Josephus, of Arca a city of Phœnicia, near Libanus, 12 miles to the north of Tripoli. It was afterwards called Cesarea Libani, a name found on coins of the reign of Vespasian. Alexander Severus was born here. Shaw and Burckhardt describe the ruins of a fine city as still to be found there, called *Tell Arka*.

the Sinite] St Jerome ('Quæst. in Genes.' ad h. l.) says, that "near Arca was another city called Sini, which, though ruined, still retained its ancient name." Michaelis ('Spicil.' Pt. II. p. 29) quotes Breidenbach ('Itiner.' p. 47) as mentioning a city of the name of *Syn* in the same neighbourhood in the fifteenth century.

18. *the Arvadite*] Inhabitants probably of the city of Aradus, on an island of the same name, about three miles from the Phœnician coast. The LXX. render here and elsewhere the Aradite, and Josephus ('Ant.' i. 6) says "the Aradite inhabited the island of Aradus." Gesenius derives the name from a root, signifying "to wander," and quotes Strabo (XVI. 2, § 13) as saying that the city was built by fugitives from Sidon.

the Zemarite] There is little certainty as to the habitation of this race. The ancient interpreters, Targg., Rashi, Saad., and probably Jerome, give Emesa; Michaelis, led by Bochart's conjecture and followed by Rosenm., Gesen., Knobel, suggests Samyra, a city of Phœnicia on the sea coast, near the river Eleutherus, the ruins of which are still called Samra.

the Hamathite] Hamath was an important city, called by Amos (vi. 2) "Great Hamath," the chief city of Upper Syria on the Orontes at the foot of Libanus (Judg. iii. 3; Jer. xlix. 23; Zech. ix. 2), the metropolis of a region called the "land of Hamath" (2 K. xxiii. 33). It was called Epiphaneia by the Macedonians (Jos. 'Ant.' i. 6). It still however in the East retains the name of Hamah, and has been visited and described by Burckhardt and other modern travellers.

and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad] The first place of habitation of the Canaanites was probably on the Mediterranean, in Phœnicia, in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon; but by degrees they spread abroad through the whole of Palestine, from Tyre and Sidon on the North to Gerar and Gaza and even to Lasha.

19. *Lasha*] The Targum of Jerusalem and Jerome ('Quæst. ad Genes.') identify Lasha with Callirrhoë, which Pliny ('N. H.' v. c. 6) and Josephus ('B. J.' i. 33) speak of as famous for its warm springs. It was situated on the East of the Red Sea.

21. *Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber*] As Ham is specially called the father of Canaan, so probably Shem is designated as the father of Eber. The Hebrews and the Canaanites were brought into constant conflict and exemplified respectively the characters of the Hamites and the Shemites, their characters and their destinies.

the brother of Japheth the elder] There is a great ambiguity in the original of these words. The LXX., Symm., Targ. of Onkelos render as in the English text; so Rashi, Abenezra, Luther, Le Clerc, J. D. Michael., Dathe, &c. But the Syriac, Arab., Vulg. render **the elder brother of Japheth**, in which they are followed by Rosenm., Gesenius, Knobel, Delitzsch and most modern com-

[c] 1 Chron. 1. 17.
[†] Heb. *Arphachshad.*

22 The [c]children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and [†]Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram.

23 And the children of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.

24 And Arphaxad begat [†]Salah; and Salah begat Eber.

[†] Heb. *Shelah.*

25 [d]And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one *was* Peleg; for in his days was the earth divid-

[d] 1 Chron. 1. 19.

mentators, who say, that if "the brother of Japheth the Elder" had been meant, the Hebrew idiom would have required the addition of "*son*"—"the elder son of Noah." This appears to be true: moreover, Shem is generally mentioned first, and is perhaps put last here, because the writer proceeds almost without interruption from this point with the history of the descendants of Shem. In Gen. ix. 24, Ham appears to be called the youngest son of Noah; but see note on that verse. On the whole, the common order of enumeration is probably the order of age.

22. *The children of Shem*] The Shemites dwelt chiefly in Western Asia, South of the Asiatic Japhethites.

Elam] Elymais, a region adjoining Susiana and Media, called by the Arabs Chuzistan. Daniel (viii. 2) places Shushan (*i. e.* Susa) in Elam, which immediately connects Elam with Susiana.

Asshur] Without doubt the ancestor of the Assyrians. At first, perhaps, the name Asshur or Assyria was restricted to the region round about Nineveh, known to the Greeks as Adiabene. Afterwards it spread, especially to the North-west, and embraced the Syrians. The foundation of its principal greatness is ascribed to the Babylonians in v. 11. This corresponds with the tradition in Herodotus (I. 7), which attributes the foundation of Nineveh to Ninus, the son of Belus, the founder of Babylon.

Arphaxad] Bochart conjectured that the name Arrapachites, a province in Northern Assyria, bordering on Armenia, was derived from Arphaxad; and as this was the country of the Chaldees, it has been thought that in the three last consonants of the name Arphaxad, viz. ch-s-d, are contained the elements of the name Chasdim (i. e. Chaldæans). Josephus certainly tells us that "Arphaxad gave the name Arphaxadæans to those afterwards called Chaldæans" ('Ant.' I. 6).

Lud] Josephus says the Lydians ('Ant.' I. 6). He is followed by Euseb., Jerome, and by Bochart, and most moderns. The resemblance of their manners and of their more ancient names to the Semitic confirms this tradition. It is probable, that their first home was not far from Armenia, whence they migrated into Asia Minor and Arabia.

Aram] The country called Aram in Scripture was the highland region lying to the north-east of the Holy Land, extending from the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee to the Euphrates. The name Aram has been supposed to mean *high* (from *Aram=rūm*, to be high). In Genesis we read of Aram-Naharaim, *i.e.* Aram between the two rivers = Mesopotamia, which, or part of which, is also called Padan-Aram; and Laban who dwelt there is called the Aramean (Gen. xxv. 20, &c.). Homer ('Il.' II. 783); Hesiod ('Th.' 304); Pindar ('Fr.' v. 3), &c. speak of the Syrians as Arimi.

23. *Uz*] From him no doubt was named "the land of Uz," in which Job lived. (Job i. 1.) It is there rendered by the LXX. Ausitis. Ptolemy (v. 19) mentions the Æsitæ as inhabiting the northern part of Arabia Deserta, near to Babylon and the Euphrates, which Bochart, Gesenius, and others, identify with the inhabitants of Uz or Ausitis. The name Uz occurs also among the descendants of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 21), and again (Gen. xxxvi. 28) among the descendants of Seir the Horite; and it has been conjectured, with more or less probability, that these different Semitic families may have coalesced.

Hul] Josephus places in Armenia, according to Bochart, that part called Cholobotene by the Greeks, as though it were Beth-Chul, the home of Hul. Michaelis, followed by Knobel, suggests that the name Cælesyria may have come from Hul or Chul. Rosenmüller has suggested the Ard el Hhuleh, a district near the sources of the Jordan.

Gether] No probable site has been fixed on for the descendants of Gether.

Mash] Josephus ('Ant.' I. 6) says, "Mash founded the Mesanæans," *i.e.* the inhabitants of Mesene, near Bassora, where the Tigris and Euphrates fall into the Persian Gulf. The opinion of Bochart is adopted by Gesenius, Winer, Knobel, and others, that the descendants of Mash were the inhabitants of Mons Masius, a range of hills to the North of Mesopotamia.

24. *Arphaxad begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber*] The name *Salah* appears to signify *sending forth, extension*, as *Eber*, the name of his son, signifies *passing over*. Many of the names in these genealogies are significant, and were probably given to their bearers late in life, or even historically, after their deaths. Salah and Eber seem to point to this fact, that the descendants of Arphaxad were now beginning to spread forth from the first cradle of the Semitic race, and to cross over the

ed; and his brother's name *was* Joktan.

26 And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah,

27 And Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah,

28 And Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba,

29 And Ophir, and Havilah, and

great rivers on their way to Mesopotamia, and thence to Canaan.

25. *Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided*] It is generally supposed from this, that Peleg lived contemporaneously with the dispersion of Babel. It is, however, quite possible, that the reference is to a more partial division of regions and separation of races. The genealogy is now specially concerned with the descendants of Shem and the ancestry of the promised race, which is here traced down to Peleg to be continued farther in ch. xi. 18 sqq. The two races, which sprang from Eber, soon separated very widely from each other, the one, Eber and his family, spreading north-westward towards Mesopotamia and Syria, the other, the Joktanides, southward into Arabia. As the sacred narrative in vv. 31, 32, speaks expressly of the general spreading forth of the sons of Noah, and in ch. xi. 1—9 relates the confusion of their languages, it is very probable that in this verse the division of the land concerns only the separation of the Shemites.

Joktan] There is a general consent in favour of the colonization of Southern Arabia by the descendants of Joktan, with the names of whom correspond several of the districts and cities of that country. The Arabs identify Joktan with Kahtan, who was the traditional ancestor of the Beni Kahtan, inhabitants of Yemen or Arabia Felix. In Arabia the Joktanides, no doubt, found some peoples settled there already, viz. the Cushite descendants of Ham (ver. 7), and the Ludite descendants of Shem (ver. 22). The Arabic authors are silent concerning any Cushites, but derive the ancient Arabic races from the Kahtanides (*i.e.* the Joktanides).

26. *Almodad*] The names Modad and Morad (*r* being often a corruption of *d* by a clerical error) occur frequently in Arabic genealogies. The syllable *Al* is probably the definite article.

Sheleph] has been compared by Bochart with the Salopeni of Ptolemy (VI. 7), inhabiting the interior of Arabia, and is identified with a tribe of Sulaph or Seliph in Yemen. The Arabic writers speak of a large region called Salfie, south-west of Sanaa.

Hazarmaveth] The name agrees in every letter with Hadramaut, the name of a province on the southern coast of Arabia, famous for its fertility in myrrh and frankincense, and for the unhealthiness of its climate.

Jerah] The name in Hebrew signifies the *moon*. Bochart has suggested the identification of his descendants with the Alilæi (Agatharch. c. 49; Strabo, XVI. p. 277)=the Beni Hilal ("the sons of the new moon"), who dwelt south of Chawlan.

27. *Hadoram*] There has been no satisfactory identification of the descendants of Hadoram with any known race, though Bochart compared the Adramitæ of Ptolemy (VI. 7) and the Atramitæ of Pliny (VI. 28) in the south of Arabia.

Uzal] This name is identified with Awzal, the ancient name of Sanaa, the capital city of Yemen.

Diklah] in Syriac signifies *Palm;* whence Bochart and Gesenius identified the descendants of Diklah with the Minæi, a people of Yemen, who inhabited a palm-growing country. Michaelis conjectured a people contiguous to the Tigris, the name of which river in Syriac and Arabic was Diklat.

28. *Obal, and Abimael*] Only very uncertain conjectures have been made as to these names.

Sheba] We read much of Sheba, a country in Arabia Felix, abounding in gold, precious stones, frankincense, and famous for its merchandise (1 K. x. 10; Job vi. 19; Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22; Joel iii. 8). The Arabic and Greek accounts of the Sabæans, a people, whose capital was Saba or Mariaba, three or four days' journey from Senaa, correspond thoroughly with all this. See on ver. 7 above.

29. *Ophir*] On no geographical question has a greater diversity of opinion existed than on the site of Ophir. The position of Ophir, as a son of Joktan, and the settlement of the other Joktanides in Arabia, form a strong argument in favour of placing Ophir in Arabia also. The historical notices, however, in the books of Kings and Chronicles (1 K. ix. 26—28, x. 11, xxii. 48; 2 Chr. viii. 18, ix. 10) have inclined many to place Ophir either in India or in Africa: whilst others have thought, that two Ophirs are mentioned in Scripture, one in Arabia, the other in India or Ceylon. The question is discussed at length by Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 142. See also 'Dict. of Bible,' s. v. Ophir.

Havilah] It is generally thought that Chawlan, in Arabia Felix, was the home of the descendants of Havilah. (On the Cushite Havilah, see note on v. 7.) Whilst some have thought that there were two Chaw-

Jobab: all these *were* the sons of Joktan.

30 And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar a mount of the east.

31 These *are* the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

32 These *are* the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *One language in the world.* 3 *The building of Babel.* 5 *The confusion of tongues.* 10 *The generations of Shem.* 27 *The generations of Terah the father of Abram.* 31 *Terah goeth from Ur to Haran.*

AND [a]the whole earth was of one [t]language, and of one [t]speech. [a] Wisd. 10. 5. [t] Heb. *lip.* [t] Heb. *words.*

2 And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.

3 And [t]they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and [t]burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for morter. [t] Heb. *a man said to his neighbour.* [t] Heb. *burn them to a burning.*

4 And they said, Go to, let us

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lans, one belonging to the descendants of the Joktanide and the other to the sons of the Cushite Havilah; others have thought that the two races were intermingled and confounded.

Jobab] Ptolemy (VI. 7) mentions the Jobaritæ near the Indian Sea, which Bochart conjectured to have been Jobabitæ, in which he is followed by Gesenius. Bochart and Gesenius think the name to be = the Arabic Jebab, *a desert.*

30. *And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar a mount of the East*] Mesha has been identified with the seaport of Musa or Muza, mentioned by Ptolemy VI. 8; Pliny VI. 23, &c. Michaelis, followed by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, &c. preferred Mesene, a place at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates, not far from Bassora.

Sephar] is pretty certainly Zafâr or Dhafari, a seaport on the coast of Hadramaut. It is pronounced in modern Arabic Isfor, and is not so much one town as a series of villages near the shore of the Indian Ocean. (Fresnel, quoted by Gesenius, p. 968.)

CHAP. XI. 1. *one language*] The general opinion of the Jews and ancient Christians was that this language was Hebrew. The names of the most ancient places and persons mentioned in Scripture being Hebrew seems to countenance this belief. But it is impossible thence certainly to arrive at, such a conclusion, it being notorious that names have been translated from one language into another in many instances.

2. *it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east*] On the difficulty in these words, and on the first home of the descendants of Noah, see note on viii. 4. If Armenia was that first home, we must suppose either that they had journeyed in a south-easterly direction before they turned towards Shinar, and then they would journey from the east, or we must render "eastward," lit. "on the sides of the east."

a plain] The word more naturally means a deep valley, but it is often used of a wide vale or plain.

Shinar] Without doubt the region round about Babylon, to which, besides Babylon, pertained the cities of Erech, Kalneh and Accad (Gen. x. 10, where see note). The fertility of this country for the production of wheat is greatly praised by Herodotus (I. 193).

3. *let us make brick, and burn them throughly*] The regions of Assyria and Babylonia consisting of rich alluvial plains would provide no stone and were specially abundant in brick earth. Hence, when Nimrod built Babel and other towns in Shinar (ch. x. 10), he and those with him must have learned the art of brick-making. The building of villages in the earlier settlements of the Noachidæ had been probably of wood or stone.

they had brick for stone, and slime had they for morter] All the versions give *asphalte* or bitumen for the word *chemer*, "slime". Herod. (I. 179) describes the building of the walls of Babylon much as the sacred history describes this building of the tower of Babel. He says a deep foss was dug all round the city, from which the mud was taken in large bricks and burnt in furnaces. Then for mud or mortar, they used hot bitumen, and so built the walls of the city. He mentions a town called Is, with a river of the same name near it, about eight days' journey from Babylon, where much bitumen was obtained and carried to Babylon for the building of the city. See also Strabo (Lib. XVI. p. 74), who speaks of the excellence of the Babylonian bitumen for building. Justin also (Lib. I. 2) speaks of Semiramis as having built Babylon with brick and liquid bitumen, which flowed in great abundance in the neighbourhood. Diodor. Sicul. (II. 12),

build us a city and a tower, whose top *may reach* unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

5 And the LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded.

6 And the LORD said, Behold, the people *is* one, and they have all one

Pliny ('H. N.' XXXI. 5), Athenæus (Lib. II. 5), and other ancient writers, mention a lake close to Babylon abounding in bitumen, which floated on the waters. (See Reland, 'Palæstin.' II. pp. 244, 245). The town of Is, mentioned by Herodotus (as above), is identified by modern travellers with Heets, where bitumen pits are still found on the western bank of the Euphrates. Some of the heaps of ruins, which have been identified with the ruins of Babylon, exhibit specimens of sun-dried bricks laid in bitumen, producing walls of great strength and solidity. Mr Layard tells us that at Birs Nimroud, "The cement, by which the bricks were united, is of so tenacious a quality, that it is almost impossible to detach one from the other," ('Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 499).

4. *a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven*] That is to say "a very high tower," just as the cities of the Canaanites were said to be "great and walled up to heaven" (Deut. i. 28, ix. 1), or as Homer ('Od.' v. 239), speaks of a pine tree "high as heaven." Many have identified this tower with the temple of Belus (Herod. I. 181), which is described as consisting of eight squares one upon the other, the dimensions of the lowest or base being a stadium in length and in breadth. The mound called Birs Nimroud is generally supposed to be the ruin of the temple of Belus.

let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth] Josephus gives as the motive for building the tower of Babel, that the builders feared another deluge, and hoped that the tower would be high enough to save them from its waters; Nimrod, the leader in the scheme, boasting that he could so defy the vengeance of God. Again some have thought, that Noah had deliberately marked out the settlements of his posterity (Usher, ad A. M. 1757), and that Nimrod and his followers were unwilling to submit to this. Then some Jewish writers have interpreted the word *name* (Shem) to mean God, "the name of God" being often put for God Himself; and so have imagined that the builders of the tower proposed to make an idol temple. Others have supposed that the descendants of Ham under Nimrod made here some reference to Shem, the favoured son of Noah, as though they would have said, "A blessing has been promised to Shem, but we will make a Shem for ourselves." Le Clerc suggested that the word Shem meant here a monument (cp. 2 S. viii. 13). The simplest sense of the passage seems the true. In ch. x. 10, we find that Nimrod founded a kingdom in Shinar. He and his followers were apparently actuated by an ambitious spirit, not satisfied with the simplicity of a patriarchal life, nor willing to be scattered abroad, as so many were, by the migratory instinct that seems to have led the descendants of Noah thus early to form extensive settlements, but desiring to found an empire, to build a city, with a strong citadel, and so to hold together in a powerful commonwealth, and to establish for themselves a name, fame, importance, renown, thereby, it may be, attracting others to join their community. Perhaps there was an allusion to this in the prophecy (Is. xiv. 22), "I will... cut off from Babylon *the name* and remnant and son and nephew" (*i. e.* grandson or posterity) "saith the LORD." The tradition which assigns the lead in the building of the tower of Babel to Nimrod was ancient and general. (See Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 4, Aug. 'De Civit. Dei,' XVI. 4, &c.) It may have arisen chiefly from what is said of him in ch. x. 9, 10, 11. It is worthy of remark, that, though the descendants of Shem and Japheth shared in the judgment which confounded the tongues, yet their dialects have to this day a nearer resemblance between themselves than those which may perhaps be attributed to the children of Ham. As the Shemites and Japhethites have had a higher civilization, so they have retained a purer language. The Semitic dialects all have a strong family likeness. The Aryan or Indo-European (*i.e.* probably the Japhetic) dialects, though more diverse than the Semitic, are yet all easily assignable to a common origin; whilst the Turanian and other languages branch off into endless varieties.

5. *the LORD came down to see*] An instance of the natural anthropomorphic language suited to the teaching of man in a state of simple and partial civilization.

the children of men builded] It has been thought, though perhaps on insufficient ground, that "children of men" as in ch. vi. 2, designates the impious portion of the human race, bad men, as opposed to "children of God;" and possibly the rebellious offspring of Ham.

6. *this they begin to do*] Perhaps rather "this is the beginning of their deeds." This is their first act of daring and impiety, and unless they be effectually checked, nothing will restrain them from going farther and farther.

language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

7 Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

8 So the LORD scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.

9 Therefore is the name of it called [1]Babel; because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

[1] That is, *Confusion.*

10 ¶ [b]These *are* the generations of Shem: Shem *was* an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood:

[b] 1 Chron. 1. 17.

11 And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

12 And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begat Salah:

13 And Arphaxad lived after he

8. *they left off to build the city*] It seems, therefore, very doubtful how far the builders could have proceeded in building their tower, and hardly likely that the famous temple of Belus should have been to any considerable extent erected by them, though not improbably that great structure may have been raised on the foundation laid at this time. The tradition that God overturned it with a tempest (Jos. 'Ant.' I. 6; Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' IX. 4), though probably unfounded, witnesses to its not having been completed.

9. *Babel*] From *Balal*, to *confound*, contracted from *Balbal*, *confusion*. The Greek tradition was, that the city was named after Belus, its mythic founder. So the Etymologicum Magnum says that "Babylon was named after Belus, who founded it." Hence Eichhorn suggested, that the name originally was Bāb Bel, "the gate or court of Bel," *i.e.* Baal or Belus. So, Rosenmüller, Gesenius and others have thought it might be Bāb Il, the "Gate of God." These derivations are really much less likely than that given by Moses. There was no such person as Belus, except that Nimrod, whose scriptural name probably signifies *rebel*, may by his own people have been called Baal, Belus, Lord.

10. *These are the generations of Shem*] We have here the third genealogical table. The 1st was given in ch. v. from Adam to Noah; the 2nd in ch. x, the genealogy of the three sons of Noah, the descendants of Shem being traced down as far as Peleg. Now we have the line of Shem farther carried down to Abraham, the father of the faithful, the ancestor of the promised seed. In ch. x. no account is given of the length of the generations or of the duration of life; but here in ch. xi. as before in ch. v., both these are supplied. Concerning the chronological question and the ages of the patriarchs, see Introduction and on ch. v. note A. It may be observed here, that we mark at once the transition from the antediluvian to the postdiluvian duration of life. Noah lived 950 years, Shem only 600, Arphaxad, the first born of Shem after the deluge, only 438; when we come to Peleg, who seems to have been contemporary with the dispersion, life is still shorter, Peleg lived 239 years, Reu 239, Serug 230, Nahor 148.

The following table exhibits the different calculations according to the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint texts respectively.

	Hebrew Text.			Samaritan.			Septuagint.			Hebrew Text	
	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.	Years before birth of Son.	Rest of Life.	Whole Life.	Year of birth A.M.	Year of death A.M.
Shem	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600	1558	2158
Arphaxad	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	400	535	1658	2097
Kainan							130	330	460		
Salah	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460	1693	2126
Eber	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	270	404	1723	2187
Peleg	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339	1757	1996
Reu	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339	1787	2026
Serug	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330	1819	1997
Nahor	29	119	148	79	69	148	179	125	304	1849	1997
Terah	70	135	205	70	75	145	70	135	209	1878	2083
Abraham										1948	2123

begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

14 And Salah lived thirty years, and begat Eber:

15 And Salah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

16 [c]And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat [d]Peleg:

17 And Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

18 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu:

19 And Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat [e]Serug:

21 And Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

22 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor:

23 And Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat [f]Terah:

25 And Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

26 And Terah lived seventy years, and [g]begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

27 ¶ Now these *are* the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.

28 And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees.

29 And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife *was* Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter

c 1 Chron. 1. 19.
d Called, Luke 3. 35 *Phalec.*
e Luke 3. 35, *Saruch.*
f Luke 3. 34, *Thara.*
g Joshua 24. 2. 1 Chron. 1. 26.

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27. *Now these are the generations of Terah*] Not perhaps a distinct genealogy, but the winding up of the genealogy which had already been traced to the sons of Terah, and the expanding it into a fuller account of the families of these sons and especially of Abraham.

28. *before*] Or, "in the presence of."

Ur of the Chaldees] Mentioned only here. There is great diversity of opinion as to the site of this city, except that it was in Chaldæa, i.e. the southern part of Babylonia. Bochart, followed by Michaelis, Rosenmüller and many others, identified it with *Ur*, which is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXV. 8. col. 26), when describing the return of the Roman army under Jovian after the death of Julian, as lying between Nisibis and the Tigris. Ancient tradition and the opinion of many moderns connect it with the modern Orfa, the Edessa of the Greeks, well known in Christian times as the capital of Abgarus, its first Christian King, who is said to have written a letter to, and to have received a letter from our Saviour. "The traditions of Abraham still live in the mouths of the Arab inhabitants of Orfa. The city lies on the edge of one of the bare rugged spurs which descend from the mountains of Armenia, into the Assyrian plains in the cultivated land, which, as lying under the mountains, was called Padan-Aram. Two physical features must have secured it from the earliest times as a nucleus for the civilization of those regions. One is a high crested crag, the natural fortification of the present citadel, doubly defended by a trench of immense depth, cut out of the living rock behind it. The other is an abundant spring (the Callirrhoe of the Greek writers) issuing in a pool of transparent clearness and embosomed in a mass of luxuriant verdure, which, amidst the dull brown desert all around, makes, and must always have made, this spot an oasis, a Paradise in the Chaldæan wilderness." (Dean Stanley 'On the Jewish Church,' 1. p. 7.) Eupolemus as quoted by Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' IX. 17, says that Abraham was born in the city of Babylonia called Camarine, which some say is the city Uria, and by interpretation city of the Chaldees, which Gesenius explains by saying that *Ur* in Sanscrit signifies *city, country*, (cognate perhaps with the Hebrew *Ir*, עִיר), the original language of the Chaldees having been cognate with the Indian and Persian. This city is supposed to be now represented by the ruins Umgheir on the right bank of the Euphrates, which appears by its bricks to have been called Hur by the natives. (Professor Rawlinson in 'Dict. of Bible.')

29. *Iscah*] According to Josephus ('Ant.' 1. 6), Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerome ('Qu. in Genes.') the same as Sarai. This, however, hardly seems consistent with Gen. xx. 12, where Abram speaks of Sarai as daughter of his father but not of his mother; though it is very difficult to say with what exactness the terms father, daughter, brother, &c. are used. Ewald has conjectured that Iscah was Lot's wife and therefore mentioned here; but there is no evidence for this.

of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah.

30 But Sarai was barren; she *had* no child.

31 And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they [h] went forth with them from [h] Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.

[h] Neh. 9. 7. Judith 5. 7. Acts 7. 4.

32 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *God calleth Abram, and blesseth him with a promise of Christ.* 4 *He departeth with Lot from Haran.* 6 *He journeyeth through Canaan,* 7 *which is promised him in a vision.* 10 *He is driven by a famine into Egypt.* 11 *Fear maketh him feign his wife to be his sister.* 14 *Pharaoh, having taken her from him, by plagues is compelled to restore her.*

NOW the [a] LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: [a] Acts 7. 3.

2 And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and

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31. *and they went forth with them*] i.e. Terah and Abram went forth with Lot and Sarai. The Samaritan (followed by LXX. and Vulg.) by a slight transposition of the letters and different pointing reads "He brought them forth."

Haran] The Carrhæ of the Greeks and Romans, where Crassus fell, defeated by the Parthians (Plutarch, 'Vit. Cras.' 25. 27. 28. Plin. v. 24). It is called Charran in Acts vii. 4.

32. *two hundred and five years*] The Samaritan Pentateuch has here *one hundred and forty five*, which Bochart and others consider the right number. St Stephen (Acts vii. 4) says the migration of Abram into Canaan was after his father's death: but from v. 26 *supra* it seems as if Terah was only 70 when Abram was born, and by xii. 4 we find that Abram was 75 when he left Haran. This, according to the Samaritan, would appear to be the very year of his father's death. It is certain that the Samaritan text cannot have been tampered with by any Christian hand to bring it into conformity with St Stephen's statement, and it may very likely have preserved the true reading. It is possible, however, that Terah may have been really 130 years old when Abram was born: for though it is said in ver. 26 that Terah lived seventy years and begat Abram, Nahor and Haran, yet it does not follow that Abram was the eldest son, having been named first as being the heir of the promises and the subject of the future history. Indeed some of the rabbins consider Abram to have been the youngest son, in which case he may have been born when his father was 130 years old (see Wordsworth on Acts vii. 4).

CHAP. XII. 1. *Now the LORD had said*] **Now the LORD said.** The former chapter had carried the history down to the death of Terah. The present chapter returns to the date of the call of Abram. In Acts vii. 2 St Stephen tells us, what also appears most likely from the history in Gen., that God appeared to Abram "when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran." This led our translators to render "*had said.*" The Hebrew lacks the pluperfect tense; but the continuous character of the narrative from this point marks the propriety of adopting a simple perfect, which is also the rendering of the ancient versions. The recounting briefly of events up to the death of Terah in the last chapter was by a prolepsis. We have here the beginning of a new Chapter in the history, of a new dispensation and a new covenant. Henceforth the narrative concerns only the chosen people of God and those who affect them and their fortunes.

Get thee out of thy country] Lit. *Go thee*, a pleonasm of the pronoun, common in many languages. The call was evidently from the birthplace of Abram, Ur of the Chaldees; and not only Abram, but his father and other of his family seem at first to have obeyed the call: for Terah took Abram and Lot and Sarai, and "they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan" (ch. xi. 31). The land is here called by the Almighty "the land that I will shew thee," but Moses, in ch. xi. 31, calls it the land of Canaan, the destination of Abram being known to Moses, though it was not at the time of his call known to Abram himself.

2. *I will make of thee a great nation*] Literally fulfilled in the glories of Israel, spiritually and more largely in the spiritual sons of Abraham, "Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise," Gal. iii. 29.

and thou shalt be a blessing] Kimchi on Zech. viii. 12, followed by Le Clerc and Knobel, interprets "shalt be an example or type of blessing," so that men shall say "Blessed be thou, as Abraham was blessed." Others, as Rosenmüller, Gesenius, &c. consider the substantive to be put for the parti-

make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing:

3 And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: [b] and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.

[b] chap. 18. 18. & 22. 18. Acts 3. 25. Gal. 3. 8.

4 So Abram departed, as the LORD had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: and Abram *was* seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran.

5 And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came.

6 ¶ And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite *was* then in the land.

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ciple, *a blessing* for *blessed*, comp. Zech. viii. 12. More probable, as well as more natural, is the interpretation adopted by Tuch, Delitzsch, Keil, and others, and commended by the last words of v. 3, "Thou shalt be a blessing or cause of blessing to others besides thyself."

3. *I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee*] God's blessing was to extend to Abram's friends and followers, and the enemies of Abram were to be subject to God's curse. Two different Hebrew words are here translated by the one English word *curse*. Some think that the one expresses more properly the reviling and malediction of man, the other the withering curse of God. Both, however, are used of God and of man, cp. Job iii. 8; Deut. xxi. 23. The first in the English Version, that used of God, is undoubtedly the stronger of the two.

in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed] Here again Rashi, Le Clerc, Knobel, and some others interpret the words to mean that Abram should be so blessed in his family that all families of the earth should wish for like blessings (comp. Gen. xlviiii. 20, "In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh"). The words, however, can with no shew of reason be rendered otherwise than as rendered in the Authorized Version, following the LXX. and Vulg. Nor can it be understood otherwise than that all families of men should in some manner derive blessing through Abram. The Targum of Onkelos has *for thy sake*, and so the Jerusalem Targum; but this is an unauthorized exposition.

It is not necessary to assert that the prediction here given was such as to enlighten Abram with any full clearness as to the way in which his seed should bless all nations. Indeed the promise is twofold, general and particular. Generally it is true, that Abram's seed was for centuries the sole depositary of God's objective revelations, and that that knowledge of God which was confided to them has by them been spread to all nations. "Out of Zion went forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem" (Is. ii. 3). It has indeed been said with truth, that the Semitic nations, and especially the descendants of Abram, were from the time of Abram to Christ the only believers in the unity of the Godhead, and that ever since the Christian era they only have taught monotheism to mankind. But that which was the special blessing to Abram's race, has also, springing from that race, become the universal blessing to mankind. Of him "as concerning the flesh Christ came."

4. *seventy and five years old*] See on ch. xi. 32.

5. *the souls that they had gotten*] that is, the slaves or dependants whom they had attached to them. So in Ezek. xxvii. 13, slaves are spoken of as "souls of men." Onkelos renders, "The souls which they had converted to the law in Charran." So the Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalem Targums render, "the souls whom they had proselyted." And following this tradition, Rashi says that Abram made proselytes of the men and Sarai of the women.

into the land of Canaan they came] Leaving Haran they must have crossed the river Euphrates, from which crossing it is very commonly supposed the name Hebrew was derived (rendered by the LXX. in Gen. xiv. 13, ὁ περάτης, *the crosser over*). Thence their course must have been southward over the desert, probably near to Mount Lebanon, and thence to the neighbourhood of Damascus. Josephus ('Ant.' I. 7) quotes from Nicolaus of Damascus ('Hist.' bk. IV.), "Abraham reigned in Damascus, being come with an army from the country beyond Babylon called the land of the Chaldæans. But not long after, leaving this country with his people he migrated into the land of Canaan, which is now called Judæa." Josephus adds, that the name of Abraham was even in his days famous in the country of the Damascenes, and a village was pointed out there, which was called Abraham's habitation.

6. *the place of Sichem*] So named by anticipation. The word *place* may perhaps indicate that the town did not yet exist.

7 And the LORD appeared unto
[c] chap. 13. 15. Abram, and said, [c] Unto thy seed will
I give this land: and there builded he
[d] chap. 13. 4. an [d] altar unto the LORD, who appeared unto him.

8 And he removed from thence

It is generally supposed that Sychar (Joh. iv. 5) is the name by which it was known among the later Samaritans, though the identity of Sychar with Shechem is not quite certain (see Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' Art. 'Sychar'). The word Shechem signifies *a shoulder*, and, unless the town derived its name from Shechem the son of Hamor, it probably was situated on a *shoulder* or *ridge* of land connected with the hills of Ebal and Gerizim. Josephus ('Ant.' IV. 8) describes the city of Shechem or Sicima as lying between Gerizim on the right and Ebal on the left. The name Neapolis was given to it by Vespasian; and the ancients clearly identify the later Neapolis with the ancient Shechem; *e.g.* Epiphanius ('Hær.' III. 1055), "In Sichem, that is in the present Neapolis." The modern name is Nabulus. The situation of the town is described by modern travellers as one of exceeding beauty. Dr Robinson writes, "All at once the ground sinks down to a valley running toward the West, with a soil of rich black vegetable mould. Here a scene of luxuriant and almost unparalleled verdure burst upon our view. The whole valley was filled with gardens of vegetables and orchards of all kinds of fruits, watered by several fountains which burst forth in various parts and flow westward in refreshing streams. It came suddenly upon us like a scene of fairy enchantment, we saw nothing to compare to it in all Palestine" (Vol. II. p. 275. See also Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 234.) This spot, probably not yet so cultivated, but even then verdant and beautiful, was the first dwellingplace of the Patriarch in the land of promise.

the plain of Moreh] The oak (or terebinth) of Moreh. There is considerable variety of opinion as to the nature of the tree here mentioned, called *Elon* in Hebrew. Celsius ('Hierob.' I. p. 34) has argued that all the cognate words, *El*, *Elon*, *Elah*, &c. signify the terebinth tree, the word *allon* only being the oak. So Michaelis ('Supplem.' p. 72), Rosenm., Delitzsch, Keil, &c. The question is discussed at great length by Gesen. ('Thes.' p. 50), who doubts the distinction between *Allon* and *Elon* (a distinction merely of vowel points), and interprets both by *oak*, or perhaps generally a *large forest tree*. The LXX. and Vulg. render *oak*. The Targums (followed by the English Version) render *plain* (see also Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 141). It may be a question also whether the *oak of Moreh* was a single tree, or whether the word used may be a noun of multitude, signifying *the oak grove*. A single tree of large size and spreading foliage would, no doubt, be a natural resting place for a caravan or Arab encampment in the desert; but the great fertility of the valley of Shechem favours the belief that there may have been a grove rather than a single tree. Nothing is known as to the meaning of the word *Moreh:* it may have probably been the name of a man, a prince of the land, or owner of the property.

the Canaanite was then in the land] The original settlement of the sons of Canaan seems to have been in the South near the Red Sea; a Semitic race probably occupied the regions of Palestine and Phœnicia; a colony of the Canaanites afterwards spreading northwards, partly dispossessed and partly mingled with the ancient Shemite inhabitants, and adopted their language (see note on ch. x. 6, see also Epiphan. 'Hæres.' LXVI. n. 84). The historian therefore most appropriately relates that, at the time of the emigration of Abram and his followers, the Canaanite was already in possession of the land. The conjecture, therefore, that these words were written by a later hand than that of Moses, after the ancient Canaanite inhabitants had been expelled, is altogether beside the mark.

7. *And the* LORD *appeared unto Abram*] This is the first mention of a distinct appearance of the LORD to man. His voice is heard by Adam, and He is said to have spoken to Noah and to Abram: but here is a visible manifestation. The following questions naturally arise, 1. Was this a direct vision of JEHOVAH in Bodily shape? 2. Was it an impression produced on the mind of the seer, but not a true vision of God? 3. Was it an angel personating God? 4. Was it a manifestation of the Son of God, a Theophania, in some measure anticipating the Incarnation? (1) The first question seems answered by St John (Joh. i. 18), "No man hath seen God (the Father) at any time." (2) The second to a certain extent follows the first. Whether there was a manifestation of an objective reality, or merely an impression on the senses, we cannot possibly judge; but the vision, whether seen in sleep or waking, cannot have been a vision of God the Father. (3) The third question has been answered by many in the affirmative, it being concluded that "the Angel of the LORD," a created Angel, was always the means of communication between God and man in the Old Testament. The great supporter of this opinion in early times was St Augustine ('De Trin.' III. c. xi. Tom. VIII. pp. 805—810), the chief arguments in its favour being the statements of the New Testament that the

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unto a mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, *having* Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name of the LORD.

† Heb. *in going and journeying.*

9 And Abram journeyed, †going on still toward the south.

10 ¶ And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine *was* grievous in the land.

11 And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou *art* a fair woman to look upon:

12 Therefore it shall come to pass,

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law was given "by disposition of angels," "spoken by angels," &c. (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 22). It is further argued by the supporters of this view, that "the angel of the LORD" is in some passages in the Old Testament, and always in the New Testament, clearly a created angel (*e.g.* Zech. i. 11, 12, &c.; Luke i. 11; Acts xii. 23); and that therefore it is not to be supposed that any of these manifestations of the Angel of God or Angel of the Lord, which seem so markedly Divine, should have been anything more than the appearance of a created Angel personating the Most High. (4) The affirmative of the fourth opinion was held by the great majority of the fathers from the very first (see, for instance, Justin. 'Dial.' pp. 280—284; Tertull. 'adv. Prax.' c. 16; Athanas. 'Cont. Arian.' IV. pp. 464, 465 (Ed. Col.); Basil, 'adv. Eunom.' II. 18; Theodoret, 'Qu. V. in Exod.' The teaching of the fathers on this head is investigated by Bp. Bull, 'F. N. D.' IV. iii. In like manner the ancient Jews had referred the manifestation of God in visible form to the *Shechinah*, the *Metatron*, or the *Memra de Jah*, apparently an emanation from God, having a semblance of diversity, yet really one with Him, coming forth to reveal Him, but not truly distinct from Him. The fact, that the name *Angel of the Lord* is sometimes used of a created Angel, is not proof enough that it may not be also used of Him who is called "the Angel of mighty counsel" (μεγάλης βουλῆς Ἄγγελος, Is. ix. 6, Sept. Trans.), and "the Angel of the covenant" (Mal. iii. 1): and the apparent identification of the Angel of God with God Himself in very many passages (*e.g.* Gen. xxxii. 24, comp. vv. 28, 30, Hos. xii. 3, 4; Gen. xvi. 10, 13, xlviii. 15, 16; Josh. v. 14, vi. 2; Judg. ii. 1, xiii. 22; Isa. vi. 1; cp. Joh. xii. 41; Is. lxiii. 9) leads markedly to the conclusion, that God spake to man by an Angel or Messenger, and yet that that Angel or Messenger was Himself God. No man saw God at any time, but the only begotten Son, who was in the Bosom of the Father, declared Him. He, who was the Word of God, the Voice of God to His creatures, was yet in the beginning with God, and He was God.

Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar] This is the first definite promise to Abram, that the land of Canaan should be the inheritance of his children. Accordingly, he built an altar there, as consecrating the soil and dedicating it to God. It is not mentioned that he offered sacrifice, but as the Hebrew word for *altar* means the *place of slaughter* or *of sacrifice*, there can be no doubt, that the altar, which he built, was an altar of burnt offering, as was Noah's altar (ch. viii. 20), the only altar spoken of prior to this time.

8. *he removed*] lit. *he plucked up* his tent pegs. The journeying was by repeated encampments, after the manner of the Bedouins.

Beth-el,] *i.e.* the House of God. This is by anticipation. It was called *Luz* at this time (see ch. xxviii. 19; Judg. i. 23). The present name is Beitan.

Hai] was about five miles to the East of Beth-el, the ruins of which bear the name of Medinet Gai.

called upon the name of the LORD.] See ch. iv. 26.

9. *going on still toward the south*] The words express a gradual change of place, after the nomadic fashion. As food offered itself he pitched his tent and fed his cattle, and when food failed he went onwards to fresh pastures.

10. *a famine*] A country like Canaan, imperfectly cultivated, would be very subject to droughts and famine. The part of Egypt, which lay immediately South of Canaan, appears to have been especially fertile. It was at that time inhabited by a people skilled in agriculture, and flooded periodically by the Nile. Egypt is still the refuge for neighbouring nations when afflicted with drought. It is said that Abram went down to Egypt "to sojourn," not to live there; for he had received the promise of inheritance in Canaan, and, though this famine may have tried, it did not shake his faith.

11. *Behold...thou art a fair woman*] Sarai was now more than sixty years old: but her life extended to 127 years, so that she was only then in middle life; she had borne no children, and at the age of ninety, though not naturally young enough to have a son, was yet preserved in a condition of unusual and

when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This *is* his wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive.

13 Say, I pray thee, thou *art* my sister: that it may be well with me for thy sake; and my soul shall live because of thee.

14 ¶ And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she *was* very fair.

15 The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and commended her before Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.

16 And he entreated Abram well for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she asses, and camels.

17 And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.

18 And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What *is* this *that* thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me that she *was* thy wife?

19 Why saidst thou, She *is* my sister? so I might have taken her to me to wife: now therefore behold thy wife, take *her*, and go thy way.

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preternatural youth, so that she bore Isaac; her fair complexion would contrast favourably with the swarthy complexion of the Egyptians. The Arab life of Abram naturally made him wary of danger. He was about to sojourn in a country with a despotic government, and among a licentious people. We see in the conduct of Abram an instance of one under the influence of deep religious feeling and true faith in God, but yet with a conscience imperfectly enlightened as to many moral duties, and when leaning to his own understanding suffered to fall into great error and sin. The candour of the historian is shewn by his exhibiting in such strong relief the dissimulation of Abram as contrasted with the straightforward integrity of Pharaoh.

15. *Pharaoh*] The name or title, by which the kings of Egypt are called in the Old Testament. Josephus tells us that "Pharaoh among the Egyptians signifies *king*." It used to be thought that it was the Coptic word *Ouro* with the article *Pi* or *Ph*. (Jablonski, Diss. iv. section 3, 'De Terra Gosen.') Later the opinion of Rosellini, Lepsius, Rawlinson, Poole and others has been that it corresponded with the title of the Sun-God RA, with the article, PH—RA, a name which was given to some of the kings of Egypt. Gesenius objects to this from its lacking the final *oh* ('Thes.' p. 1129); and there is insufficient evidence that the title was really a common title of the kings. Very recently M. De Rougé has shewn that the hieroglyphic, which is the regular title of the Egyptian kings, and which signifies "the great house" or "the double house," must be read Peraa or Perao. This singularly corresponds with the statement of Horapollo (i. 61), that the king was called οἶκος μέγας, "the great house." The identity of this with the name Pharaoh is admitted by Brugsch, Ebers ('Ægypten, &c.' p. 26), and is argued at length in the "Excursus on Egyptian Words" (by the Rev. F. C. Cook) at the end of this volume. It may be compared with the title "Sublime Porte."

It is difficult to fix the particular Pharaoh or dynasty under which Abram came into Egypt. Generally the characteristics of the Court, as briefly described in Genesis, point to a native dynasty of very remote date. Some circumstances, the friendly reception of a Semitic nomade and the use of camels (v. 16) among the Egyptians, have suggested the belief that Abram's Pharaoh must have been a shepherd king (see Smith's Dict. of the Bible, Artt. *Pharaoh* and *Zoan*); and Sir Gardiner Wilkinson ('Ancient Egyptians,' Vol. i. chap. ii. p. 42) has identified him with Apophis or Apepi, the sixth monarch of Manetho's 15th dynasty. It is, however, impossible to admit so late a date. The Pharaoh of Joseph was almost certainly a king of the 12th dynasty. Abram's Pharaoh must therefore at latest have been one of the first kings of that same dynasty, if not belonging to a dynasty earlier still. The objections, derived from the camels, and other apparent indications of a shepherd reign, are fully considered in Excursus I. "On the Bearings of Egyptian History on the Pentateuch," at the end of this volume, by Rev. F. C. Cook: and the period of Abram's sojourn in Egypt is shewn to be most probably under one of the earlier sovereigns of the 12th dynasty.

the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house] Probably even at that early period Egypt had reached such a pitch of corrupt civilization that the sovereign had a hareem, and Sarai was chosen to be one of his wives.

18. *Pharaoh called Abram*] Josephus says, that the priests told Pharaoh for what cause that plague had fallen on him ('Ant.' i. 8). It is more likely that Sarai herself, being

20 And Pharaoh commanded *his* men concerning him: and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Abram and Lot return out of Egypt. 7 By disagreement they part asunder. 10 Lot goeth to wicked Sodom. 14 God reneweth the promise to Abram. 18 He removeth to Hebron, and there buildeth an altar.

AND Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the south.

2 And Abram *was* very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.

3 And he went on his journeys from the south even to Beth-el, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Beth-el and Hai;

4 Unto the [a] place of the altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram called on the name of the LORD. [a] chap. 12. 7.

5 ¶ And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents.

6 And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together.

7 And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the

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interrogated about it, confessed the truth (Patrick).

19. *so I might have taken her*] Heb. **so I took her.** LXX. Syr. Onk. Though the Vulgate followed by the Arabic has, "so that I might have taken her." The meaning is, Deceived by Abram's words, Pharaoh took her with the intention of making her his wife, but was hindered from doing so by the afflictions with which God visited him (see Theodoret, 'Qu. LXXII. in Gen.' Op. XII. Augustin, 'De Civit. Dei,' XVI. 18). St Jerome ('Trad. Heb. in Genes.') refers to Esth. ii. 12, where we learn that the custom of Eastern monarchs was, that a maiden should undergo twelvemonths of purification before she was actually taken to wife. It was, he thinks, during some such period that Pharaoh was plagued and prohibited from marrying Sarai. It deserves to be noticed, that throughout the history of the chosen race, Egypt was to them the scene of spiritual danger, of covetousness and love of riches, of worldly security, of temptation to rest on an arm of flesh, on man's own understanding, and not on God only. All this appears from the very first, in Abraham's sojourn there, Sarai's danger, their departure full of wealth and prosperity.

CHAP. XIII. 1. *and Lot with him*] Lot is not mentioned in the descent into Egypt, because no part of the narrative there concerns him. On the return to Canaan he becomes a principal actor.

into the south] That southern part of Canaan, whence he had gone down into Egypt, The south, or *Negeb*, is almost a proper name.

2. *very rich*] He had grown rich in Egypt. He has now to experience some of the dangers and evils of prosperity.

3. *on his journeys*] By his stations, or according to his encampments, *i.e.* either station by station, as before, pitching his tent for a time at one station and then removing it to another; or perhaps, returning by his former stations, according to his original encampments when he was journeying southwards.

unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning] Shechem was the first place at which he rested and built an altar; but he probably remained there a comparatively short time. The Canaanites then in the land (ch. xii. 6) would doubtless have occupied all the most fertile country about Shechem. His second place of sojourn was the mountain near Bethel, where he is said to have built an altar and called on the name of the Lord, and where very probably he had continued until the famine began to prevail. (See ch. xii. vv. 7, 8, 9, 10.)

6. *the land was not able to bear them*] Lot was the sharer of Abram's prosperity. They came up out of Egypt with much larger possessions than before, more "flocks and herds and tents" for their now more numerous retainers. The land too had but just recovered from a state of drought and dearth: "and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land" (v. 7), and probably by their occupation contributed to the scarcity of pasture.

7. *Perizzite*] But little is known of this people. They are not mentioned in the catalogue of nations in Gen. x. They are mostly coupled, as here, with the Canaanites. They appear from Josh. xi. 3, xvii. 15, to have dwelt in the woods and mountains. Bochart describes them ('Phaleg.' IV. 36) as a rustic, agrarian race, living without cities and in villages only, the name itself signifying *pagani, villagers, rustics.*

Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land.

8 And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we *be* [†]brethren.

[†] Heb. *men brethren.*

9 *Is* not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou wilt take* the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if *thou depart* to the right hand, then I will go to the left.

10 And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it *was* well watered every where, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, *even* as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.

11 Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east: and they separated themselves the one from the other.

12 Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain, and pitched *his* tent toward Sodom.

13 But the men of Sodom *were* wicked and sinners before the LORD exceedingly.

14 ¶ And the LORD said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward:

15 For all the land which thou seest, [b]to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.

[b] chap. 12. 7. & 26. 4. Deut. 34. 4.

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dwelled then in the land] See on xii. 6.

8. *Let there be no strife*] A noble example of disinterestedness and love of peace exhibited by the father of the faithful.

10. *Lot lifted up his eyes*] They were probably encamped on that mountain on the east of Bethel, having Bethel on the west and Hai on the east, where Abram had built the altar and called on the name of the Lord (ch. xii. 8). The very spot can be traced from the indications of the sacred text (Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' Vol. I. p. 32). From this spot Lot and Abram chose their respective possessions. Lot saw the plains of Jordan, watered by fertilizing rivers, not yet broken up by the overflowing or outbursting of the great salt lake, very probably irrigated like the land of Egypt which he had lately left, where the Nile refreshed the soil, and the plague of famine never came. Taking no warning by the dangers, bodily and spiritual, which had beset them in Egypt, he feared not the proximity of the wealthy and luxurious inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, but thought their land pleasant even as the garden of the Lord. He chose the rich pastures of the plain, and left Abram the less promising, but, as it proved, the safer inheritance of the hill country of Judæa. It was a selfish choice, and it proved a sad one.

as thou comest unto Zoar] See on ch. xiv. 3.

12. *land of Canaan*] That is, Canaan strictly so called.

the plain] Lit. "the circuit or neighbourhood," the country round about Jordan. So the LXX. (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 717. Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 287.) The low tract or plain along the river—through which it flows, perhaps as comprehensive as the Ghor itself. (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 73.)

13. *sinners before the LORD*] Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim are mentioned, Gen. x. 19, as among the first settlements of the Canaanites. The fertility of the soil in this Valley of the Jordan, with the luxurious and enervating character of the climate, rapidly developed the sensual vices of this early civilized but depraved race. Their wickedness is mentioned here perhaps in anticipation of the history in ch. xix., but partly also in order to exhibit more clearly the thoughtlessness and worldliness of Lot in choosing their neighbourhood for his residence, as distinguished from the humility and unselfish spirit of Abram.

14. *Lift up now thine eyes*, &c.] He was probably still on the hill east of Bethel. Here once again, on his return from Egypt to the land of his inheritance, God renews his promise to Abram. The world, with its dangers and its honours, may have tempted Abram, but it had not corrupted him. He came back from Egypt with larger knowledge, probably all the more armed against sin by having had some experience of its seductions. He is still the chosen of God; and he is comforted under separation from his kinsman, and the discovery of that kinsman's lower motives and less disinterestedness, by the assurance that God was still ever with him and pledged to preserve and provide for him.

15. *to thee*] The land even in present possession was his, so far as was needed by him as a nomade chief, though its permanent occupation was to him and his seed after him.

16 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, *then* shall thy seed also be numbered.

17 Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee.

18 Then Abram removed *his* tent, and came and dwelt in the [t]plain of Mamre, which *is* in Hebron, and built there an altar unto the LORD.

[t] Heb. *plains.*

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The battle of four kings against five.* 12 *Lot is taken prisoner.* 14 *Abram rescueth him.* 18 *Melchizedek blesseth Abram.* 20 *Abram giveth him tithe.* 22 *The rest of the spoil, his partners having had their portions, he restoreth to the king of Sodom.*

AND it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations;

2 *That these* made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar.

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for ever] *i.e.* in perpetuity. But, when we consider that the promises to Abram have their full completion in Christ, to whom are given "the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession," there need be no limit to the sense of the words "for ever."

18. *the plain of Mamre*] **The Oaks** (or terebinths) **of Mamre**, see on ch. xii. 6. Probably it means "the oak grove" or "wood of Mamre," called after Mamre the Amorite, the friend and ally of Abram (ch. xiv. 13, 24).

Hebron] Called *Arba* or *Kirjath-arba* (see ch. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 4. Judg. i. 10) till after the death of Moses, when Caleb took the city and changed its name to Hebron. It has been thought therefore that the words here "which is Hebron," must have been inserted by a later hand than that of Moses. It is more probable that Hebron was the original name, changed to Kirjath-arba during the sojourn of the descendants of Jacob in the land of Egypt, and restored by Caleb at the conquest of Palestine. So Karme (cited by Rosenmüller), Hengstenberg, Keil, &c.; see also on ch. xxiii. 2. This was the third resting place of Abram: 1. Shechem, 2. Bethel, 3. Hebron. Near it was the cave of Machpelah, where he and Sarah were buried. It is now called *El Khalil*, "the friend," *i.e.* the house of the friend of God. Near to it stands an ancient Terebinth, once a place of heathen worship (Delitzsch). The cave of Machpelah still is there, surrounded by a mosque, in which lie probably the dust of Abraham and Isaac, and perhaps the embalmed body, the mummy, of Jacob, brought up in solemn state from Egypt, ch. l. 13 (Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine, p. 102).

CHAP. XIV. 1. *And it came to pass*] We come now upon a new scene in the life of Abram. The choice of Lot was soon seen not to be a wise choice, even for earthly happiness. The rich plains of Sodom and Gomorrah were likely to be scenes of strife, as in early times was the case with all fertile countries (Thucyd. I. 2). The history of this war is a remarkable episode, and is thought by many to be a very ancient document incorporated by Moses in his great work. So Tuch, Ewald, Kurtz, &c. who all bear testimony to its internal proofs of historical accuracy. The occurrence of the name JEHOVAH in it is inconsistent with the theory, which assigns the use of that name only to the later portions of the book of Genesis.

in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar] The king of Shinar, (*Babel*, Onkel., *Bagdad*, Arab. Erpen., *Pontus*, Jonathan,) as being the representative of Nimrod, founder of the great Babylonian Empire, is mentioned first. The name Amraphel is probably Assyrian, its derivation unknown.

Arioch] If, as it is supposed, the root of this word be *ari*, a *lion*, the bearer of it would appear to have been Semitic.

Ellasar] Jonathan *Telassar* (see 2 K. xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12), a place not far off. It is more probably identified with Larsa or Larancha, the Larissa of the Greeks, a town in Lower Babylonia, or Chaldæa, between Ur and Erech, on the left bank of the Euphrates (Rawlinson, Kalisch, &c.).

Chedorlaomer king of Elam] It seems from the narrative that at this time the king of Elam was the most powerful of the Asiatic princes (Le Clerc). The Elamites appear to have been originally a Semitic people (ch. x. 22). If then they had now gained a superiority over the Hamitic races, it is not improbable that the Canaanites of the plain of Jordan, having been originally subject to the kings of Shinar, or Babylon, bore unwillingly the transference of their fealty to the Shemite king of Elam, and took the first opportunity of throwing off their allegiance, whereupon the king of Elam, now the head of the four kingdoms named in this verse, gathered his subject or tributary allies, and strove to reduce the Canaanites again to subjection. Re-

3 All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea.

4 Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled.

5 And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that *were* with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in ‖Shaveh Kiriathaim,

‖ Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim.*

cent discoveries shew that Susa (the capital of Elymais) must have been one of the most ancient cities of the East. Sir Henry Rawlinson thought he discovered a name corresponding with Chedorlaomer on Chaldæan bricks, viz. Kadur-Mapula, the second portion of the word being of course distinct. Another title by which Kadur-Mapula was known was "Ravager of the West," which corresponds with the account here given of Chedorlaomer. Rawlinson and others consider the dynasty of Chedorlaomer not to have been Semitic, but belonging to a race of Hamites, who had subdued the original Elymæans.

Tidal king of nations] Symmachus renders "King of the Scythians," which is approved by some commentators, because Scythia was inhabited by many different tribes (Fuller, 'Miscell. SS.' Lib. II. c. 4, quoted by Rosenm.). Le Clerc, followed by Rosenmüller, prefers Galilee, called "Galilee of the Gentiles" or "nations" (Is. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15. See also Strabo, Lib. XVI. § 34, who says that these northern parts of Judæa were inhabited by various mixed tribes, Egyptians, Arabs, Phœnicians). But all this was probably later in history, and the name Galilee of the nations was given to Galilee, because it was still inhabited by other tribes, whilst Judæa was inhabited by none but Israelites (Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 272). We may most probably conjecture that Tidal was owned as the chief of several nomade tribes, who, like Abram, had no stationary home. For Tidal, the LXX. has *Thargal*, which is preferred by some, as having the meaning of "Great chief" in the early Hamitic dialect of the lower Tigris and Euphrates country (Rawlinson, in Smith's 'Dict. of Bible').

3. *vale of Siddim*] The meaning of this name has been a great puzzle to interpreters. The LXX. render it "the salt valley." Onkelos evidently refers the derivation to *Sadeh*, a plain (as though שִׂדִּים was plural of שָׂדֶה). So Aquila and Rashi. They are followed by Stanley ('Sinai and Palestine,' p. 491). Aben Ezra derives it from *Sid* (שִׂיד), *lime*, because of the abundance of bitumen, which was used as lime (see ch. xi. 3). Gesenius suggests an Arabic root signifying an obstacle, and so concludes that the valley of Siddim was a plain full of rocky valleys and irregularities. In v. 10 it is said to be full of bitumen pits, which was perhaps the reason why the five kings chose it for the field of battle, as being more favourable to the weaker party.

which is the salt sea] The extreme depression of the Dead Sea, 1316 feet (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 190), and other geological phenomena, are thought to favour the belief, that there must have been originally some lake at the extremity of the valley of the Jordan; but perhaps after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah the lake greatly extended itself, so as to cover much which before may have been low valley land. The vale of Siddim is generally thought to have been at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, where are now to be seen the principal deposits of salt and bitumen, the site being occupied by the shallow southern portion of that sea (see Robinson, 'Physical Geography of the Holy Land,' pp. 73, 213).

4. *Twelve years*, &c.] See on v. 1.

5. *Rephaims*] The LXX. renders "Giants," so virtually do Onk. and Syr. It is, no doubt, the name of an ancient people; very probably a tribe resident in the Holy Land before the immigration of the Canaanites. They appear to have been a people of large stature. Og, the king of Bashan, at the time of the Exodus, is mentioned as the last remaining of their race (Deut. iii. 11). Their habitation was to the north-east of the valley of the Jordan, the country afterwards called Peræa. They must also have extended to the south-west; for the valley of Rephaim, named after them, appears to have been in the neighbourhood of the valley of Hinnom and Bethlehem, to the south of Jerusalem (see Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16; 2 S. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13). The name "Rephaim," in later times, is constantly used for "the dead," or rather for the "ghosts or manes of the dead" (Job xxvi. 5; Ps. lxxxviii. 11; Prov. ii. 18; Is. xiv. 9, xxvi. 14). Whether there is a connection between the name of this ancient and afterwards extinct people, and this word thus used for "the dead," is very doubtful (Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1302).

Ashteroth Karnaim] "Ashteroth of the two horns." It is most probable that this was the same as the Ashtaroth, where Og the king of Bashan dwelt (Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10), in the east of the inheritance of the tribe of Manasseh; and that it was named from the worship of Astarte (Ashtoreth), whose image

6 And the Horites in their mount Seir, unto ‖ El-paran, which *is* by the wilderness.

‖ Or, *the plain of Paran.*

7 And they returned, and came to En-mishpat, which *is* Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar.

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was such as to suggest the idea of a horned figure (see Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1082). In like manner Athor (the Egyptian Venus, as Astarte was the Phœnician) was depicted with horns like a cow (see Rawlinson's 'Herod.' Vol. II. pp. 61, 62). Some, however, think the two horns to refer to two hills, between which the city lay, and the name "horned" was intended to distinguish this town from the city commonly called Ashtaroth only (see Rosenm. in loc. and Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' s. v. *Ashtaroth*).

Zuzims] Little is known concerning the name or place of this people. The LXX. and Onk. render "the strong or mighty ones." Le Clerc thinks the name means "wanderer," from the root Zuz זוּז, "to move oneself." Michaelis understands "dwarfs." Both derivations are rejected by Gesen. ('Thes.' p. 410). They are very generally thought to be the same with the Zamzummims (Deut. ii. 20), who are spoken of as a race of great stature, and connected with the Horim, as are the Zuzims here.

in Ham] If the Zuzim be the same as the Zamzummim, they must have dwelt in the territory of the Ammonites, and Tuch, followed by Knobel, considers that Ham here is the same as Rabbath-Ammon. There is another reading in seven Samaritan MSS. followed by the LXX. and Vulg. viz. (בָּהֶם *ἅμα αὐτοῖς, cum illis*) "with them;" but the pointing of the Masorites seems more likely to be the true.

the Emims] The name is supposed to be the Hebrew for "terrible ones." The Rev. F. C. Cook identifies the name with Amu, the Egyptian word for nomad Semites. In Deut. ii. 10, 11, where they are mentioned in the same connection as here, they are spoken of as "a people great and many and tall." They dwelt in the country afterwards occupied by the Moabites.

Shaveh Kiriathaim] or "the plain of Kiriathaim," or "the plain of the two cities." Kiriathaim is mentioned, Num. xxxii. 37, Josh. xiii. 19, as in the possession of the sons of Reuben. Eusebius says it was well known in his day, a village inhabited by Christians, close to the Baris, about 10 miles west of Medeba ('Onom.' Κιριαθειμ).

6. *the Horites in their mount Seir*] The name "Horites" means "inhabitants of caves." These people dwelt in the mountain region called Seir (lit. "the hirsute," probably from its thick forests and brushwood), extending from the Dead Sea southward to the Elamitic Gulf. Mount Seir is called in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Jerusalem Targum "Gabla," and the northern part of the range is still called "Jebal," or "the mountain," by the Arabs. The wonderful excavations in the rocks near Petra may very possibly be due to these "Horim," or cave-dwellers. They were driven out by the Edomites (Deut. ii. 12), who also after the manner of their predecessors "made their nest high like the eagle."

El-paran] *i.e.* "the oak or terebinth wood of Paran." The great wilderness, extending to the south of Palestine, the south-west of Idumæa, and thence to the Sinaitic range, appears to have been called the wilderness of Paran. It probably lay to the west of the wilderness of Sin, but at times is to be taken in a wider sense, as comprehending the desert of Sin (see Gesen. 'Thes.' pp. 47, 1090). El-paran is here said to be by the wilderness, *i.e.* on the eastern side of the great desert, marking the farthest point to which the expedition of Chedorlaomer reached. The wilderness of Paran is identified with the modern desert of El-Tih, the wilderness of Zin or Sin being the Wady-el-Arabah (Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 92).

7. *to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh*] The LXX. renders "to the well of judgment," the Vulg. "to the well of Mishpat." Some suppose it to have derived its name from the *judgment* pronounced on Moses and Aaron (Num. xx. 12), and that the name is here given proleptically; but it is evidently here given as the ancient name to which the more modern *Kadesh* corresponded. Syr., Onk., Jerus. render Kadesh by Rekam. Josephus calls it Arekem, which he says now bears the name of Petra ('A. J.' IV. 4). This identity of Kadesh with Petra is ably defended by Dean Stanley ('S. and P.' pp. 94, 95). Another site for the ancient Kades, or Ain-Mishpat, is vindicated for Kudes or Kades, lying to the east of the highest part of Djebel-Halal, about 12 miles to the E.S.E. of Morlakhi (see Williams, 'Holy City,' Vol. I. p. 467; Kalisch, Delitzsch, Keil, in loc.) Strong objections to both these sites are urged in the art. *Kades* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible.'

Amalekites] See note on ch. xxxvi. 12.

Hazezon-tamar] *i.e.* "The pruning of the palm," the same place which was afterwards called Engedi, "the fountain of the wild-goat" (2 Chr. xx. 2). The palm-groves, which gave the original name, and for which Pliny says Engedi was famous ('Nat. Hist.' v. 17), have

8 And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same *is* Zoar;) and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim;

9 With Chedorlaomer the king of Elam, and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings with five.

10 And the vale of Siddim *was full of* slimepits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there; and they that remained fled to the mountain.

11 And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way.

12 And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed.

13 ¶ And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew; for he dwelt in the plain of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner: and these *were* confederate with Abram.

14 And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained *servants*, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued *them* unto Dan.

15 And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night,

[1] Or, *led forth.*
[1] Or, *instructed.*

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disappeared, but the ibex, or Syrian chamois, still inhabits the cliffs in the neighbourhood (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 295). The place was situated in the wilderness of Judæa, to the west of the Dead Sea, according to Josephus 300 stadia from Jerusalem ('Ant.' IX. c. 1). The ruins found at a place called Ain Jiddi, with a fountain in the midst of a mountain country, to the west of the Dead Sea and of about the latitude of Hebron, are supposed to mark the original site of Engedi or Hazezontamar.

10. *slimepits*] **Bitumen-pits:** of asphalt or bitumen, from which the Dead Sea was afterwards called Lacus Asphaltites, or Sea of Asphalt.

fell there] *i.e.* were overthrown there; for the king of Sodom seems to have been one of those who fled to the mountains and escaped, see v. 17.

13. *one that had escaped*] Rather **those that escaped** (Ew. 277; Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1105).

the Hebrew] *i.e.* either "the descendant of Eber," which seems most accordant with the words in ch. x. 21, where Eber seems to have given a general name to his descendants, or (as the LXX., Aq., Vulg., and most ancient interpreters), "the stranger from beyond the Euphrates," an appellative from the Hebrew noun or preposition *Eber*, עֵבֶר, signifying the "opposite side, beyond." The mention of Abram as the Hebrew is due to the fact, that the messenger, who came and told him what had happened, was an inhabitant of the land, and Abram was to him one of a strange country and strange race.

the plain] **The oaks or oak groves.**

14. *He armed his trained servants*] **He led out his trained servants.** The verb here used means "to draw out," as a sword from its sheath: and the word *trained* is applied to the teaching of children (Prov. xxii. 6), and to initiation or consecration, as of a house (Deut. xx. 5), or a temple (1 K. viii. 63).

born in his own house] Of his own patriarchal family, not bought, hired, or taken in war.

unto Dan] Some taking this Dan to be the same as Laish, which was not called Dan till after the country was conquered by the Danites (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29), have thought that this passage was not from the hand of Moses. So Ewald ('Gesch.' I. 53), who supposes *Dan* to have been substituted by a later hand for Laish in the original MS. Others have thought that another place was meant here (so Deyling, Hävernick, Kalisch, Keil). Keil contends that the Dan, formerly called Laish, which was on the central source of the Jordan (see Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 10; Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 395), could not have been the Dan here mentioned, as it did not lie in either of the two roads leading from the vale of Siddim to Damascus. Both he and Kalisch think this Dan to be the same as Dan-jaan (2 S. xxiv. 6), apparently belonging to Gilead, and to be sought for in northern Peræa, to the south-west of Damascus. The chief objection to this is, that Josephus (as above, 'Ant.' I. 10) and Jerome ('Qu. Hebr. in Gen.' ad h.l.) distinctly speak of the Dan here mentioned, as situated at the source of the Jordan. The conjecture of Le Clerc (Cleric. *in loc.*) is not contemptible, viz. that the original name of the fountain was "Dan," *i.e.* "judge," (cp. Ain-mishpat, the fountain of justice), the neighbouring town being called Laish; but that the Danites gave the name of the well, which corresponded with that of their own tribe, to the city as well as the fountain.

15. *he divided himself against them, he*

and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which *is* on the left hand of Damascus.

16 And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.

17 ¶ And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, and of the kings that *were* with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which *is* the [a]king's dale.

18 And [b]Melchizedek king of Sa-

[a] 2 Sam. 18. 18.
[b] Heb. 7. 1.

and his servants, by night] From v. 24 it appears that besides Abram's own servants there went out with him Aner, Eshcol and Mamre, with their followers. These divided their forces, surprised the invaders at different points of attack during the darkness, and so routed them.

Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus] *i.e.* to the north of Damascus, the north being to the left of a man, who looks toward the sunrising. A place called Choba is mentioned, Judith xv. 6; Eusebius ('Onom.' v. Χωβά) says that in his day a village existed in the neighbourhood of Damascus called by this name, which was inhabited by Ebionites. About two miles from Damascus is now a village called Hobah, said to be the place to which Abram pursued the kings (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 414 k).

17. *the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale*] In 2 S. xviii. 18, we read that Absalom in his lifetime "took and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance: and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called unto this day, Absalom's place." Josephus ('Ant.' VII. 10) says, that the monument was two stadia from Jerusalem. This would correspond well with the valley of the Upper Kidron, where are the tombs of the judges and other ancient sepulchres, a very likely place for Absalom to have erected what was evidently intended as a sepulchral monument. The tomb now known as Absalom's is probably not his, as it appears to be of later date, corresponding with the rock-tombs of Petra belonging to a period later than the Christian era (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 92). It is not, however, possible to determine the situation of the valley of Shaveh, and its identity with the later King's Dale of 2 S. xviii. 18, without first fixing the site of Salem, of which Melchizedek was king. If Salem be Jerusalem, then Shaveh may well have been the valley of the Kidron, close to Jerusalem: but if Salem were some more northern city, we must leave the position of Shaveh undetermined. See on v. 18.

18. *Melchizedek*] Various have been the conjectures in all ages as to the person of Melchizedek. Some have supposed the name to be a title, like Augustus or Pharaoh, rather than a proper name, comparing Malek-ol-Adel and Adel-Chan, *i.e.* "the just king," a title common to some Mahommedan kings, as the princes of the Deccan and Golconda: but the Hebrew form of the word seems to point to a proper name rather than to a title. Cp. Abi-melech, Gen. xx. 2, Adoni-zedek, Josh. x. 3. The Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan say, that Melchizedek was Shem, and St Jerome ('Qu. ad Genes.' in loc.) tells us that the Jews of his day said he was Shem the son of Noah, and calculating the days of his life, shewed that he must have lived to the time of Isaac. (See also Epist. LXXIII. 'ad Evang.' Opp. I. p. 438). This opinion has been adopted by many moderns, and is defended at length by Jackson 'On the Creed,' Bk. IX. It probably arose from considerations of the great dignity of the king and priest, who blessed Abraham and took tithes of him, and from the readiness of the Jews to ascribe such dignity only to an ancestor of their own. The Jews very anciently considered him at least to be a type of Messiah (Schœttgen. 'Hor. Hebr.' T. II. p. 645); but they generally seem to have believed that he was a prince of the country, as the Targum of Onkelos and Josephus, which both describe him simply as king of Jerusalem, in which they are followed by most commentators of modern times. It is a question of interest, but impossible to solve, Was he of the Canaanitish race or Semitic? On ch. x. 6, some explanation is given of the fact that the Canaanites spoke a Semitic tongue. The name and titles of Melchizedek are Semitic, but this proves nothing. He dwelt among Canaanites; but there had probably been Semitic inhabitants of the land before the immigration of the Canaanites (see on ch. xii. 6); and so Melchizedek, who was a worshipper of the true God, may have been one of the original Shemite stock. There were, however, worshippers of the true God, besides the Israelites, retaining patriarchal truth, as Job, and Balaam, and so it is not certain that Melchizedek was a descendant of Shem. He is, in fact, as the Apostle tells us, introduced "without father, without mother, without descent," with no mention of the beginning of his priesthood or the ending of it, and so specially suited to be a type of the Son of God. He is mentioned once besides in the Old Testament, viz. in Ps. cx. 4, where the priesthood of Messiah is said to be after the

lem brought forth bread and wine: and he *was* the priest of the most high God.

19 And he blessed him, and said, Blessed *be* Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth:

order of Melchizedek; and again in the New Testament, Heb. v. vi. vii., where the comparison between the royal priesthood of Melchizedek and that of Jesus is drawn out at length. The special points of resemblance of Melchizedek to Christ are: 1. that he was not of the Levitical order, local, national, but previous to the giving of the Law, catholic, universal; 2. that he was superior to Abraham, blessed and took tithes of him; 3. that (as often in old times, Virg. 'Æn.' III. 80; Arist. 'Pol.' III. 14, &c.), he was both king and priest; 4. that no beginning and no end are assigned either to his priesthood or his life; 5. his name too "king of righteousness and king of peace," are eminently suited to a type of the Son of God (Heb. vii. 2, 3). The bringing forth bread and wine is not referred to by the Apostle; but the ancient Church loved to dwell on this as typical of the institution by the Saviour of the θυσία ἀναίμακτος, the *incruentum sacrificium*, as they were wont to call the Holy Eucharist; and later ages may have made more of it than Scripture will warrant. (See Jackson, as above, Bk. IX. sect. ii. ch. x.)

king of Salem] Josephus ('Ant.' I. 10), Onkelos and all the Targg. understand Jerusalem, which is called Salem in Ps. lxxvi. 2, and this is pretty certainly the true interpretation. Jerome however ('Epist. LXXIII. ad Evang.' Tom. I. p. 446, edit. Vallars.), says it was not Jerusalem, but a city near Scythopolis, called Salem up to his time, where the ruins of Melchizedek's palace were shewn, and of which it is written (Gen. xxxiii. 18), "Jacob came to Shalem." Yet *Shalem*, in Gen. xxxiii. is rendered by Onkelos and a majority of modern commentators, not as a proper name, but rather "in peace" (see note on ch. xxxiii. 19). Moreover, Jerome elsewhere ('Qu. in Gen.') speaks of Melchizedek as "king of Salem, which was the former name of Jerusalem." Probably Salem was the oldest, Jebus the next, and Jerusalem the more modern name of the same city, though some think that the Salem here was the same as Salim near Ænon, where John baptized (Joh. iii. 23). If, as is most probable, Siddim, Sodom and Gomorrah, lay to the south of the Dead Sea, there is no reason why Salem should not have been Jerusalem, or that the valley of Shaveh, which is the "king's dale," should not have been the valley of the Kidron. If the view advocated by Mr Grove ('Dict. of Bible,' art. *Shaveh*, *Siddim*, *Sodom*, *Zoar*), and defended by Dean Stanley ('S. and P.' pp. 249, &c.), viz. that the valley of Siddim was north of the Dead Sea, be correct, then no doubt, Salem must have been a place far north of Jerusalem; but the more ancient opinion, viz. that the cities of the plain lay south of the Dead Sea is ably defended by Kuinoel ('Ep. ad Hebr.' VII. 1), Robinson ('B. R.' II. 188, 'Phys. Geog.' 213), Kurtz, Knobel, Delitzsch, Kalisch, Keil, &c., and is most probably the true. See also note on the Dead Sea at the end of ch. xix.

the priest] This is the first time that the word *priest*, *Cohen*, ἱερεύς, *sacerdos*, occurs in the Bible, and it is in connection with the worship of an ancient people, perhaps not related by blood to the chosen race. The etymological meaning of the word is unknown. The word itself is applied afterwards both to the Levitical priesthood and to the priesthood of false religions. The patriarchs seem to have had no other priesthood than that of the head of the family (Gen. viii. 20, xii. 8, xxii., xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20; Job i. 5); but here we find Melchizedek designated as a priest and as performing many priestly acts, solemnly blessing, taking tithes, &c. There is no distinct mention of sacrifice, which was afterwards the most special function of the priesthood. As, however, sacrifice was a rite of common use among the patriarchs, and, later at least, among all surrounding nations, there is no reasonable doubt but that Melchizedek was a sacrificing priest, and so more fitly a type of Christ, who offered Himself a sacrifice without spot to God (see Kuinoel on Heb. vii. 1). Philo indeed asserts that Melchizedek offered the first fruits of the spoil in sacrifice, ἐπινίκια ἔθυε ('De Abrah.' p. 381), a thing by no means improbable; and connected with such a sacrifice may have been the bread and wine, corresponding with the *mola* and libations of later days.

the most high God] This is the first time we meet with this title, *Elion*. It occurs frequently afterwards, as Num. xxiv. 16 (where it is used by Balaam, also an alien from the family of Abraham), Deut. xxxii. 18, Ps. vii. 18, ix. 2, xviii. 13, xlvii. 2, lxxviii. 35, &c., where sometimes we have *Elion* alone, sometimes joined with *El*, sometimes with JEHOVAH. It is observed that Sanchoniathon (ap. Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' I. 10) mentions *Elion* as the name of the Phœnician Deity. So the words *alonim walonuth*, which occur in the well-known Punic passage in the Pœnulus of Plautus, are supposed to correspond with the Hebrew *Elionim velionoth*, "gods and goddesses." This may be true; the worship of the Phœnicians, as of other heathen nations, was, no doubt, a corruption of the ancient patriarchal faith: but it is plain, that Abram here acknowledges Melchizedek as a worshipper of the true God: and in v. 22,

20 And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him [c]tithes of all.

[c] Heb. 7. 4.

21 And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the [†]persons, and take the goods to thyself.

[†] Heb. *souls.*

22 And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine hand unto the LORD, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth,

23 That I will not *take* from a thread even to a shoelatchet, and that I will not take anything that *is* thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram rich:

24 Save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre; let them take their portion.

CHAPTER XV.

1 God encourageth Abram. 2 Abram complaineth for want of an heir. 4 God promiseth him a son, and a multiplying of his seed. 6 Abram is justified by faith. 7 Canaan is promised again, and confirmed by a sign, 12 and a vision.

AFTER these things the word of the LORD came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I *am* thy shield; *and* thy exceeding [a]great reward.

[a] Ps. 16. 5.

Abram uses the very titles of God, which had been used by Melchizedek before, coupling with them the most sacred name JEHOVAH, the name of the Covenant God, under which He was ever adored by the chosen seed as specially their God.

19. *possessor of heaven and earth*] The LXX. and, Vulg. have "Maker of heaven and earth." This is probably the true meaning, but the word may have either significance (Ges. 'Th.' p. 1221. So Delitzsch and Keil).

20. *he gave him tithes of all*] The sentence, as it stands, is ambiguous, but the sense is obviously (as LXX., Joseph., Jonathan, and Heb. vii. 6) "Abram gave Melchizedek tithes of all," *i. e.* the *spolia opima*, the tenth part of the spoil which he had taken from the enemy (Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 10).

21. *Give me the persons, and take the goods to thyself.*] *i. e.* restore those of my people, whom you have rescued, but keep whatever other property of mine you may have lighted on.

22. *I have lift up mine hand unto the LORD*] A common form of solemn attestation in all nations. (See Dan. xii. 7, Virg. 'Æn.' XII. 195.) On the identification of the name El-elion with JEHOVAH, and on the use of the latter name, see notes on vv. 1, 18.

23. *That I will not take*] Lit. "If I will take." The particle *if* was constantly used in swearing, there being an ellipsis of some such expression as "God do so to me and more also if," (1 S. iii. 17). The particle is literally rendered in Heb. iii. 11. There is a marked difference between Abram's conduct to Melchizedek, and his conduct to the king of Sodom. From Melchizedek he receives refreshment and treats him with honour and respect. Towards the king of Sodom he is distant and reserved. Probably the vicious lives of the inhabitants of Sodom made him careful not to lay himself under any obligation to their king, lest he should become too much associated with him and them.

24. *the young men*] Abram's trained servants, whom he had led to the fight (Cp. 2 S. ii. 14, 1 K. xx. 14).

CHAP. XV. 1. *After these things the word of the LORD came unto Abram in a vision*] We have in this chapter a repetition of the promises to Abram, given when he was first called (ch. xii. 1), and when he first entered into the land of Canaan (ch. xii. 7), with the farther assurance that his own son should be his heir. This is the first time that the expression so frequent afterwards "the word of the LORD" occurs in the Bible. It has been questioned whether the "vision" was a dream or waking vision. The same word is used of Balaam, "which saw the *vision* of the Almighty, falling, but having his eyes open" (Num. xxiv. 4, 16). The way in which Abram was led out and saw the stars, and the subsequent reality of the sacrifice, look like a waking vision, and it is not till v. 12, that he falls into a deep sleep.

Fear not] Abram had now become a great man, with wealth and a comparatively settled home: but he was in a land of strangers, and many of them of godless life. He had been engaged in a war, and his very victory might bring reprisals. In his old age he had no children to support and defend him. Accordingly he now is assured of God's farther protection, and secured against those feelings of despondency natural to one who was lonely, childless, and in danger. It is observed that the words "fear not" have introduced many announcements of Messiah, as Joh. xii. 15; Luke i. 13, 30, ii. 10 (Wordsworth).

thy exceeding great reward] The word *great* is here an infinitive absolute used ad-

2 And Abram said, Lord GOD, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house *is* this Eliezer of Damascus?

3 And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house is mine heir.

4 And, behold, the word of the LORD *came* unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir.

5 And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, [b]So shall thy seed be.

6 And he [c]believed in the LORD; and he counted it to him for righteousness.

[b] Rom. 4. 18.
[c] Rom. 4. 3. Gal. 3. 6. Jam. 2. 23.

verbially, so that the more exact rendering may be, "Thy reward exceeding abundantly." The LXX. render "Thy reward shall be exceeding great," which is approved by Rœdiger (in Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1257), Rosenm., Delitzsch.

2. *Lord GOD*] *Adonai* JEHOVAH. This is the first use of these two words together. When separate, both are rendered by versions, ancient and modern, by the same word LORD. Except in v. 8, the same combination occurs again in the Pentateuch, only in Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26. In all these passages it is in the vocative case, and JEHOVAH alone does not occur in Genesis as a vocative (Quarry, 'Genesis,' p. 234).

seeing I go childless] Abram, though blessed personally, feels that the promises of God seem to extend into the future, and does not understand that they can be fulfilled in him alone.

the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus] The literal rendering is "The son of the business" (or perhaps "of the possession") "of my house, he is Damascus Eliezer." It is most probable that "Damascus" is put for "a man of Damascus," as the Authorized Version. The words rendered "steward of my house" are very obscure, so that some ancient versions leave them untranslated. The older critics generally render "son of the business," *i.e.* "steward;" the majority of modern commentators, after the Syriac, preferring "son of possession," *i.e.* "heir." The passage, therefore, must be read either "the steward," or "the heir of my house is Eliezer of Damascus." The tradition of Abram's connection with Damascus has already been referred to (see Nicol. Damasc. Ap. Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 7; Justin. XXXVI. 2). If Abram came into Palestine by the way of Damascus, it is not unlikely that he should have taken his principal retainer from that place.

3. *one born in my house*] Lit. "son of my house." The expression is like, but not necessarily equivalent to that in ch. xvii. 12, 27 (יְלִיד־בָּיִת), *he that is born in the house*, as opposed to those *bought with money of any stranger*. It is quite possible that the title "son of my house," was applied to inmates of the house, especially those in honourable office in the household, whether born in the family, or afterwards adopted into it. The relation of the head of a family to his retainers was, in the case of Abram at least, truly paternal. It evidently more resembled the connection between a feudal chief and his vassals than that between a master and his slaves. That some of them were "bought with money," appears indeed from the passages above referred to; but they were evidently not in the abject condition which attached to slavery in later days, and the principal among them was marked out in default of his own offspring as heir to his master, though Abram had near relations, and some of them at no greater distance from him than Lot and his family, then living in the plains of Jordan.

5. *tell the stars*] In the promise to Noah the rainbow had been the sign given from on high, a sacramental promise of mercy to mankind. Now to Abram the still brighter and more enduring token is the starry firmament. His seed should abide as "the faithful witness in heaven." There is the pledge of a brilliant future for his house, even as regards material prosperity; the pledge of still greater blessings to that spiritual family, which by baptism into Christ became "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. iii. 27, 29).

6. *And he believed in the LORD; and he counted it to him for righteousness*] The root of the word rendered *believed* has the sense of supporting, sustaining, strengthening. Hence in the Hiphil conjugation (as here), it signifies to hold as firm, to rest upon as firm, hence to believe and rely upon as true and stable (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 114). The promise here made by the LORD to Abram was given to him before circumcision, whilst there was yet not even the germ of Levitical Law. It contained in it the promise of Christ. It elicited from Abram the great evangelical principle of faith. God promised that which was opposed to all appearance and likelihood. Abram relied on that promise. He surrendered his own wisdom

7 And he said unto him, I *am* the LORD that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.

8 And he said, Lord GOD, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?

9 And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young pigeon.

10 And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not.

11 And when the fowls came down upon the carcases, Abram drove them away.

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to the wisdom of God, and so gave up his own will to the will of God. So he became the heir of the promises; and the internal principle of faith became to him the true principle of righteousness. It was the only righteousness possible for the feeble and the sinful; for it was a reposing on the power and the love of the Almighty and the Holy One. It was therefore reckoned to him as what may be called a passive righteousness, and at the same time it was productive in him of an active righteousness: for the soul which relies on the truth, power, and goodness of another, in the strength of that truth, power, and goodness, can itself be active in them all: taking advantage of the power and goodness relied upon, it becomes itself powerful and good and true. The Apostles naturally dwell upon this first recorded instance of faith, faith in God, implied faith in Christ, and consequent accounting of righteousness, recorded before all legal enactments, as illustrative of the great evangelical grace of faith, its power as resting on One who is all powerful, and its sanctifying energy, as containing in itself the principle of holiness and the germ of every righteous act. (Rom. iv. v.; Gal. iii.; Heb. xi.; Jas. ii., &c. &c.)

7. *I am the* LORD *that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees*] In ch. xi. 31, Terah is represented as having left Ur of the Chaldees and settled in Haran with Abram, Sarai and Lot; whilst in ch. xii. 1, Abram is represented as having been called by the Lord to go *out* of Haran, cp. v. 4. These different statements are thought to be inconsistent with each other and referable to three different hands. Whether there was a distinct command to Abram to leave Ur does not appear. The LORD by His Providence may have led him and his father out of Ur to Haran, with the design of leading him further onward, and afterwards by special revelation have called him to leave Haran and to go to Canaan (see Quarry, p. 430).

8. *whereby shall I know*] Abram believed God; but there may have been some misgiving as to the reality of what he saw and heard; like St Peter, who "wist not that it was true which was done by the angel, but thought he saw a vision" (Acts xii. 9): and even where there is much faith, a man may distrust himself, may feel that though now the belief is strong, yet ere long the first impression and so the firm conviction may fade away. Thus Gideon (Jud. vi. 17), Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 8), the Blessed Virgin (Luk. i. 34) asked a sign in confirmation of their faith, and, as here to Abram, it was graciously given them.

9. *Take me an heifer of three years old*] The age chosen was probably because then the animals were in full age and vigour (Chrysost. 'in Gen. Hom. XXVI.'). The animals were those which specially formed the staple of Abram's wealth: they were also those, which in after times were specially ordained for sacrificial offerings. It has been said, that the transaction was not a real sacrifice, as there was no sprinkling of blood, nor offering on an altar: but the essence of the true Hebrew sacrifice was in the slaying of the victim, for the very word זֶבַח (*Zebach*, sacrifice) signifies *slaying:* and it was rather with the shedding of blood than with its sprinkling that atonement was made (Heb. ix. 22). The covenant was made according to the custom of ancient nations. The sacrificed victims were cut into two pieces, and the covenanting parties passed between them (see Jerem. xxxiv. 18, 19). The very word covenant in Hebrew, *Berith*, is supposed by Gesenius to be from a root signifying *to cut* ('Thes.' p. 238); and the common formula for "to make a covenant" is *carath berith*, "to cut a covenant" (so v. 18), comp. the Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν (Hom. 'Il.' v. 124) and the Lat. *fœdus ferire* (see Bochart, 'Hieroz.' i. 332). The division into two is supposed to represent the two parties to the covenant; and their passing between the divided pieces to signify their union into one. In this case Abram was there in person to pass between the pieces, and the manifested presence of God passed between them under the semblance of fire (v. 17).

10. *the birds divided he not*] So under the Law the doves offered as burnt offerings were not cleft in two (Lev. i. 17).

11. *the fowls*] The birds of prey. The

12 And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him.

13 And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety [d] that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land *that is* not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years;

14 And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance.

15 And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age.

16 But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the iniquity of the Amorites *is* not yet full.

17 And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and [f] a burning lamp that passed between those pieces.

18 In the same day the LORD made a covenant with Abram, saying, [e] Unto thy seed have I given this

[d] Acts 7. 6.

[f] Heb. *a lamp of fire.*

[e] chap. 12. 7. & 13. 15. & 26. 4. Deut. 34. 4.

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word used (*ait*) means any rapacious animal, especially vultures or other birds of prey. It is probably of the same root as the Greek ἀετός, eagle.

Abram drove them away] It is generally thought, that the vultures seeking to devour the sacrifice before the covenant was ratified typified the enemies of Israel, especially the Egyptians; and in a spiritual sense they represent the spiritual enemies, which seek to destroy the soul, keeping it from union with God through the accepted sacrifice of His Son (see Knobel in loc.).

12. *when the sun was going down*] The evening came on before all the preparations were made, a solemn time for concluding the covenant between God and the seed of Abram; but it may have been said that it was evening, not night, in order to shew that the great darkness was preternatural (V. Gerlach).

a deep sleep] The same word as that used Gen. ii. 21, when Eve was taken from Adam's side. The constant translation, ἔκστασις (ecstasy), by the LXX. shews the belief that the sleep was sent by God for purposes of Divine revelation.

an horror of great darkness] Lit. **a horror, a great darkness.** The prophets were frequently appalled when admitted to the special presence of God: but here perhaps the horror was connected also with the announcement about to be made to Abram of the sufferings of his posterity.

13. *four hundred years*] In Ex. xii. 40 it is called 430. Possibly here the reckoning is in round numbers; also the Hebrews were not ill-treated during the whole 430 years.

15. *And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace*] A similar expression occurs ch. xxv. 8, xxxv. 29, xlix. 33. It is interpreted to mean either going to the grave, in which his father or his people had been buried, or, (as by Knobel and others) going to that place, where the souls of his ancestors are in the state of separate spirits. That it cannot mean the former here seems to follow from the fact, that Abram was not to be buried in his father's burying-place, but in a grave which he himself purchased in the land of his adoption.

16. *in the fourth generation*] On the chronology from the Descent into Egypt to the Exodus, see note at end of Exod. xii.

the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full] The Amorites, the most powerful people in Canaan, are here put for the Canaanites in general. Their state of moral corruption is abundantly manifest in the early chapters of Genesis; and in the Divine foreknowledge it was seen that they would add sin to sin, and so at length be destroyed by the Divine vengeance. Still the long-suffering of God waited for them, giving time for repentance, if they would be converted and live.

17. *when the sun went down, and it was dark*] Or, "when the sun had gone down, that there was a thick darkness." So the Vulgate.

a smoking furnace, and a lamp of fire] This was the token of the presence of God, as when He appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and to the Israelites in a pillar of fire. The word *lamp* may very probably here signify a flame or tongue of fire. The Hebrew word which is cognate with *lamp*, and the other Aryan words of like sound (λάμπω, λαμπὰς, &c.) has probably its radical significance *a lambendo*, a lambent flame. Compare *labium*, *lip*, &c. (see Ges. 'Th.' p. 759).

18. *made a covenant*] Lit. "cut a covenant." See above on v. 9.

land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:

19 The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites,

20 And the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims,

21 And the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 Sarai, being barren, giveth Hagar to Abram. 4 Hagar, being afflicted for despising her mistress, runneth away. 7 An angel sendeth her back to submit herself, 11 and telleth her of her child. 15 Ishmael is born.

NOW Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children: and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name *was* Hagar.

2 And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the LORD hath restrained me from bearing: I pray thee, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may † obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

† Heb. *be built.*

by her.

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the river of Egypt] Many understand not the Nile but the *Wady-El-Arisch* which, however, is called "the brook or stream of Egypt" as in Is. xxvii. 12, not "the river of Egypt." The boundaries of the future possession are not described with minute accuracy, but they are marked as reaching from the valley of the Euphrates to the valley of the Nile. And in 2 Chron. ix. 26, it is distinctly stated that "all the Kings from the river (i.e. Euphrates) even unto the land of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt" were tributary to Solomon. Cp. 2 S. viii. 3.

19. *The Kenites*] An ancient people inhabiting rocky and mountainous regions to the south of Canaan, near the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 21 seq.; 1 S. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29), a portion of which afterwards migrated to Canaan (Judg. i. 16, iv. 11, 17).

the Kenizzites] Mentioned only here. Bochart ('Phaleg,' IV. 36) conjectures that they had become extinct in the period between Abraham and Moses.

the Kadmonites] i. e. "the Eastern people." They are not elsewhere named. Bochart thought they might be the Hivites, elsewhere enumerated among the Canaanites, and spoken of as inhabiting the neighbourhood of Mount Hermon (Josh. xiii. 3; Judg. iii. 3), which was to the east of Canaan.

20. *the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims*] See on ch. x. 15, xiii. 7, xiv. 5.

21. *the Amorites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.*] See on ch. x. 15, 16.

the Canaanites] here distinguished from the kindred tribes, are described as inhabiting the low country "from Sodom to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom, and Gomorrha, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha" (Gen. x. 19).

CHAP. XVI. 1. *Now Sarai*, &c.] The recapitulatory character of this verse is consistent with the general style of the book of Genesis, and the connection of the first four verses perfectly natural. The promise of offspring had been made to Abram, and he believed the promise. It had not, however, been distinctly assured to him that Sarai should be the mother of the promised seed. The expedient devised by Sarai was according to a custom still prevalent in the east. Laws concerning marriage had not been so expressly given to the patriarchs as they afterwards were. Yet the compliance of Abram with Sarai's suggestion may be considered as a proof of the imperfection of his faith; and it is justly observed, that this departure from the primeval principle of monogamy by Abraham has been an example followed by his descendents in the line of Ishmael, and has proved, morally and physically, a curse to their race.

an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar] Hagar, no doubt, followed Sarai from Egypt after the sojourn there recorded in ch. xii., when it is said that Abraham obtained great possessions, among other things, in "menservants and maidservants," v. 16. It is generally thought that the name Hagar signifies *flight*, a name which may have been given her after her flight from her mistress, recorded in this chapter, in which case the name is here given her proleptically, a thing not uncommon in Scripture history. Others suppose that she derived her name from having fled with her mistress out of Egypt. As she was an Egyptian, it is not likely that the Hebrew or Arabic name of Hagar should have been given her by her own parents.

2. *it may be that I may obtain children by her*] Lit. "I may be built up by her." The words "house" and "family" are in most languages used figuratively the one of the other. The house, considered as representing the family, is built up by the addition of children to it, and so the very word for son, in Hebrew, *Ben*, is most probably connected with the root *banah*, "to build" (see Ges. 'Th.' p. 215). Comp. ch. xxx. 3, where also it appears that the wife, when she gave her handmaid to her

3 And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar her maid the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.

4 ¶ And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived: and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes.

5 And Sarai said unto Abram, My wrong *be* upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the LORD judge between me and thee.

6 But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy maid *is* in thy hand; do to her [†]as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai [†]dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face.

7 ¶ And the angel of the LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur.

8 And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.

9 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.

10 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.

11 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Behold, thou *art* with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name [‡]Ishmael; because the LORD hath heard thy affliction.

12 And he will be a wild man; his hand *will be* against every man, and

[†] Heb. *that which is good in thine eyes.*
[†] Heb. *afflicted her.*
[‡] That is, *God shall hear.*

husband, esteemed the handmaid's children as her own.

3. *after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan*] Abram was now 85 and Sarai 75 years old (cp. xii. 4, xvi. 16, xvii. 17). These words are doubtless intended to account for the impatience produced in them by the delay of the Divine promise.

4. *her mistress was despised in her eyes*] Among the Hebrews barrenness was esteemed a reproach (see ch. xix. 31, xxx. 1, 23; Lev. xx. 20, &c.): and fecundity a special honour and blessing of God (ch. xxi. 6, xxiv. 60; Ex. xxiii. 26; Deut. vii. 14): and such is still the feeling in the east. But, moreover, very probably Hagar may have thought that now Abram would love and honour her more than her mistress (cp. ch. xxix. 33).

5. *My wrong be upon thee*] *i.e.* "my wrong, the injury done to me is due to thee, must be imputed to thee, thou art to be blamed for it, inasmuch as thou sufferest it and dost not punish the aggressor." So in effect all the versions, LXX., Vulg., Targg., &c.

7. *the angel of the* LORD] In v. 13 distinctly called *the* LORD. See on ch. xii. 7.

Shur] according to Joseph. ('Ant.' VI. 7) is Pelusium, near the mouth of the Nile, which, however, seems more probably to be the equivalent for Sin (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 947). Onkelos renders here "Hagra." The desert of Shur is generally thought to be the north eastern part of the wilderness of Paran, called at present *Al-Jifar*. Hagar, no doubt, in her flight from Sarai, took the route most likely to lead her back to her native land of Egypt; and Gesenius supposes that Shur very probably corresponded with the modern Suez.

8. *Hagar, Sarai's maid*] The words of the angel recal to Hagar's mind that she was the servant of Sarai, and therefore owed her obedience.

11. *Ishmael; because the* LORD *hath heard*] *i.e.* "God heareth, because JEHOVAH hath heard." The name of God, by which all nations might acknowledge Him, is expressed in the name Ishmael, but the name JEHOVAH, the covenant God of Abraham, is specially mentioned, that she may understand the promise to come to her from Him, who had already assured Abraham of the blessing to be poured upon his race.

12. *a wild man*] Lit. "a wild ass of, or among men;" *i.e.* wild and fierce as a wild ass of the desert. A rendering has been suggested, "a wild ass, a man, whose hand is against every man." The suggestion is very ingenious; but for such a rendering we should have expected to find the word *Ish* (*vir*) not, as it is in the original, *Adam* (*homo*). The word *pere*, wild ass, is probably from the root *para*, signifying "to run swiftly." This animal is frequently mentioned in Scripture, and often as a type of lawless, restless, unbridled dispositions in human beings (see Job xi. 12, xxiv. 5; Ps. civ. 11; Is. xxxii. 14; Jer. ii. 24; Dan. v. 21; Hos. viii. 9). In Job xxxix. 5, another Hebrew word is used, but most commentators consider that the same animal is meant. The description of their

[a] chap. 25. 18. every man's hand against him; [a]and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

13 And she called the name of the LORD that spake unto her, Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?

14 Wherefore the well was called [b] chap. 24. 62. [1] That is, *the well of him that liveth* and *seeth me.* [b][1]Beer-lahai-roi; behold, *it is* between Kadesh and Bered.

15 ¶ And Hagar bare Abram a son: and Abram called his son's name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael.

16 And Abram *was* fourscore and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *God reneweth the covenant.* 5 *Abram his name is changed in token of a greater blessing.* 10 *Circumcision is instituted.* 15 *Sarai her name is changed, and she blessed.* 17 *Isaac is promised.* 23 *Abraham and Ishmael are circumcised.*

AND when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I *am* the Almighty God; [a]walk before me, and be thou [1]perfect. [a] chap. 5. 22. [1] Or, *upright,* or, *sincere.*

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great speed in Xen. 'Anab.' Lib. I. is well known. Gesenius refers to a picture of the wild ass of Persia in Ker Porter's 'Travels in Georgia and Persia,' Vol. I. p. 459, and says, that a living specimen which he saw in the London Zoological Gardens in 1835 exactly corresponded with this picture ('Thes.' p. 1123).

his hand will be against every man, &c.] or "upon every man," a common phrase for violence and injury (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 27; Exod. ix. 3; Deut. ii. 16; Josh. ii. 19; 1 S. xviii. 17, 21, xxiv. 13, 14). The violent character and lawless life of the Bedouin descendants of Ishmael from the first till this day is exactly described in these words.

in the presence of all his brethren] Lit. "in front" or "before the face of all his brethren." This may point to that constant attitude of the Bedouin Arabs, living every where in close proximity to their kindred races, hovering round them, but never mingling with them: or, we may render "to the east of all his brethren," a translation adopted by Rosenm., Gesen., Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, &c. The Arabs are called in Job i. 3, "the children of the east," and in some passages of Scripture the phrase "in the presence of," is explained to mean "eastward of" (see Numb. xxi. 11; Josh. xv. 8; Zech. xiv. 4); the rationale of this being, that when a man looked toward the sunrise, the east was *before* him.

13. *Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?*] **Thou art a God of seeing, for she said, Have I also seen here after seeing?** The Authorized Version has nearly followed the rendering of the LXX. and Vulg., which is inadmissible. The meaning of the words is probably, "Thou art a God that seest all things," (or perhaps "that revealest Thyself in visions"); "and am I yet living and seeing, after seeing God?" (cp. Judg. xiii. 21). So apparently Onkelos; and this rendering is adopted by Rosenm., Gesen., Tuch, Kalisch, Delitzsch, and most moderns. The name of God throughout this chapter is JEHOVAH, except when Hagar the Egyptian speaks; yet the God of vision who reveals Himself to her is carefully identified with the JEHOVAH of Abraham.

14. *Beer-lahai-roi*] "The well of life of vision," *i.e.* where life remained after vision of God. (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 175.) This seems to be the meaning of the name according to the etymology derived from the last verse, though others render it "the well of the living One (*i.e.* the living God) of vision."

between Kadesh and Bered] On the site of Kadesh and its uncertainty see on ch. xiv. 7. The uncertainty of the site of Bered is still greater, and therefore the difficulty of arriving at the exact position of Beer-lahai-roi is almost insuperable. Mr Rowlands (in Williams' 'Holy City,' I. 465) thinks that he has discovered its site at a place called Moilahhi, about 10 hours south of Ruheibeh, in the road from Beersheba to Shur, or Jebel-es-sur, a mountain range running north and south in the longitude of Suez.

CHAP. XVII. 1. *And when Abram was ninety years old and nine*] *i.e.* just thirteen years after the events related in the last chapter, compare v. 25, where Ishmael is said to be now thirteen years old.

the Almighty God] El-Shaddai. The word Shaddai, translated by most versions "mighty," or "Almighty," is generally thought (by Gesen., Rosenm., Lee, &c. &c.) to be a plural of excellence (in this respect like Elohim), derived from the root *Shadad*, the primary meaning of which appears to have been "to be strong," "to act strongly," though more commonly used in the sense of "to destroy, to devastate." The later Greek versions Aq., Sym., Theod., render ἱκανὸς, "sufficient," "all-sufficient." So Theodoret, Hesych., Saad. Accordingly, Rashi and some of the Jewish writers consider it to be compounded of two words, signifying "who is sufficient?" the improbability

2 And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.

3 And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying,

4 As for me, behold, my covenant *is* with thee, and thou shalt be a father of [t] many nations.

5 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; [b] for a father of many nations have I made thee.

6 And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land [t] wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.

9 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations.

10 This *is* my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; [c] Every man child among you shall be circumcised.

11 And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a [d] token of the covenant betwixt me and you.

12 And he that is [t] eight days old [c] shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which *is* not of thy seed.

[t] Heb. *multitude of nations.*

[b] Rom. 4. 17.

[t] Heb. *of thy sojournings.*

[c] Acts 7. 8.

[d] Acts 7. 8. Rom. 4. 11.

[t] Heb. *a son of eight days.*

[c] Lev. 12. 3. Luke 2. 21. John 7. 22.

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of which derivation is very great. The title, or character, El-Shaddai, is said, Exod. vi. 2, 3, to have been that by which God was revealed to the patriarchs, not then, at least in its full meaning, by the name JEHOVAH; and it is noted as occurring in those passages which the German critics call Elohistic. In this very verse, however, we read it in immediate juxtaposition with the name JEHOVAH, and in Ruth i. 20, 21, we find the identification of JEHOVAH with Shaddai. Probably, like Elohim, and Adonai, we may consider El-Shaddai (a title known to Balaam, Num. xxiv. 4, 16, and constantly used in Job), to have been one of the more general world-wide titles of the Most High, whilst JEHOVAH was rather the name by which His own chosen people knew and acknowledged Him. The title, which especially points to power, seems most appropriate when a promise is made, which seems even to Abram and Sarai to be well-nigh impossible of fulfilment.

2. *I will make my covenant*] The word for "make" is different from that used in xv. 18. There God is said to have "cut" a covenant with Abram by sacrifice, which phrase has probably special reference to the sacrifice and also to the two parties who made the covenant by sacrifice (see on xv. 9). Here He says, "I will *give* my covenant between Me and thee." The freedom of the covenant of promise is expressed in this latter phrase. It was a gift from a superior, rather than a bargain between equals; and as it was accompanied by the rite of circumcision, it was typical of the freedom of that covenant made afterwards to Christians in Christ, and sealed to them in the sacred rite of baptism.

4. *of many nations*] **Of a multitude of nations**; as in margin.

5. *Abraham*] *i.e.* "father of a multitude." He was originally *Ab-ram*, "exalted father." Now he becomes *Ab-raham*, "father of a multitude;" *raham*, in Arabic, being a vast number, a great multitude. Abraham was literally the ancestor of the twelve tribes of Israel, of the Ishmaelites, of the descendants of Keturah and of the Edomites; but spiritually he is the father of all the faithful, who by faith in Christ are "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. iii. 29). It has been very generally believed that the letter *H* here introduced into the names both of Abraham and Sarah is one of the two radical letters of the name JEHOVAH (as the other radical *Y* was introduced into the name Joshua), whereby the owner of the name is doubly consecrated and bound in covenant to the LORD (see Delitzsch, in loc.). The custom of giving the name at the time of circumcision (Luke i. 59) probably originated from the change of Abraham's name having been made when that rite was first instituted.

10. *This is my covenant*] *i.e.* the sign, token and bond of the covenant.

12. *eight days old*] Seven days, a sacred number, were to pass over the child before he was so consecrated to God's service. There was a significance in the number 7, and there was a reason for the delay that the child might grow strong enough to bear the operation.

13 He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.

14 And the uncircumcised man child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.

15 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah *shall* her name *be*.

16 And I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her: yea, I will bless her, and †she shall be *a mother* of nations; kings of people shall be of her. † Heb. *she shall become nations.*

17 Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall *a child* be born unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?

18 And Abraham said unto God, O that Ishmael might live before thee!

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13. *He that is born in thy house*, &c.] "Moses has nowhere given any command, nor even so much as an exhortation, inculcating the duty of circumcision upon any person not a descendant, or a slave of Abraham, or of his descendants, unless he wished to partake of the passover .... In none of the historical books of the Old Testament do we find the smallest trace of circumcision as necessary to the salvation of foreigners, who acknowledge the true God, or requisite even to the confession of their faith: no not so much as in the detailed story of Naaman (2 K. v.); in which indeed every circumstance indicates that the circumcision of that illustrious personage can never be supposed" (Michaelis, 'Laws of Moses,' Bk. IV. Art. 184). There is a marked distinction in this between circumcision and baptism. Judaism was intended to be the religion of a peculiar isolated people. Its rites therefore were for them alone. Christianity is for the whole human race; the Church is to be catholic; baptism to be administered to all that will believe.

14. *that soul shall be cut off from his people*] The rabbinical writers very generally understand that the excision should be by Divine judgment. Christian interpreters have mostly understood the infliction of death by the hand of the magistrate: some (Cleric. and Michael. in loc.) either exile or excommunication. The latter opinion was afterwards retracted by Michaelis, and it is pretty certain that death in some form is intended (see Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 718).

15. *thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be*] There is but little doubt that Sarah signifies "Princess," in allusion probably to the princely race which was to spring from her, though Ikenius, followed by Rosenmüller, argues in favour of a meaning to be derived from the Arabic root *Saraa*, signifying, "to have a numerous progeny." As to the original name *Sarai*, the older interpreters generally understood it to signify "my princess:" the change to Sarah indicating that she was no longer the princess of a single race, but rather that all the families of the earth should have an interest in her (Jerome, 'Qu. Hebr.' p. 522); many think that Sarai means simply "noble, royal," whilst Sarah more definitely means "princess;" which, however, seems neither etymologically nor exegetically probable. Ewald explains Sarai as meaning "contentious," from the verb Sarah, שָׂרָה, which (Gen. xxxii. 29; Hos. xii. 4) occurs in the sense of "to fight, to contend." This meaning is approved by Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 1338), but the more usual derivation is probably the true.

16. *she shall be a mother of nations*] Heb. "she shall become nations."

17. *laughed*] Onkel. renders "rejoiced." Pseudo-Jon. "marvelled." The Jewish commentators, and many of the Christian fathers, understood this laughter to be the laughter of joy not of unbelief (Aug. 'De Civ.' XVI. 26). So also many moderns, *e.g.* Calvin, "partly exulting with gladness, partly carried beyond himself with wonder, he burst into laughter." It is thought also that our Blessed Lord may have alluded to this joy of Abraham (Joh. viii. 56), "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad;" for it was at the most distinct promise of a son, who was to be the direct ancestor of the Messiah, that the laughter is recorded (cp. also the words of the Blessed Virgin, Luke i. 47). On the other hand it must be admitted, that Abraham's words immediately following the laughter, seem at first sight as implying some unbelief, or at least weakness of faith, though they may be interpreted as the language of wonder rather than of incredulity.

18. *O that Ishmael might live before thee!*] These words may be interpreted in two ways, according as we understand the laughter of Abraham. They may mean, "I dare not hope for so great a boon as a son to be born hereafter to myself and Sarah in our old

[f] chap. 18. 10. & 21. 2.

19 And God said, [f]Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, *and* with his seed after him.

20 And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will [r] chap. 25. 12. multiply him exceedingly; [s]twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.

21 But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.

22 And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.

23 ¶ And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the self-same day, as God had said unto him.

24 And Abraham *was* ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

25 And Ishmael his son *was* thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

26 In the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son.

27 And all the men of his house, born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

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age, but O that Ishmael may be the heir of Thy promises!" or they may imply only a fear, that now, when another heir is assured to Abraham, Ishmael should be excluded from all future inheritance.

19. *Isaac*] *i.e.* "he laughs," the third person singular of the present tense: similar forms are Jacob, Jair, Jabin, &c.

20. *as for Ishmael, I have heard thee*] There is an allusion to the significance of the name Ishmael, viz. "God heareth."

25. *Ishmael his son was thirteen years old*] The Arabs have in consequence always circumcised their sons at the age of 13. Josephus mentions this ('Ant.' I. 13), and it is well known that the custom still prevails among the Mahometan nations.

NOTE A on CHAP. XVII. V. 10. CIRCUMCISION.

(1) Reasons for the rite. (2) Origin of circumcision, whether pre-Abrahamic or not. (α) Egyptians said to have first used it. (β) Answer from lateness and uncertainty of the testimony. (γ) Balance of arguments.

THE reasons for this rite may have been various, 1st, to keep the descendants of Abraham distinct from the idolatrous nations round about them, the other inhabitants of Palestine not being circumcised, 2ndly, to indicate the rigour and severity of the Law of God, simply considered as Law, in contrast to which the ordinance that succeeded to it in the Christian dispensation indicated the mildness and mercy of the new covenant, 3rdly, to signify that the body should be devoted as a living sacrifice to God, "our hearts and all our members being mortified from all carnal and worldly lusts," and so to typify moral purity. (See Deut. x. 16; Jer. iv. 4; Acts vii. 51).

An important question arises as to the origin of circumcision. Was it first made known and commanded to Abraham, having nowhere been practised before? Or, was it a custom already in use, and now sanctified by God to a higher end and purport? A similar question arose concerning sacrifice. Was it prescribed by revelation or dictated by natural piety and then sanctioned from above? As the rainbow probably did not first appear after the flood, but was then made the token of the Noachic covenant; as the stars of heaven were made the sign of the earlier covenant with Abraham (ch. xv. 5); may it have been also, that circumcision already prevailed among some nations, and was now divinely authorized and made sacred and authoritative? There would be nothing necessarily startling in the latter alternative, when we remember that the corresponding rite of baptism in the Christian dispensation is but one adaptation by supreme authority of natural or legal washings to a Christian purpose and a most spiritual significance.

It is certain that the Egyptians used circumcision (Herod. II. 36, 37, 104; Diod. Sicul. I. 26, 55; Strabo, XVII. p. 524; Phil. Jud. 'De Circumcis.' II. p. 210; Joseph. 'Ant.' VIII. 10; 'Cont. Apion.' I. 22; II. 13). The earliest writer who mentions this is Herodotus. He says, indeed, that the Egyptians and Ethiopians had it from the most remote antiquity, so that he cannot tell which had it first; he mentions the Colchians as also using it (whence Diodorus inferred that they were an Egyptian colony), and says that the Phœ-

nicians and Syrians in Palestine admit that they "learned this practice from the Egyptians" (Herod. II. 104). This is evidently a very loose statement. The Phœnicians probably did not use it, and the Jews, whom Herodotus here calls "the Syrians in Palestine," admitted that they had once dwelt in Egypt, but never admitted that they derived circumcision from thence. The statements of Diodorus and Strabo, which are more or less similar to those of Herodotus, were no doubt partly derived from him, and partly followed the general belief among the Greeks, that the "Jews were originally Egyptians" (Strabo, as above). It is stated by Origen ('in Epist. ad Rom.' ch. II. 13) that the Egyptian priests, soothsayers, prophets, and those learned in hieroglyphics were circumcised; and the same is said by Horapollo (I. 13, 14). If these ancient writers were unsupported by other authorities, there would be no great difficulty in concluding that Herodotus had found circumcision among the Egyptian *priests*, had believed the Jews to be a mere colony from Egypt, and had concluded that the custom originated in Egypt, and from them was learned by the Ishmaelites and other races. It is, however, asserted by some modern Egyptologists, that circumcision must have prevailed from the time of the fourth dynasty, *i.e.* from at least 2400 B.C., therefore much before the date generally assigned to Abraham, B.C. 1996, and that it was not confined to the priests, as is, they say, learned from the mummies and the sculptures, where circumcision is made a distinctive mark between the Egyptians and their enemies (see Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' pp. 52, 146, 147, notes). If this be correct, we must conclude, that the Egyptians practised circumcision when Abraham first became acquainted with them, that probably some of Abraham's own Egyptian followers were circumcised, and that the Divine command was not intended to teach a new rite, but to consecrate an old one into a sacramental ordinance. Some even think that they see in the very style of this and the following verses indications that the rite was not altogether new and before unknown; for had it been new and unknown, more accurate directions would have been given of the way in which a painful and dangerous operation should be performed (Michaelis, 'Laws of Moses,' Bk. IV. Ch. iii. Art. 185). The Egyptians, Ethiopians, and perhaps some other African races, are supposed to have adopted it, partly from regard to cleanliness (Herod. II. 36), which the Egyptians, and above all the Egyptian priests, especially affected, partly to guard against disease incident in those hot climates (see Philo, as above, p. 211; Joseph. 'C. Apion.' II. 13), partly for other reasons, which may have been real or imaginary (see Michaelis, as above, Art. 186). This side of the question is ably defended by Michaelis, 'Laws of Moses,' as above, and Kalisch, in loc

In answer it is truly said, that the Greek historians are too late and too loose in their statements to command our confidence; that the tribes cognate with the Egyptians, such as the Hamite inhabitants of Palestine, were notoriously uncircumcised, that the Egyptians, especially the Egyptian priests, are not unlikely to have adopted the rite at the time when Joseph was their governor and in such high estimation among them, and that the question concerning the relative dates of Abraham and the different Egyptian dynasties is involved in too much obscurity to be made a ground for such an argument as the above to be built upon it. (See Bp. Patrick, in loc.; Heidegger, 'Hist. Patr.' II. 240; Wesseling and Larcher, 'ad Herod.' II. 37, 104; Graves 'on the Pentateuch,' Pt. II. Lect. v.; Wordsworth, in loc.) Again, the argument derived from the ancient Egyptian language proves nothing, the words are lost or doubtful. The argument from the mummies proves nothing, as we have no mummies of the ancient empire. The figures in the hieroglyphics are later still. The only argument of weight is that derived from the old hieroglyphic, common in the pyramids, which is *thought* to represent circumcision. It may on the whole be said, that we cannot conclude from the loose statements of Greek writers 15 centuries later than Abraham, nor even from the evidence of monuments and sculptures as yet perhaps but imperfectly read and uncertain as to their *comparative* antiquity, that circumcision had been known before it was given to Abraham; yet that on the other hand, there would be nothing inconsistent with the testimony of the Mosaic history in the belief, that it had been in use among the Egyptians and other African tribes, before it was elevated by a Divine ordinance into a sacred rite for temporary purposes, to be served in the Mosaic dispensation. A very able summary of the arguments on both sides, not, of course, embracing those drawn from the more recent discoveries in Egypt, is given by Spencer, 'De Legg. Heb.' lib. I. c. 5. § 4. See Deut. x. 16 and Note.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *Abraham entertaineth three angels.* 9 *Sarah is reproved for laughing at the strange promise.* 17 *The destruction of Sodom is revealed to Abraham.* 23 *Abraham maketh intercession for the men thereof.*

AND the [a]LORD appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day; [a] Heb. 13. 2.

2 And he lift up his eyes and

looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw *them*, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground,

3 And said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant:

4 Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree:

5 And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and †comfort ye your hearts; after that ye shall pass on: for therefore †are ye come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said.

† Heb. *stay.*

† Heb. *you have passed.*

6 And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, †Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead *it*, and make cakes upon the hearth.

† Heb. *Has.en.*

7 And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetcht a calf tender and good, and

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CHAP. XVIII. 1. *plains of Mamre*] **Oaks or oak grove of Mamre**, see xiii. 18; xiv. 13.

in the heat of the day] Abraham was sitting in his tent under the shade of the trees, at the noon day when the sun was oppressive, and when the duty of hospitality specially suggested to him the receiving of travellers, who might be wearied with their hot journey. The time of the day may be also mentioned, that it might be the more certain that this was an open vision, not a dream of the night.

2. *three men*] In v. 1 it is said, "The LORD appeared unto him;" in v. 22 it is said, "The *men* turned their faces from thence, and went towards Sodom; but Abraham stood yet before the LORD;" in ch. xix. 1 it is said, "There came *two Angels* to Sodom at even." It appears from the comparison of these passages, and indeed from the whole narrative, that of the three men who appeared to Abraham, two were angels, and one was JEHOVAH Himself. On the belief of the ancient Church that these manifestations of God were manifestations of God the Son, anticipations of the Incarnation, see note on ch. xii. 7. See also on this passage, Euseb. 'Demonst. Evan.' Lib. v. c. 9. There was, however, a belief among many of the ancients that the three men here appearing to Abraham symbolized the three Persons of the Trinity; and the Church by appointing this chapter to be read on Trinity Sunday seems to indorse this belief. This need not conflict with the opinion, that the only Person in the Trinity really manifested to the eyes of Abraham was the Son of God, and that the other two were created angels. Indeed such a manifestation may have been reason enough for the choice of this lesson on Trinity Sunday. It has been observed that One of the three mentioned in this chapter is called repeatedly JEHOVAH, but neither of the two in ch. xix. is ever so called.

bowed himself toward the ground] This was merely the profound eastern salutation (cp. ch. xxiii. 7, 12, xxxiii. 6, 7). Abraham as yet was "entertaining angels *unawares*" (Heb. xiii. 2). He may have observed a special dignity in the strangers, but could not have known their heavenly mission.

3. *My Lord*] It is to be noticed that Abraham here addresses One of the three, who appears more noble than the rest. The title which he gives Him is *Adonai*, a plural of excellence, but the Targum of Onkelos has rendered JEHOVAH (יְיָ), as supposing that Abraham had recognized the divinity of the visitor.

4. *wash your feet*] In the hot plains of the east travellers shod only with sandals found the greatest comfort in bathing their feet, when resting from a journey. (See ch. xix. 2, xxiv. 32; Judg. xix. 21; 1 Tim. v. 10.)

5. *comfort ye your hearts*] Lit. "support your hearts." The heart, considered as the centre of vital functions, is put by the Hebrews for the life itself. To support the heart therefore is to refresh the whole vital powers and spirits. (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 738, 6, לִבָּב, I. *a.*)

for therefore are ye come to your servant] The patriarch recognizes a providential call upon him to refresh strangers of noble bearing, come to him on a fatiguing journey.

6. *three measures of fine meal*] **Three seahs of the finest flour.** A *seah* was the third part of an ephah according to the Rabbins. Josephus ('Ant.' IX. 4) and Jerome ('Comm. on Matt.' xiii. 33), say that the seah was a modius and a half. The accuracy of this comparison between the Hebrew and Roman measures is doubted, as it does not correspond with the calculations of Rabbinical writers. (See Ges. 'Thes.' pp. 83, 932; Smith, 'Dict. of Bible,' Vol. III. pp. 1741, 1742.) The two words, *Kemach soleth*, rendered "fine meal," are nearly synonymous, both appearing to mean fine flour, the latter being the finer of the two. They might be rendered "flour of fine flour." According to the Rabbinical Commentary, 'Vajikra Rabba,' *soleth* is the *kemach* of *kemachs*, the fine flour of fine flour. (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 959.)

cakes upon the hearth] Probably the simpler form of cake baked in the midst of hot cinders.

gave *it* unto a young man; and he hasted to dress it.

8 And he took butter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set *it* before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat.

9 ¶ And they said unto him, Where *is* Sarah thy wife? And he said, Behold, in the tent.

10 And he said, I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and, lo, [b] Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard *it* in the tent door, which *was* behind him.

11 Now Abraham and Sarah *were* old *and* well stricken in age; *and* it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women.

12 Therefore Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my [c] lord being old also? [c] 1 Pet. 3. 6.

13 And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old?

14 Is any thing too hard for the LORD? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.

15 Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.

[b] chap. 17. 19. & 21. 2.

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8. *butter*] *i.e.* thick milk or clotted cream. The modern Arabs have a simple mode of churning, and make very good butter. Robinson ('Res.' II. p. 180) describes the baking of cakes and making of butter among them in the present day. It is, however, most probable, that the word, rendered *butter* in the Old Testament, was rather thick milk, or more probably, thick cream, though in one place (Prov. xxx. 33), it may perhaps be rendered *cheese*. The ancient inhabitants of Palestine used olive oil where we use butter. (See Rosenm. and Ges. 'Thes.' p. 486.)

they did eat] That spiritual visitants, though in human form, should eat, has been a puzzle to many commentators. Josephus ('Ant.' I. 11) and Philo ('Opp.' II. 18), say it was in appearance only, which is implied by Pseudo-Jonathan, Rashi and Kimchi. If the angels had assumed human bodies, though but for a time, there would have been nothing strange in their eating. In any case, the food may have been consumed, miraculously or not; and the eating of it was a proof that the visit of the angels to Abraham was no mere vision, but a true manifestation of heavenly beings.

10. *he said*] In v. 9 we read "they said," *i.e.* one of the three heavenly guests spoke for the others. Now we have the singular number, and the speaker uses language suited only to the Ruler of nature and of all things.

according to the time of life] There is some difficulty in the rendering of these words. The phrase occurs again, 2 K. iv. 16. It is now generally thought that the sense is the same as in ch. xvii. 21, "at this set time in the next year" (cp. xviii. 14); and that the words should be translated, "when the season revives," *i.e.* when spring or summer comes round again. Compare

χαῖρε, γύναι, φιλότητι· περιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ
τέξεις ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.
Hom. 'Od.' Λ. 247.

(See Rosenm. in loc.; Ges. 'Thes.' p. 470.) Prof. Lee ('Lex.' p. 193) denies the soundness of this criticism, and virtually indorses the Authorized Version, "as (at) the season, period, of a vigorous woman." There is, however, very little doubt that the criticism is correct.

12. *laughed*] Whatever may have been the nature of Abraham's laughter (see xvii. 17), this of Sarah's seems to have resulted from incredulity. She may scarcely have recognized the Divinity of the speaker, and had not perhaps realized the truth of the promise before made to Abraham. St Augustine distinguishes between the laughter of Abraham and that of Sarah thus, "The father laughed, when a son was promised to him, from wonder and joy; the mother laughed, when the three men renewed the promise, from doubtfulness and joy. The angel reproved her, because though that laughter was from joy, yet it was not of full faith. Afterwards by the same angel she was confirmed in faith also." 'De C. D.' XVI. 31.

my lord] See 1 Pet. iii. 6.

13. *the LORD said*] Here the speaker is distinctly called JEHOVAH, and it seems much more reasonable to believe that there was a Theophania of the Son of God, than that a created angel was personating God and speaking in His name.

14. *Is any thing too hard for the LORD?*] Lit. "Is anything too wonderful for the Lord?" Cp. Luke i. 37.

At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life] See on v. 10.

16 ¶ And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.

17 And the LORD said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do;

18 Seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be [d]blessed in him?

[a] chap. 12. 3. & 22. 18. Acts 3. 25. Gal. 3. 8.

19 For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, to do justice and judgment; that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

20 And the LORD said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very grievous;

21 I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know.

22 And the men turned their faces from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before the LORD.

23 ¶ And Abraham drew near, and said, Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?

24 Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that *are* therein?

25 That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?

26 And the LORD said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes.

27 And Abraham answered and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, which *am but* dust and ashes:

28 Peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for *lack of* five?

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16. *Abraham went with them*] The three heavenly visitors all go towards Sodom. Abraham goes some way with them, how far is not said. There is a tradition that he went as far as Caphar-berucha, from which the Dead Sea is visible, through a ravine.

17. *Shall I hide from Abraham*] The LXX. adds here "my son," which is quoted by Philo (I. p. 401, Mangey) as "Abraham, my friend:" so that in all probability, copies of the LXX. in the time of Philo had this afterwards familiar name of Abraham expressed in this verse. Cp. 2 Chr. xx. 7; Isa. xli. 8; James ii. 23.

19. *For I know him, that*] This is the general reading of the ancient Versions, LXX., Vulg., Targg., &c. &c. It does not, however, seem to correspond with the Hebrew idiom. The literal rendering would be, "I have known him, to the end that, in order that, he should command his children, &c." The word (יָדַע, *to know*) is sometimes used of the eternal foreknowledge and election of God, as in Amos iii. 2, "You only have I known of all the families of the earth." Cp. Exod. xxxiii. 12; Job xxii. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 11, cxliv. 3; Is. lviii. 3; Nah. i. 7. And compare a similar use in the Greek Testament, Rom. viii. 29, xi. 2. The meaning would then be, "I have foreknown and chosen Abraham, that he should be the depositary of my truth, and should teach his children in the way of religion and godliness, that so the promises made to him should be fulfilled in his seed and lineage." So Ges. ('Thes.' p. 571), Rosenm., Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil, &c.

20. *the cry*] Cp. ch. iv. 10; Ps. ix. 13.

21. *I will go down*] Ch. xi. 5, 7; Ex. iii. 8. The reason for God's thus revealing His purpose to Abraham seems to have been, that, as Abraham was to be the heir of the promises, he might be taught and might teach his children, who were afterwards to dwell in that very country, that God is not a God of mercy only, as shewn to Abraham and his descendants, but a God of judgment also, as witnessed by His destruction of the guilty cities of the plain.

22. *the men turned their faces from thence*, &c.] The two created angels went on to Sodom (see ch. xix. 1), "but Abraham stood yet before the LORD," stood yet in the presence of that third Being who was not a created angel, but the eternal Word of God, "the Angel of Mighty counsel" (Isai. ix. 6, LXX.); "the Messenger of the covenant" (Mal. iii. 1).

And he said, If I find there forty and five, I will not destroy *it*.

29 And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do *it* for forty's sake.

30 And he said *unto him*, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak: Peradventure there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do *it*, if I find thirty there.

31 And he said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: Peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy *it* for twenty's sake.

32 And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy *it* for ten's sake.

33 And the LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *Lot entertaineth two angels.* 4 *The vicious Sodomites are stricken with blindness.* 12 *Lot is sent for safety into the mountains.* 18 *He obtaineth leave to go into Zoar.* 24 *Sodom and Gomorrah are destroyed.* 26 *Lot's wife is a pillar of salt.* 30 *Lot dwelleth in a cave.* 31 *The incestuous original of Moab and Ammon.*

AND there came two angels to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot seeing *them* rose up to meet them; and he bowed himself with his face toward the ground;

2 And he said, Behold now, my lords, turn in, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all night, and [a]wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and go on your ways. And they said, Nay; but we will abide in the street all night.

[a] chap. 18. 4

3 And he pressed upon them greatly; and they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread, and they did eat.

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32. *I will not destroy it for ten's sake*] A noted example of the efficacy of prayer, of the blessedness of a good leaven in a city or nation, and of the longsuffering mercy of God.

CHAP. XIX. 1. *two angels*] Lit. **the two angels.** So LXX. The two men, who left Abraham still standing in the presence of the LORD (ch. xviii. 22) now came to Sodom at even.

Lot sat in the gate of Sodom] The gate of the city was, in the ancient towns of the east, the common place of public resort, both for social intercourse and public business. This gate of the city nearly corresponded with the forum or market-place of Greece and Rome. Not only was it the place of public sale, but judges and even kings held courts of justice there. The gate itself was probably an arch with deep recesses, in which were placed the seats of the judges, and benches on either side were arranged for public convenience. (Cp. ch. xxxiv. 20; Deut. xxi. 19, xxii. 15; Ruth iv. 1. See also Hom. 'Il.' Lib. III. 148.)

bowed himself] See on ch. xviii. 2.

2. *my lords*] The Masorites mark this word as "profane," *i. e.* as not taken in the divine, but in the human sense. Lot, like Abraham, only saw in the angels two men, travellers apparently wearied with the way, and he offers them all the rites of hospitality. In those days there were neither inns nor perhaps even caravanserais, so that private houses only could give lodging to strangers.

we will abide in the street all night] The "street," lit. "the broad, open space," probably included all the streets, squares, and inclosures, frequently extensive in an eastern city, and in these early days perhaps less built over than in modern towns. The warmth of the climate would make it easy to pass the night in such a place. The words of the angels may be compared with our Lord's manner as recorded Luke xxiv. 28, "He made as though He would have gone further." The visit of the angels was one of trial previous to judgment (see ch. xviii. 21), trial of Lot as well as of the people of Sodom. Lot's character, though he is called "a righteous" or upright "man" (2 Pet. ii. 7), was full of faults and infirmities, but here he comes out well under the trial. His conduct is altogether favourably contrasted with that of the inhabitants of the city, and so he is delivered, whilst they are destroyed.

3. *a feast*] Lit. "a drink, or banquet, symposium." It is the word used commonly for a sumptuous repast.

unleavened bread] As having no time to leaven it. Literally the words mean "bread of sweetness," *i. e.* bread which had not been made bitter by leaven.

4 ¶ But before they lay down, the men of the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, both old and young, all the people from every quarter:

5 And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where *are* the men which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may know them.

6 And Lot went out at the door unto them, and shut the door after him,

7 And said, I pray you, brethren, do not so wickedly.

8 Behold now, I have two daughters which have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as *is* good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; for therefore came they under the shadow of my roof.

9 And they said, Stand back. And they said *again*, This one *fellow* came in to sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore upon the man, *even* Lot, and came near to break the door.

10 But the men put forth their hand, and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut to the door.

11 And they smote the men [b]that *were* at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied themselves to find the door. [b] Wisd. 19. 16.

12 ¶ And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring *them* out of this place:

13 For we will destroy this place, because the [c]cry of them is waxen [c] chap. 18. 20.

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4. *all the people from every quarter*] The utter shamelessness of the inhabitants of Sodom, as well as their unbridled licentiousness, is briefly but most emphatically expressed in this verse. The Canaanitish nations in general, and the cities of the plain especially, were addicted to those deadly sins so strictly forbidden to the Israelites. See Lev. xx. 22, 23.

6. *Lot went out at the door unto them, and shut the door after him*] Lit. "went out at the entrance, and shut the door after him."

8. *I have two daughters*] These words of Lot have been much canvassed in all times. St Chrysostom thought it virtuous in him not to spare his own daughters, rather than sacrifice the duties of hospitality, and expose his guests to the wickedness of the men of Sodom ('Hom. XXIII. in Gen.'). So St Ambrose ('De Abrah.' Lib. I. c. 6), speaking as if a smaller sin were to be preferred to a greater. But St Augustine justly observes, that we should open the way for sin to reign far and wide, if we allowed ourselves to commit smaller sins, lest others should commit greater ('Lib. contr. Mend.' c. 9. See also 'Qu. in Gen.' 42). We see in all this conduct of Lot the same mixed character. He intended to do rightly, but did it timidly and imperfectly. He felt strongly the duty of hospitality, perhaps by this time he had even some suspicion of the sacred character of his guests, but his standard of right, though high when compared with that of his neighbours, was not the highest. The sacred writer relates the history simply and without comment, not holding up Lot as an example for imitation, but telling his faults as well as his virtues, and leaving us to draw the inferences. He brought all his troubles on himself by the home he had chosen. He was bound to defend his guests at the risk of his own life, but not by the sacrifice of his daughters.

9. *Stand back*] Lit. "Come near, farther off."

will needs be a judge] or, "judging, he will judge," referring, probably, as Tuch observes, to Lot's frequent remonstrances with them for their licentiousness and violence, which is referred to in 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8.

11. *they smote the men that were at the door of the house with blindness*] Perhaps the word for blindness rather indicates confused vision, LXX. ἀορασία. In Wisd. xix. 17, the darkness in which these men were involved is compared with the plague of 'darkness which may be felt," which fell on the Egyptians (Ex. x. 22). If it had been actual blindness, they would hardly have wearied themselves to find the door, but would have sought some one to lead them by the hand (August. 'De Civit. Dei.' XXII. 19). The same word, the root of which is very doubtful (see Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 961), occurs only once again, in 2 K. vi. 18, where, apparently (see vv. 19, 20), not real blindness, but indistinctness of vision and misleading error are described. Aben Ezra interprets it as meaning "blindness of eye and mind."

great before the face of the LORD; and the LORD hath sent us to destroy it.

14 And Lot went out, and spake unto his sons in law, which married his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for the LORD will destroy this city. But he seemed as one that mocked unto his sons in law.

15 ¶ And when the morning arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which [t]are here; lest thou be consumed in the [l]iniquity of the city.

16 And [d]while he lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and set him without the city.

17 ¶ And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.

18 And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, my Lord:

19 Behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest some evil take me, and I die:

20 Behold now, this city *is* near to flee unto, and it *is* a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (*is* it not a little one?) and my soul shall live.

21 And he said unto him, See, I have accepted [t]thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city, for the which thou hast spoken.

22 Haste thee, escape thither; for

[t] Heb. *are found.*
[l] Or, *punishment.*
[d] Wisd. 10. 6.
[t] Heb. *thy face.*

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13. *the LORD hath sent us to destroy it*] The angels speak here as messengers of judgment, not as He, who conversed with Abraham, ch. xviii. 17—33.

14. *which married his daughters*] Lit. "the takers of his daughters." LXX. "who had taken his daughters." Vulg. "who were about to marry his daughters." Some, Knobel, Delitzsch, &c., have held that besides those mentioned, vv. 8, 30, Lot had other daughters, who had married men of the city, and who perished in the conflagration with their husbands. It is more commonly thought that he had only two daughters, who were betrothed, but not yet married; betrothal being sufficient to give the title "son in law" or "bridegroom" to their affianced husbands.

15. *which are here*] Lit. "which are found." This seems to Knobel and others to indicate that there were other daughters, but that these two only were at home, the others being with their husbands in the city (see on v. 14); but it very probably points only to the fact, that Lot's wife and daughters were at home and ready to accompany him, whilst his sons in law scoffed and refused to go.

16. *the LORD being merciful unto him*] Lit. "in the mercy" (the sparing pity) "of the LORD to him."

17. *that he said*] *i.e.* one of the angels.

the plain] The *kikkar*, the circuit of the Jordan. Lot was to escape from the whole of the devoted region, which he had formerly coveted for his own, and where, when he parted from Abraham, he had made his habitation, and sought to enrich himself.

18. *my Lord*] The Masorites have the note *kadesh*, *i.e.* "holy," but it is probably no more than the salutation of reverence, see v. 2. For, though Lot had now found out the dignity of his guests, there is no evidence that he thought either of them to be the Most High. Indeed the word might be rendered in the plural "my lords," as the Syr. and Saad.

19. *I cannot escape to the mountain*] Lot and his family were, no doubt, exhausted by fear and anxiety, and he felt that, if he had to go to the mountains of Moab, he would be exposed to many dangers, which might prove his destruction; another instance of defective courage and faith, which yet is pardoned by a merciful God.

some evil] **The evil**, *i.e.* the destruction about to fall on Sodom; all Lot's conduct here denotes excessive weakness.

20. *is it not a little one?*] Though Zoar may have been involved in the guilt of the other cities of the plain, Lot pleads that it has but few inhabitants, and that the sins of such a small city can be but comparatively small. So Rashi.

21. *I have accepted thee*] Lit. "I have lifted up thy face." It was the custom in the

I cannot do anything till thou be come thither. Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar.

23 ¶ The sun was [1]risen upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar.

24 Then [2]the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven;

25 And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.

26 ¶ But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.

27 ¶ And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the LORD:

28 And he looked toward Sodom

[1] Heb. *gone forth.*

[2] Deut. 29. 23. Luke 17. 29. Isai. 13. 19. Jer. 50. 40. Amos 4. 11. Jude 7.

East to make supplication with the face to the ground; when the prayer was granted, the face was said to be raised.

22. *Zoar*] *i.e.* "little." It appears by several ancient testimonies to have been believed that Zoar or Bela, though spared from the first destruction of the cities of the plain, was afterwards swallowed up by an earthquake, probably when Lot had left it, v. 30. (See Jerom. 'ad Jos.' XV. and 'Qu. in Gen.' c. XIV.; Theodoret 'in Gen.' XIX.). This tradition may account for the statement in Wisdom x. 6, that five cities were destroyed, and of Josephus ('B. J.' IV. 8. 4), that the "shadowy forms of five cities" could be seen; whereas Deut. xxix. 23 only mentions four, viz. Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim: yet, on the other hand, Eusebius (v. Βαλὰ) witnesses that Bela, or Zoar, was inhabited in his day, and garrisoned by Roman soldiers.

24. *the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven*] The LORD is said to have rained from the LORD, an expression much noted by commentators, Jewish and Christian. Several of the Rabbins, Manasseh Ben Israel, R. Simeon, and others, by the first JEHOVAH understand the angel Gabriel, the angel of the LORD: but there is certainly no other passage in Scripture, where this most sacred name is given to a created angel. Many of the fathers, Ignatius, Justin M., Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, Hilary, The Council of Sirmium, &c. see in these words the mystery of the Holy Trinity, as though it were said, "GOD the Word rained down fire from GOD the Father;" an interpretation which may seem to be supported by the Jerusalem Targum, where "the Word of the LORD" is said to have "rained down fire and bitumen from the presence of the LORD." Other patristic commentators of the highest authority (as Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine) do not press this argument. Aben Ezra, whom perhaps a majority of Christian commentators have followed in this, sees in these words a peculiar "elegance or grace of language;" "The LORD rained...from the LORD" being a grander and more impressive mode of saying, "The LORD rained from Himself." It is a common idiom in Hebrew to repeat the noun instead of using a pronoun.

brimstone and fire...out of heaven] Many explanations have been offered of this. Whether the fire from heaven was lightning, which kindled the bitumen and set the whole country in a blaze, whether it was a great volcanic eruption overwhelming all the cities of the plain, or whether there was simply a miraculous raining down of ignited sulphur, has been variously disputed and discussed. From comparing these words with Deut. xxix. 23, where it is said, "The whole land thereof is brimstone and salt and burning," it may be reasonably questioned, whether the "brimstone" in both passages may not mean *bitumen*, with which unquestionably, both before (see ch. xiv. 10), and after the overthrow, the whole country abounded (see also Jerusalem Targum quoted in the last note). The Almighty, in His most signal judgments and even in His most miraculous interventions, has been pleased often to use natural agencies; as, for instance, He brought the locusts on Egypt with an East wind and drove them back with a West wind (Ex. x. 13, 19). Possibly therefore the bitumen, which was the natural produce of the country, volcanic or otherwise, was made the instrument by which the offending cities were destroyed. The revelation to Abraham, the visit of the angels, the deliverance of Lot, mark the whole as miraculous and the result of direct intervention from above, whatever may have been the instrument which the Most High made use of to work His pleasure.

26. *a pillar of salt*] All testimony speaks of the exceeding saltness of the Dead Sea, and the great abundance of salt in its neighbourhood (*e.g.* Galen. 'De Simp. Medic. Facult.' IV. 19). In what manner Lot's wife actually perished has been questioned. Aben-Ezra supposed that she was first killed by the brimstone and fire and then incrusted over with salt, so as to become a statue or pillar of salt. There was a pillar of salt near the Dead Sea, which later tradition identified with Lot's wife (Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 11; Iren. IV. 51; Tertullian, 'Carmen de Sodoma;' Benjamin of

and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.

29 ¶ And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt.

30 ¶ And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.

31 And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our father *is* old, and *there is* not a man in the earth to come in unto us after the manner of all the earth:

32 Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

33 And they made their father drink wine that night: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

34 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, *and* lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

35 And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

36 Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father.

37 And the firstborn bare a son,

Tudela, 'Itin.' p. 44. See Heidegger, II. p. 269). The American expedition, under Lynch, found to the East of Usdum a pillar of salt about forty feet high, which was perhaps that referred to by Josephus, &c.

29. *God remembered Abraham*] He remembered Abraham's intercession recorded in ch. xviii. and also the covenant which He had made with Abraham, and which was graciously extended so as to benefit his kinsman Lot.

30. *he feared to dwell in Zoar*] Jerome ('Qu.' in loc.) supposes that Lot had seen Zoar so often affected by earthquakes that he durst no longer abide there, see on v. 22. Rashi thought that the proximity to Sodom was the reason for his fear. The weakness of Lot's character is seen here again, in his not trusting God's promises.

dwelt in a cave] These mountainous regions abound in caves, and the early inhabitants formed them into dwellingplaces; see on ch. xiv. 6.

31. *there is not a man in the earth*] Iren. (IV. 51;) Chrysostom ('Hom. 34 in Genes.'), Ambros. ('De Abrahamo,' I. 6), Theodoret, ('Qu. in. Gen.' 69), excuse this incestuous conduct of the daughters of Lot on the ground, that they supposed the whole human race to have been destroyed, excepting their father and themselves. Even if it were so, the words of St Augustine would be true, that "they should have preferred to be childless rather than to treat their father so." (*Potius nunquam esse matres quam sic uti patre debuerunt*, 'C. Faustum,' XXII. 43.) It is too apparent that the licentiousness of Sodom had had a degrading influence upon their hearts and lives.

32. *let us make our father drink wine*] It has been suggested in excuse for Lot, that his daughters drugged the wine. Of this, however, there is no intimation in the text. But the whole history is of the simplest character. It tells plainly all the faults, not of Lot only, but of Abraham and Sarah also. Still though it simply relates and neither praises nor blames, yet in Lot's history we may trace the judgment as well as the mercy of God. His selfish choice of the plain of Jordan led him perhaps to present wealth and prosperity, but withal to temptation and danger. In the midst of the abandoned profligacy of Sodom he indeed was preserved in comparative purity, and so, when God overthrew the cities of the plain, he yet saved Lot from destruction. Still Lot's feebleness of faith first caused him to linger, v. 16, then to fear escape to the mountains, v. 19, and lastly to doubt the safety of the place which God had spared for him, v. 30. Now again he is led by his children into intoxication, which betrays him, unconsciously, into far more dreadful wickedness. And then we hear of him no more. He is left by the sacred narrative, saved indeed from the conflagration of Sodom, but an outcast, widowed, homeless, hopeless, without children or grandchildren, save the authors and the heirs of his shame.

and called his name Moab: the same *is* the father of the Moabites unto this day.

38 And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same *is* the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

37. *Moab*] According to the LXX. = *me-ab*, *i.e.* "from the father." So also the Targ. of Pseudo-Jonathan, Augustine, Jerome, &c. alluding to the incestuous origin of Moab. The Moabites dwelt originally to the East of the Dead Sea, from whence they expelled the Emims (Deut. ii. 11). Afterwards they were driven by the Amorites to the South of the river Arnon, which formed their Northern boundary.

38. *Ben-ammi*] *i. e.* "son of my people," in allusion to his being of unmixed race. The Ammonites are said to have destroyed the Zam-zummim, a tribe of the Rephaim, and to have succeeded them and dwelt in their stead. (Deut. ii. 22.) They appear for the most part to have been an unsettled marauding violent race, of Bedouin habits, worshippers of Molech, "the abomination of the Ammonites." 1 K. xi. 7.

De Wette and his followers, Rosenmüller, Tuch, Knobel, &c. speak of this narrative, as if it had arisen from the national hatred of the Israelites to the Moabites and Ammonites, but the Pentateuch by no means shews such national hatred (see Deut. ii. 9, 19): and the book of Ruth gives the history of a Moabitess who was ancestress of David himself. It was not till the Moabites had seduced the Israelites to idolatry and impurity, Num. xxv. 1, and had acted in an unfriendly manner towards them, hiring Balaam to curse them, that they were excluded from the congregation of the Lord for ever. Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.

NOTE A on CHAP. XIX. 25. THE DEAD SEA, SITE OF SODOM AND ZOAR.

(1) Characteristics of Dead Sea. Testimonies ancient and modern. (2) Geological formation. (3) Were Sodom, Zoar, &c. on the North or South of the Dead Sea?

THE Dead Sea, if no historical importance attached to it, would still be the most remarkable body of water in the known world. Many fabulous characteristics were assigned to it by ancient writers, as that birds could not fly over it, that oxen and camels floated in it, nothing being heavy enough to sink (Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 6; Plin. 'H. N.' v. 16; Seneca, 'Qu. Nat.' lib. II.). It has been conjectured by Reland, with some probability, that legends belonging to the lake of Asphalt said to have existed near Babylon (see on ch. xi. 3) were mixed up with the accounts of the Dead Sea, and both exaggerated (Reland, 'Palest.' II. pp. 244 seq.).

The Dead Sea called in Scripture the Salt Sea (Gen. xiv. 3; Numb. xxxiv. 3, 12), the Sea of the Plain (Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Josh. iii. 16), and in the later books, "the East Sea" (Ezek. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20; in Zech. xiv. 8, "the former sea" should be rendered "the East Sea"), is according to Lynch 40 geographical miles long by 9 to 9¾ broad. Its depression is 1316 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Its depth in the northern portion is 1308 feet. Its extreme saltness was known to the ancients. Galen. ('De Simplic. Medicam. Facultat.' c. 19) says that "its taste was not only salt but bitter." Modern travellers describe the taste as most intensely and intolerably salt, its specific gravity and its buoyancy being consequently so great that people can swim or float in it, who could not swim in any other water. This excessive saltness is probably caused by the immense masses of fossil salt which lie in a mountain at its South-west border, and by the rapid evaporation of the fresh water, which flows into it (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 292; Robinson's 'Phys. Geog.' p. 195). Both ancient and modern writers assert that nothing animal or vegetable lives in this sea (Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 6; Galen. 'De Simpl. Med.' IV. 19; Hieron. ad Ezech. XLVII. 18; Robinson, 'Bib. Res.' II. p. 226). The few living creatures which the Jordan washes down into it are destroyed (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 293). No wonder, then, that the Salt Sea should have been called the Dead Sea, a name unknown to the sacred writers, but common in after times. Even its shores, incrusted with salt, present the appearance of utter desolation. The ancients speak much of the masses of asphalt, or bitumen, which the lake threw up. Diodorus Sic. affirms that the masses of bitumen were like islands, covering two or three plethra (Diod. Sic. II. 48); and Josephus says that they were of the form and magnitude of oxen ('B. J.' IV. 8. 4). Modern travellers testify to the existence of bitumen still on the shores and waters of the Dead Sea, but it is supposed by the Arabs, that it is only thrown up by earthquakes. Especially after the earthquakes of 1834 and 1837, large quantities are said to have been cast upon the Southern shore, probably detached by shocks from the bottom of the Southern bay (Robinson, 'B. R.' II. p. 229; 'Physical Geog.' p. 201. See also Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 223).

There is great difference between the North-

ern and Southern portions of the sea. The great depth of the Northern division does not extend to the South. The Southern bay is shallow, its shores low and marshy, almost like a quicksand, (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 293). It has been very generally supposed from Gen. xiv. 3, that the Dead Sea now occupies the site of what was originally the Plain of Jordan, the vale of Siddim, and to this has been added the belief that the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c. were situated in the vale of Siddim, and that they too were covered by the Dead Sea. Recent observations have led many to believe that probably a lake must have existed here before historic times. Yet it is quite conceivable that the terrible catastrophe recorded in Genesis, traces of which are visible throughout the whole region, may have produced even the deep depression of the bed of the Dead Sea, and so have arrested the streams of the Jordan, which may before that time have flowed onwards through the Arabah, and emptied itself into the Gulph of Akabah. At all events, it is very probable that the Southern division of the lake may have been formed at a comparatively recent date. The character of this Southern part, abounding with salt, frequently throwing up bitumen, its shores producing sulphur and nitre (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 204), corresponds accurately with all that is told us of the valley of Siddim, which was "full of slime pits" (Gen. xiv. 10), and with the history of the destruction of the cities by fire and brimstone and the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt. Very probably therefore the vale of Siddim may correspond with what is now the Southern Bay of the Dead Sea. There is, however, no Scriptural authority for saying that Sodom and the other guilty cities were immersed in the sea. They are always spoken of as overthrown by fire from heaven (cf. Deut. xxix. 23; Jer. xlix. 18, l. 40; Zeph. ii. 9; 2 Pet. ii. 6). And Josephus ('B. J.' IV. 8. 4) speaks of "Sodomitis, once a prosperous country from its fertility and abundance of cities, but now entirely burnt up," as adjoining the lake Asphaltites. This was observed long ago by Reland (II. p. 256), and is now generally admitted by travellers and commentators. All ancient testimony is in favour of considering the cities of the plain as having lain at this Southern extremity of the sea. The general belief at present that that portion only of the sea can have been of recent formation, and hence that that only can have occupied the site of the vale of Siddim, the belief that Sodom was near the vale of Siddim, the bituminous, saline, volcanic aspect of the Southern coast, the traditional names of Usdum, &c., the traditional site of Zoar, called by Josephus (as above) Zoar of Arabia, the hill of salt, said to have been Lot's wife, and every other supposed vestige of the destroyed cities being to the South, all tend to the general conviction that the cities of the plain (of the Kikkar) lay either within or around the present South bay of the Dead Sea. On the other hand, Mr Grove (in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible') has argued with great ability in favour of a Northern site for these cities, and he is supported by Tristram ('Land of Israel,' pp. 360—363). The chief grounds for his argument are 1st, that Abraham and Lot, at or near Bethel, could have seen the plain of Jordan to the North of the Dead Sea, but could not have seen the Southern valleys (see Gen. xiii. 10): 2ndly, that what they saw was "the Kikkar of the Jordan," whereas the Jordan flowed into the Dead Sea at its Northern extremity, but probably never flowed to the South of that sea: 3rdly, that later writers have been misled by apparent similarity of names, by the general belief that the sea had overflowed the sites of the cities and by uncertain traditions. It is, however, to be observed, that Mr Grove's arguments rest on two somewhat uncertain positions: first, that, in Gen. xiii. 10—13, Lot must have been able to see, from between Bethel and Ai, the cities of the plain; whereas it is possible that the language is not to be pressed too strictly, Lot seeing at the time the river Jordan North of the present Dead Sea, and knowing that the whole valley both North and South was fertile and well watered; secondly, that no part of the Dead Sea can be of recent formation, notwithstanding the terrible catastrophes all around it, to which not only Scripture but tradition and the present appearance of the whole country bear testimony. On the other hand, both tradition, local names and local evidences are strongly in favour of the Southern site of the cities destroyed.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Abraham sojourneth at Gerar,* 2 *denieth his wife, and loseth her.* 3 *Abimelech is reproved for her in a dream.* 9 *He rebuketh Abraham,* 14 *restoreth Sarah,* 16 *and reproveth her.* 17 *He is healed by Abraham's prayer.*

AND Abraham journeyed from thence toward the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar.

2 And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She *is* my sister: and Abime-

CHAP. XX. 1. *From thence*] *i.e.* from Mamre, where he had received the heavenly visitors, and whence he had beheld the smoke from the conflagration of the cities of the plain.

lech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah.

3 But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou *art but* a dead man, for the woman which thou hast taken; for she *is* [1]a man's wife.

[1] Heb. *married to an husband.*

4 But Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation?

5 Said he not unto me, She *is* my sister? and she, even she herself said, He *is* my brother: in the [1]integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this.

[1] Or, *simplicity, or, sincerity.*

6 And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.

7 Now therefore restore the man *his* wife; for he *is* a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt

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It may have been painful to him to abide in a place where he would be hourly reminded of this terrible catastrophe, or he may merely have travelled onward in search of fresh pasturage.

dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar] He settled apparently in a fertile country lying between the two deserts of Kadesh and Shur, and finally took up his residence as a stranger or sojourner (so the word "sojourned" signifies) at Gerar, a place which, St Jerome says, was on the southern border of the Canaanites. Gerar was not far from Gaza (Gen. x. 19), and Beersheba (xxvi. 26). Its site has probably been identified by Rowlands (Williams' 'Holy City,' I. 465). with the traces of an ancient city now called *Khirbet-el-Gerar*, near a deep Wady called *Jurf-el-Gerar*, about three hours to the south-south-east of Gaza.

2. *She is my sister*] This was Abraham's plan of action, when sojourning among strangers, of whose character he was ignorant, see v. 13. He has been defended as having "said she was his sister, without denying that she was his wife, concealing the truth but not speaking what was false" (August. 'c. Faust.' XXII. 3). But, though concealment may not necessarily be deception, we can scarcely acquit Abraham either of some disingenuousness or of endangering his wife's honour and chastity, in order to save his own life.

Abimelech] *Father of the king*, or perhaps *father king*, the common title of the Philistine kings, as Pharaoh was of the Egyptians. The age at which Sarah must have been at this time, some twenty-three or twenty-four years older than when Pharaoh took her into his house (ch. xii. 15), creates a considerable difficulty here. We may remember that Sarah after this became a mother, that though too old for childbearing under normal conditions, she had had her youth renewed since the visit of the angels (Kurtz), when it was promised that she should have a son. The assertion of modern critics that this is merely another version of ch. xii. 10—20, the work of the Elohist, whilst that was by the Jehovist, is ably combated by Keil (p. 170, Eng. Trans. p. 242). He observes, that the name *Elohim* indicates the true relation of God to Abimelech; but that in v. 18, JEHOVAH, the covenant God of Abraham, interposes to save him. All the more minute details of this history are different from that in ch. xii. In Abimelech we see a totally different character from that of Pharaoh; the character, namely, of a heathen imbued with a moral consciousness of right and open to receive a divine revelation, of which there is no trace in the account of the king of Egypt. It is not to be wondered at that the same danger should twice have occurred to Sarah, if we remember that the customs of the heathen nations, among which he was sojourning, were such as to induce Abraham to use the artifice of calling his wife his sister.

4. *had not come near her*] Apparently a divinely sent illness had been upon him, vv. 6, 18.

a righteous nation] *i.e.* a nation guiltless as regards this act of their king; but it may be, that the people of Gerar were really exempt from the worst vices of Canaan, and living in a state of comparative piety and simplicity.

6. *suffered I thee not to touch her*] See on v. 4.

7. *he is a prophet*] *i.e.* one inspired by God, or the medium of God's communications and revelations to mankind. Thus Exod. vii. 1, Aaron is said to be Moses' prophet, because he was to convey the messages and commands of Moses to Pharaoh. An objection has been made to the antiquity of the Pentateuch from the statement in 1 S. ix. 9, that "he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer." Hence it is argued that the Pentateuch, which always uses the word prophet, cannot be of the great antiquity assigned to it. The difficulty is only on the surface. "Prophet" was the generic name applied to all who declared God's will, who foretold the future, or even to great religious teachers. "Seer" had a more restricted sense, and was appropriated to those only who were favoured with visions from heaven. The word *prophet* occurs constantly in the Pentateuch in the

live: and if thou restore *her* not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that *are* thine.

8 Therefore Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid.

9 Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and what have I offended thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done.

10 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing?

11 And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God *is* not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake.

12 And yet indeed *she is* my sister; she *is* the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.

13 And it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This *is* thy kindness which thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, [a]say of me, He *is* my brother. [a] chap. 12. 13.

14 And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and womenservants, and gave *them* unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife.

15 And Abimelech said, Behold, my land *is* before thee: dwell [t]where it pleaseth thee. [t] Heb. *as is good in thine eyes.*

16 And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand *pieces* of silver: behold, he *is* to thee

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general sense of one in communion with God, and made the medium of God's communications to man. The word "seer" would be out of place in such a passage as this, or such as Ex. vii. 1, xv. 20; Num. xi. 29, xii. 6, &c.; but in the time of Samuel, when "the word of the LORD was precious there was no open vision," (1 S. iii. 1;) the application of the title "seer" to Samuel, who had visions specially vouchsafed to him, was very appropriate; yet after his time, though the name was sometimes employed to designate the inspired teachers of mankind, the older and more comprehensive title of "prophet" again came into common use, not only for teachers of religion generally, but also for the most favoured of God's servants. (See 'Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch,' by a Layman, p. 97.)

he shall pray for thee] As the prophets were the instruments of God's revelations, His messengers, to man; so men made the prophets instruments for sending their prayers up to God (Cleric.). Cp. Jer. vii. 16, xi. 14, xiv. 11.

10. *What sawest thou*] Many recent commentators, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil, &c., render, "What hadst thou in view?" The more simple sense is, what didst thou see in the conduct and manners of me or my people, that thou shouldest have done so to us? Didst thou see us taking away the wives of strangers and murdering the husbands?

11. *Surely the fear of God is not in this place*] Abraham had seen the impiety and heathenism of the Canaanitish races, and had lately witnessed the overthrow of Sodom for the licentiousness of its people, and he naturally thought that the inhabitants of Gerar might be equally forgetful of God, and therefore prone to all wickedness.

12. *she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother*] Sarah's name does not occur in the genealogies, and we do not know any thing of her birth but that which is here stated. Such marriages, though afterwards forbidden (Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17; Deut. xxvii. 22), may not have been esteemed unlawful in patriarchal times, and they were common among the heathen nations of antiquity (Ach. Tatius, Lib. I.; Diod. I. 27; Herod. III. 31; Nepos, 'Cimon,' c. 1.) Many Jewish and Christian interpreters, however, think that *daughter* here means *granddaughter*, and that Sarah was the same as Iscah, the sister of Lot (ch. xi. 29), who is called "the brother of Abraham" (ch. xiv. 16).

13. *God caused me to wander*] In general the name of GOD (Elohim), though of plural form, is joined with a singular verb. In this case, however, the verb is in the plural. Similar constructions occur ch. xxxv. 7; Exod. xxii. 8; 2 S. vii. 23; (cp. 1 Chr. xvii. 21); Ps. lviii. 12. In Josh. xxiv. 19, the adjective is in the plural. The Samaritan Pentateuch here and in ch. xxxv. 7 has the verb in the singular.

16. *a thousand pieces of silver*] Lit. "a thousand of silver." The versions insert "shekels" or "didrachmas;" nothing can be known of the weights and measures of this early time.

a covering of the eyes, unto all that *are* with thee, and with all *other:* thus she was reproved.

17 ¶ So Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and they bare *children*.

18 For the LORD had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 Isaac is born. 4 He is circumcised. 6 Sarah's joy. 9 Hagar and Ishmael are cast forth. 15 Hagar in distress. 17 The angel comforteth her. 22 Abimelech's covenant with Abraham at Beer-sheba.

AND the LORD visited Sarah as he had said, and the LORD did unto Sarah [a]as he had spoken. [a] chap. 17. 19. & 18. 10.

2 For Sarah [b]conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him. [b] Acts 7. 8. Gal. 4. 22. Heb. 11. 11.

3 And Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac.

4 And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac being eight days old, [c]as God had commanded him. [c] chap. 17. 12.

5 And Abraham was an hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.

6 ¶ And Sarah said, God hath

Probably the thousand pieces of silver indicate the value of the sheep and oxen, which Abimelech gave to Abraham, though some think it was an additional present.

16. *he is to thee a covering of the eyes*] There is great variety of opinion as to the sense of these words. If we follow the rendering of the Authorized Version, the most probable interpretation is that of Heidegger, Schrœder, Rosenmüller, &c., viz. this, that in early times in the East unmarried women often went unveiled, but married women always veiled themselves. Cp. Gen. xxiv. 65. Hence Abimelech meant to say, that Abraham should be like a veil to Sarah, screening her from the eyes of all other men. See Rosenm. in loc. Heidegger, II. p. 163. The words might have been rendered, as by the LXX., Vulg., Targg., Syr., "it" or "they," *i.e.* the one thousand pieces of silver "are to thee a covering of the eyes," in which case the meaning would probably be "this gift is to thee for a covering to the eyes, so that thou shouldest overlook or condone the injury done to thee." So St Chrysostom, and among moderns, Gesenius, Tuch, Knobel, &c.

thus she was reproved] Here also there is great diversity of interpretation; but the Authorized Version is probably correct, and we must understand the words to be those of the historian, not of Abimelech. So apparently Onk., Arab., Saad., Kimchi, Gesen., Rosenm., &c.

18. *the LORD*] Keil has observed, that the various names of the Most High are used very significantly in these two last verses. The cure of Abimelech and his wives belonged to the Deity (*Elohim*). Abraham directed his intercession not to *Elohim*, an indefinite and unknown god, but to *Ha-Elohim*, "the" true "God;" and it was JEHOVAH, the covenant God, who interposed for Abraham and preserved the mother of the promised seed.

CHAP. XXI. 1. *the LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken*] In ch. xvii. 16, GOD promised that He would give Abraham a son by Sarah his wife, on which promise Abraham fell on his face and laughed, whether from incredulity or for joy. What God (Elohim) then promised here the LORD (JEHOVAH) fulfils.

2. *at the set time of which God had spoken to him*] The "set time" was fixed, ch. xvii. 21, and xviii. 10, 14. (See note on ch. xviii. 10.) Modern critics see in ch. xvii. and in this ch. xxi. an Elohistic portion of the history of Abraham, and in ch. xviii. a Jehovistic portion. Yet this present chapter seems clearly to point back to both ch. xvii. and ch. xviii., and in its first verse it uses twice the name JEHOVAH, whilst in the second and subsequent verses it has constantly the name Elohim until we come to v. 33, when both names are conjoined, for Abraham is said to have called on the name of "The LORD, the everlasting God."

3. *Isaac*] The name which God had appointed for him, ch. xvii. 19. See also note on ch. xviii. 12.

6. *God hath made me to laugh*] Whatever was the nature of Sarah's laughter when the promise was made to her (see ch. xviii. 12), she now acknowledges that God had made her to laugh for joy; and she recognizes that He, whom she then took for a traveller and who made the promise, at which she laughed, was truly GOD.

will laugh with me] The Hebrew might mean "laugh at me" or "laugh with me." The Authorised Version rightly follows the LXX., Vulg., Targg., &c.

made me to laugh, *so that* all that hear will laugh with me.

7 And she said, Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck? for I have born *him* a son in his old age.

8 And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a great feast the *same* day that Isaac was weaned.

9 ¶ And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking.

10 Wherefore she said unto Abraham, [d]Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, *even* with Isaac.

[d] Gal. 4. 30.

11 And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son.

12 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.

13 And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he *is* thy seed.

14 And Abraham rose up early in

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7. *Who would have said*] The rendering of the Authorised Version is most likely correct. The obscurity of the passage probably arises from its poetical form. It has been long ago observed, that the words are apparently those of a short poem or hymn, like the hymn of Hannah, 1 S. ii. 1—7, or the Magnificat of the Blessed Virgin, Luke i. 46—55, the resemblance to which is the more noticeable, as Isaac was an eminent type of the Lord Jesus (see Wordsworth ad loc.). That these words were of the nature of a hymn or poem is seen in the use of a poetical word (*millel*) for "said," instead of the more common words (*dibber* or *amar*); and also in the appearance of regular parallelism of the members of the sentence.

8. *the child grew, and was weaned*] From 1 S. i. 23, 24; 2 Macc. vii. 27; Joseph. 'Ant.' II. 9. 6, it has been inferred that children were not weaned among the Hebrews till they were three years old. Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised, ch. xvii. 25, and one year after, Isaac was born, ch. xvii. 21. If therefore Isaac was three years old at his weaning, Ishmael must have been then seventeen. If Isaac was but one year old, Ishmael would have been fifteen.

made a great feast] By comparing 1 S. i. 24, 25, it would seem that this was very probably a religious feast.

9. *mocking*] The word, which naturally means *to laugh*, is rendered by the LXX. and Vulg., "playing with Isaac." Tuch, Knobel, &c. say the word means merely, "playing like a child." Gesenius thinks it was "playing and dancing gracefully," and so attracting the favour of his father, which moved the envy of Sarah. The Targum of Onkelos appears to give the sense of "deriding" (see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Chald. and Talmud.' p. 719), as does the Syriac. The later Targums (Pseudo-Jon. and Jerusalem) understand some acts of idolatrous worship or perhaps impurity, (comp. Ex. xxxii. 6, where the same word is used for "play," and 1 Cor. x. 7). It is quite untrue that the word "laugh," here rendered "mocking," is never used but in a good sense. In ch. xix. 14, it is rightly rendered "mocked." See also Gen. xxvi. 8, xxxix. 14, 17; Ex. xxxii. 6. It probably means in this passage, as it has generally been understood, "mocking laughter." As Abraham had laughed for joy concerning Isaac, and Sarah had laughed incredulously, so now Ishmael laughed in derision, and probably in a persecuting and tyrannical spirit (see Gal. iv. 29).

10. *Cast out*] These words are quoted by St Paul (Gal. iv. 30), introduced by "But what saith the Scripture?" The words were those of Sarah, but they are confirmed by the Almighty, v. 12.

12. *in Isaac shall thy seed be called*] Here is the distinct limitation of the great promises of God to the descendants of Abraham in the line of Isaac (see Rom. ix. 7). God's promises gradually developed themselves in fulness, and yet were gradually restricted in extent: to Adam first; then to Noah; to Abraham; then to one race or seed of Abraham, viz. Isaac; to one of Isaac's children, viz. Jacob; to one of the twelve patriarchs, viz. Judah; then to his descendant David; and lastly to the great Son of David, the true promised Seed; but as all centred in Him, so too from Him they have spread out to all redeemed by Him, though more especially taking effect in those, who are "the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 26).

the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave *it* unto Hagar, putting *it* on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.

15 And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs.

16 And she went, and sat her down over against *him* a good way off, as it were a bowshot: for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against *him*, and lift up her voice, and wept.

17 And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto

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14. *a bottle*] A skin or leathern bottle, probably made of the skin of a goat or a kid. (See the word *bottle* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible.')

putting it on her shoulder] Hagar was an Egyptian, and Herod. (II. 35) says that the women in Egypt carried burdens on their *shoulders*, but the men carried them on their heads. According to the testimony of the sculptures both men and women carried burdens on their shoulders. It is common now in the East to see women carrying skins of water in this way. (See Robinson, 'B. R.' I. p. 340, II. pp. 163, 276.)

and the child] The sacred writer has been charged with an anachronism here, both from his use of the word "child," when Ishmael must have been from fifteen to seventeen years old (see note on v. 8), and because it is said that the original indicates that he, as well as the bread and water, was placed on Hagar's shoulder. The word for "child" (*yeled*), however, is used for boys of adolescent age, as in Gen. xlii. 22, of Joseph, when he was seventeen. It is true, the Vatican MS. of the LXX. renders "he placed the boy on her shoulders," which Tuch adopts as the right rendering; but the Alexandrian MS. of the LXX. has simply "and the boy," whilst the Vulg., Targg., Syr., connect the words "putting it on her shoulder" only with the bread and the bottle of water, which is perfectly consistent with the Hebrew, whether the verb be rendered by the past tense, or, as probably with accuracy in the Authorised Version, by the participle. The promise, which Abraham had just received, that God would make a nation of Ishmael also, v. 13, may probably have led him to trust that the boy and his mother would be provided for, and so to leave them with only provision for their immediate wants.

in the wilderness of Beer-sheba] Abraham, who had been now for at least a year dwelling in the neighbourhood of Gerar (ch. xx. 1), may very probably have by this time taken up his residence at Beersheba (see vv. 33, 34). The name Beersheba is here given proleptically (see v. 31), unless the events in the latter part of this chapter took place before those in the former part, not having been related at first, lest there should be a break in the continuity of the history of Isaac and Ishmael.

15. *she cast the child under one of the shrubs*] From this expression again it is inferred that Ishmael must have been a child in arms. Such a conclusion, however, is not borne out by these words, nor by the whole narrative. The boy was young, but he was evidently old enough to give offence to Sarah by mocking (v. 9). At a time when human life was much longer than it is now (Ishmael himself died at 137), fifteen or sixteen would be little removed from childhood. The growing lad would easily be exhausted with the heat and wandering; whilst the hardy habits of the Egyptian handmaid would enable her to endure much greater fatigue. She had hitherto led the boy by the hand, now she left him fainting and prostrate under the shelter of a tree. (So Le Clerc followed by Rosenmüller.)

16. *a good way off, as it were a bowshot*] Lit. "as far off as the drawers of a bow," or "as they who draw a bow," *i.e.* as far as archers can shoot an arrow.

17. *the angel of God*] No where else in Genesis does this name occur. Elsewhere it is always "the Angel of the LORD." We meet with it again in Exod. xiv. 19, "And the Angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed, and went behind them." The identification of the *Malach Elohim* with *Elohim* (cp. vv. 17, 19, 20,) here is exactly like the identification of the *Malach* JEHOVAH with JEHOVAH in other passages; a clear proof that there is not that difference between the Elohistic and Jehovistic passages in the Pentateuch, of which so much has been written. In ch. xvi. 7, whilst Hagar was still Abraham's secondary wife, we read that the Angel of the LORD, the covenant God of Abraham, appeared to her. She and her son, by Isaac's birth and their expulsion from Abraham's household, are now separated from the family and covenant of promise, yet still objects of care to Him who is "the God of the spirits of all flesh," and "of all the ends of the earth."

her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he *is*.

18 Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation.

19 And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink.

20 And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.

21 And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.

22 ¶ And it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and Phichol the chief captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God *is* with thee in all that thou doest:

23 Now therefore swear unto me here by God † that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son: *but* according to the kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast sojourned.

† Heb. *if thou shalt lie unto me.*

24 And Abraham said, I will swear.

25 And Abraham reproved Abimelech because of a well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away.

26 And Abimelech said, I wot not who hath done this thing: neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I *of it*, but to day.

27 And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and both of them made a covenant.

28 And Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves.

29 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What *mean* these seven ewe lambs which thou hast set by themselves?

30 And he said, For *these* seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me, that I have digged this well.

31 Wherefore he called that place ‖ Beer-sheba; because there they sware both of them.

‖ That is, *The well of the oath.*

32 Thus they made a covenant at Beer-sheba; then Abimelech rose up, and Phichol the chief captain of his

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18. *Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand*] So the Versions, according to the common use of the same verb with the same preposition. Cp. Deut. xxii. 25; Judg. xix. 25, 29; 2 S. xiii. 11, &c.; and see Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 463. "From this," says St Jerome, "it is plain that the boy whom she held in her hand had been her companion on the journey, not a burden on her shoulders," 'Qu. in Gen'.

19. *God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water*] Very probably the mouth of the well had been purposely covered by the inhabitants of the desert, and was now by God's gracious intervention discovered to Hagar.

21. *in the wilderness of Paran*] (See on ch. xiv. 6). Probably the great desert, now called the desert El-Tih, *i. e.* "the wanderings," extending from the Wady-el-Arabah on the east, to the gulf of Suez on the west, and from the Sinaitic range on the south to the borders of Palestine on the north.

took him a wife out of the land of Egypt] According to the custom then prevalent in the East for parents to choose wives for their sons. (See ch. xxiv. 4, 55; Exod. xxi. 10.)

22. *Phichol*] The name occurs again in ch. xxvi. 26, and, as it signifies "the mouth of all," it has been supposed to have been the name of an officer, the grand vizier or prime minister of the king, through whom all complaints and petitions were to be made to him. Abimelech was also an official name. See on ch. xx. 2.

23. *that thou wilt not deal falsely with me*] Lit. "if thou shalt lie unto me;" the common form of an oath in Hebrew. See above, on xiv. 23.

31. *Beer-sheba*] *i. e.* "the well of the oath," or, it might be, "the well of the seven." There was a connection between the sacred number seven and an oath; oaths being ratified with the sacrifice of seven victims or by the gift of seven gifts (as seems to have been the case here), or confirmed by seven witnesses and pledges. (See Herod. III. 8; Hom. 'Il.' XIX. 243). Beer-sheba was in the Wady-es-Seba, a wide water-course or bed of a torrent, twelve hours south of Hebron, in which there are still relics of an ancient town or village, called Bir-es-Seba, with two deep wells of good water. See Robinson, 'B. R.' I. p. 204, seq. St Jerome speaks of the city as remaining in his day ('Qu. ad Gen.' XXI. 31).

host, and they returned into the land of the Philistines.

[1] Or *tree.*

33 ¶ And *Abraham* planted a [1]grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the everlasting God.

34 And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Abraham is tempted to offer Isaac.* 3 *He giveth proof of his faith and obedience.* 11 *The angel stayeth him.* 13 *Isaac is exchanged with a ram.* 14 *The place is called Jehovah-jireh.* 15 *Abraham is blessed again.* 20 *The generation of Nahor unto Rebekah.*

AND it came to pass after these things, that [a]God did tempt

[a] Heb. 11. 17.

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33. *Abraham planted a grove*] Rather **a tamarisk tree.** This is the rendering of Kimchi, which is adopted by Gesenius ('Th.' p. 159), Rosenm., and most of the German critics. (The ancient versions vary very much in their interpretation.) The hardiness of this evergreen shrub would fit it to be a perpetual memorial to Abraham and his followers that this well was theirs.

the LORD, *the everlasting God*] "JEHOVAH, the God of eternity." The word, rendered everlasting, means probably "the hidden time," that, whose beginning and ending are hidden in darkness, hence "eternity" (Ges. 'Th.' p. 1035). It signifies also "the world," "the universe," and hence, according to Maimonides, it means here the God of the universe, the Creator of the world. So the Samaritan, Syr., and Arab. versions. The more probable sense, however, is that given in the Authorised Version, which corresponds with the LXX., Vulg., Onk., and other Targg. The JEHOVAH whom Abraham worshipped is here identified with "El-Olam," the God of eternity, which was very probably a local name for the supreme Being. Compare "Elion" in ch. xiv. 22.

CHAP. XXII. 1. *And it came to pass after these things*] This is the only note of time that we have in this chapter, excepting the fact that Isaac was now grown old enough to bear the wood of the burnt offering, and to carry it up the mountain. The words "after these things," rather refer us to all that had been passing before. Abraham, after long wanderings and many trials, is presented to us in the last chapter, as eminently comforted and in a condition of peaceful prosperity. The promised, longed-for son has been given to him; his other son Ishmael, though no longer in his household, is growing up and prospering, Abraham is in treaty and at peace with his neighbours the Philistines, he sojourns for many days at Beer-sheba and its neighbourhood, with abundance of cattle, in a place well watered and fertile. Thus it appears to have been with him till now, when his son, his only son Isaac, whom he loved, is growing up to early manhood, his chief comfort and stay and hope in this world. But times of prosperity are often times when trial is needed for us, and so we find it here. There is great variety of tradition, but no evidence, as to the age of Isaac in this chapter. According to Josephus ('Ant.' I. 14), he was twenty-five. Aben-Ezra supposes that he was only thirteen, whilst some of the rabbins put him even at thirty-seven (see Heidegger, II. 282).

God did tempt Abraham] **God did prove Abraham.** Literally, "The God," possibly referring to the last two verses of the last chapter (where JEHOVAH is called El-olam), meaning "this same God." Much difficulty has been most needlessly found in these words. St James tells us (i. 13) that "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man," language which it has been thought difficult to reconcile with this history in Genesis. So, some have endeavoured to explain away the words of this passage, as though Abraham had felt a strong temptation rising in his own heart, a temptation from Satan, or from self, a horrible thought raised perhaps by witnessing the human sacrifices of the Phœnicians, and had then referred the instigation to God, thinking he was tempted from above, whereas the real temptation was from beneath. The difficulty, however, has arisen from not observing the natural force of the word here rendered "did tempt," and the ordinary use of that word in the language of the Old Testament, especially of the Pentateuch. According to the highest authorities, the primary sense of the verb corresponds with that of a similar word in Arabic, viz. "to smell," and thence "to test by smelling" (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 889, and the testimonies there cited). Hence it came to signify close, accurate, delicate testing or trying. It is translated by "prove," "assay," "adventure," "try," and that very much more frequently than it is translated by "tempt." For instance, David would not take the sword and armour of Saul, because he had not "proved them," 1 S. xvii. 39. Again, he prayed in the words "examine me, O LORD, and *prove* me" (Ps. xxvi. 2); and in very numerous and familiar passages in the Pentateuch, we read of God "proving" men, whether they would be obedient or disobedient, the same Hebrew verb being constantly made use of. (See Ex. xv. 25, xvi. 4, xx. 20; Deut. iv. 34, viii. 2, 16, xiii. 3, xxxiii. 8). Accordingly, whilst most of the versions adhere closely to the sense of

Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, †Behold, *here* I *am*.

† Heb. *Behold me.*

2 And he said, Take now thy son, thine only *son* Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah;

"try," *tentare*, in this passage, the Arabic renders it very correctly, "God did prove Abraham." Words having the sense of "try" may generally be used either in a good or a bad sense. This particular word has generally a good sense, except where men are said to try or tempt God, *e.g.* Ex. xvii. 2; Num. xiv. 22; Deut. vi. 16; Ps. lxxviii. 18; cvi. 14, &c. The whole history of Abraham is a history of his moral and spiritual education by the teaching of God himself. He was to be the head of the chosen seed, the father of the faithful, himself the type of justifying faith. Here then, after long schooling and training, in which already there had been many trials (such as his first call, his danger in Egypt, his circumcision, his parting with Lot, &c. &c.), one great test of his now matured and strengthened faith is ordained by God. We have many instances of the trial of men's faith by the Most High. One remarkable example is that recorded in Matt. xix. 21. It cannot be that He who sees the heart needs such trials for His own information; but it is important for our instruction and correction, for example to future ages, and for the vindication of God's justice, that such trials should be permitted, and that so men's characters should be drawn out and exhibited to themselves and others. So St Augustine, "all temptation is not to be blamed, but that whereby probation is made is rather to be welcomed. For the most part a man's spirit cannot be known to himself, unless his strength be proved not by word but by actual trial." ('De Civit. Dei,' XVI. 32. See also Ambros. 'De Abr.' I. 8.)

2. *Take now thy son, thine only son*] In more ways than one Isaac might be called his "only son." He was the only son by his wife Sarah: he was the only son of promise, and to whom the promises were given and assured: by the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael he was the only son left to his father's house. The rendering therefore of the LXX. "beloved" is not necessary. The words, emphatic as they are, "Thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest," are all calculated to impress and enhance the sacrifice which Abraham is called on to make.

Moriah] The meaning of the name seems clearly to be *Mori-jah*, "the vision" or "the manifested of JEHOVAH." To this root it is evidently referred by Sym., Vulg. ("the land of vision"), Aq. ("the conspicuous land"), LXX. ("the lofty land"). In 2 Chr. iii. 1, Solomon is said to have built his temple on Mount Moriah; and the Jewish tradition (Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 13. 2; VII. 13. 4) has identified this Mount Moriah of the temple with the mountain in the land of Moriah, on which Abraham was to offer his son, whence probably, here Onkelos and the Arab. render "the land of worship." No sufficient reason has been alleged against this identification except that in v. 4, it is said that "Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off," whereas Mount Zion is said not to be conspicuous from a great distance. Thence Bleek, De Wette, Tuch, Stanley ('S. and P.' p. 251, 'Jewish Church,' I. 49), and Grove ('Dict. of Bible,' s. v. *Moriah*), have referred to Moreh (Gen. xii. 6), and attempted to identify the site of the sacrifice with "the natural altar on the summit of Mount Gerizim," which the Samaritans assert to be the scene of the sacrifice. Really, however, the words in v. 4, mean nothing more than this, that Abraham saw the spot to which he had been directed at some little distance off, not farther than the character of the place readily admits. The evident meaning of the words "the mount of the vision of the LORD" (see v. 14); the fact that the mount of the temple bore the same name (2 Chr. iii. 1), the distance, two days' journey from Beer-sheba, which would just suffice to bring the company to Jerusalem, whereas Gerizim could not have been reached from Beer-sheba on the third day, are arguments too strong to be set aside by the single difficulty mentioned above, which is in fact no difficulty at all. This identity is ably defended by Hengstenberg ('Genuineness of the Pentateuch,' II. 162, translated by Ryland), Knobel (*in loc*), Kalisch (*in loc.*), Kurtz ('Hist. of Old Covenant,' Vol. I. 271), Thomson ('The Land and the Book', p. 475), Tristram ('Land of Israel,' p. 152).

offer him there for a burnt offering] It cannot justly be urged that the command was (1) in itself immoral, or (2) that it was a virtual sanction of human sacrifice. (1) As to the objection that it was immoral, it may be said, that the true basis of all morality is obedience to the will of God; but further than this, it is plain from the whole story, that the command was wholly of the nature of a trial. Abraham was the special type of trustful, obedient, loving faith. He believed that all which God commanded must be right, all that He promised must be true. Hence he knew that when the injunction was clear, the obedience must be undoubting. The wisdom, the justice, and the goodness of God, were such that, though he might not understand the reason of the dispensation, he must reverently and patiently submit to it. This too was not a mere blind credulity. He had lived a long life under the special guiding,

and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.

3 ¶ And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.

4 Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.

5 And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you.

6 And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid *it* upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.

7 And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, †Here *am* I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood: but where *is* the ‖lamb for a burnt offering?

† Heb. *Behold me.*

‖ Or, *kid.*

8 And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering: so they went both of them together.

9 And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham

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training, and teaching of the Lord, and so he knew in whom he had believed. The command therefore, strange as it was, was but a final test of the firmness of his faith; and his obedience to that command testified that the faith was intelligent as well as unconditional and unwavering. (2) The objection that this was a virtual sanction to the heathen custom of offering human sacrifices is still less tenable. That such sacrifices were common in later times is unquestionable, and probably they may have been already adopted by the Canaanites, who certainly were afterwards much addicted to them. Although we must ascribe them not to Divine but to Satanic influence, their observance plainly shewed the devotion of the offerers to the religion of their demon gods. The God of Abraham would have His special servant, the father of the chosen race and of the promised Seed, manifest his faith and obedience to the true God to be not less than the faith and obedience of idolaters to their false gods. This could not be more signally done than by his readiness to overcome all scruples and all natural feelings at the command of Him whose voice he knew, and whose leading he had so long followed. But the conclusion of the history is as clear a condemnation of human sacrifice as the earlier part might have seemed, had it been left incomplete, to sanction it. The intervention of the angel, the substitution of the lamb, the prohibition of the human sacrifice, proved that in no case could such an offering be acceptable to God, even as the crowning evidence of faith, devotion, and self-sacrifice. The following is the well-known perverted account of the sacrifice of Isaac in the Phœnician traditions, as preserved from Sanchoniatho by Philo Byblius, "Cronus, whom the Phœnicians call Israel, being king over that country, who after his death was deified and consecrated into the planet bearing his name, having an only son by a nymph named Anobret, called therefore *Jehoud*" (= Heb. Jahid), "which is even now the name for *only-begotten* among the Phœnicians, when great perils from wars were impending over the land, having clothed his son in royal apparel offered him up upon an altar which he had built," (Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' Lib. I. c. 10).

3. *rose up early in the morning*] The promptness and steadiness of Abraham's obedience are plainly marked in all the simple details of this verse.

5. *come again to you*] It may be questioned whether this had in it a prophetic significance, Abraham "accounting that God was able to raise his son up even from the dead" (Heb. xi. 17). In fact it was proved by the event to be a prophecy, though Abraham may have uttered it unconsciously (so Rashi): and that faith in God, which never forsook the patriarch, probably in the lowest depth of his anxiety brought a gleam of hope, that in some unforeseen way his son, even though slain, should yet be restored to him at last (see Origen, 'Homil. VIII. in Gen.' § 5).

6. *laid it upon Isaac his son*] Compare Joh. xix. 17, the great Antitype bearing the wood for the sacrifice of Himself (Origen, 'Hom. VIII. in Gen.' § 6; Aug. 'De C. D.' XVI. 32; 'De Trin.' III. 6).

8. *God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering*] **The lamb.** The fathers see in this again an unconscious prophecy by Abraham (see Origen as above, and Ambrose 'De Abr.' lib. I. 8). He probably meant to say that God had provided that Isaac should be the lamb or victim for the burnt-offering: but his words were more literally fulfilled in the

built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and
b James 2. 21. b laid him on the altar upon the wood.

10 And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.

11 And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here *am* I.

12 And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only *son* from me.

13 And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind *him* a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram,

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unexpected event, the ram caught in a thicket, and in a deeper spiritual significance when God sent His Son to be "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world."

9. *Abraham built an altar there*] R. Eliezer in 'Pirke Avoth,' c. 31, has a tradition that this was the same place at which Adam sacrificed, at which Abel offered his burnt-offering, and where Noah built an altar and offered a sacrifice: so that it was apparently supposed that Abraham merely repaired the ruins of the ancient altar. Whatever the tradition is worth, it may illustrate the history. An altar of earth or of loose stones would be very quickly raised.

bound Isaac his son] It was common to bind victims, especially human victims (Ovid, 'Eleg. ex. Ponto,' III. 2; Virg. 'Æn. II. 134). The Jews agree that Isaac yielded submissively to his father's will and consented to be bound and sacrificed (Joseph. 'A. J.' I. 13; Eliezer, 'in Pirke,' c. 31; so also Chrysost. 'Homil. in Gen.' 46). Herein he was the truer type of Him, "who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not; but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously" (1 Pet. ii. 23).

10. *stretched forth his hand*] The steady deliberate purpose of Abraham, and yet all the natural shrinking of his spirit, are admirably expressed in the details of the history.

11. *the Angel of the LORD*] Up to this verse we have only the name Elohim, God. Now that the Divine intervention to save Isaac and to accept a ransom for his life is related, we find the name, JEHOVAH, the great covenant name frequently made use of, though the name Elohim occurs again in the next verse. The Being here called "the Angel of JEHOVAH," who speaks as with Divine, supreme authority, is doubtless the Angel of the Covenant (Mal. iii. 1), the everlasting Son of the Father, who alone "hath declared Him" (John i. 18).

12. *now I know that thou fearest God*] "God tried Abraham," says Theodoret, "not that He might learn what He knew already, but that He might shew to others, with how great justice He loved the patriarch" ('Qu. in Gen.' LXXIII). Compare Origen ('Homil. VIII. 8), who refers to those words of the Apostle: "God spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all."

thou hast not withheld thy son] These words in the LXX. (οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου) appear to be referred to in Rom. viii. 32 (τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο). Whence we may learn that St Paul held the sacrifice of Isaac to be prophetic of Christ.

13. *behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns*] There is a various reading (supported by many MSS., by the Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX., Vulg., Syr., Sam., and perhaps Onkelos), which might be rendered thus: "Behold a single ram caught," &c. a ram, that is, separated from the flock. There is a similar expression in Dan. viii. 3: "Behold, there stood before the river a ram," lit. "one ram," or a "single ram." The separation of the ram thus caught is significant, both historically, as shewing the Providential agency of God, and also as pointing to that Lamb of God, who was "separate from sinners" (Heb. vii. 26), bearing alone the burden of our iniquities. St Augustine thinks the horns caught in the thicket typical of the Lord Jesus crowned with thorns before His sacrifice ('De C. D.' XVI. 32).

offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son] It has been argued that the lamb substituted for Isaac, not Isaac himself, was the true type of the Lord Jesus, who died that we might live. This, however, would be a very imperfect explication of the mystery. The antitype is always greater than the type, and hence in the prophetic system of the Old Testament, types are multiplied that they may express collectively that which can but partially be expressed by one of them. The fathers recognize the double type in this whole history. The father with full deliberate purpose offering up his dearly beloved, only-begotten son, the son willingly obedient unto death, the wood for the sacrifice carried by the victim up the hill, the sacrifice fulfilled in purpose though not in act, and then the father receiving his son in a figure from the dead (Heb. xi. 19) after three days of death in the father's purpose and belief; all

and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.

14 And Abraham called the name of that place [1]Jehovah-jireh: as it is said *to* this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen.

15 ¶ And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time,

16 And said, [c]By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast

[1] That is, *The LORD will see*, or, *provide.*

[c] Ps. 105. 9. Ecclus. 44. 21. Luke 1. 73. Heb 6. 13.

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this is as much an actual prophecy of the sacrifice and resurrection of the Son of God as was possible without a true slaying of Isaac, for which was substituted the slaying of the ram. That which Isaac's sacrifice wanted to make it perfect as a type was actual death and the notion of substitution. These therefore were supplied by the death of the ram, and its substitution for a human life. Theodoret says ('Qu. in Gen.' LXXIII.) that "Isaac was the type of the Godhead, the ram of the manhood." This perhaps sounds fanciful at first; but the correspondence is in truth very exact. Isaac was of too noble a nature to be slain upon the altar; God would have abhorred such an offering. Hence the Most High prepares a victim to be as it were joined with Isaac and then to suffer, that thus the sacrifice should not be imperfect. So the ever blessed Son of God was by nature above the possibility of suffering; hence the Eternal Father prepares for Him a perfect humanity ("a Body hast Thou prepared me"), that He might die in that nature which was mortal, the immortal, impassible nature being yet inseparably united with it. Thus, Isaac and the ram together symbolized and typified in almost all particulars the sacrifice, the death and the resurrection of the Son of God, who also was the Son of man.

We may observe too, that not only was Isaac thus made the most memorable type of the Redeemer of the world (Isaac, who otherwise seems less noticeable than either Abraham or Jacob), but also that Abraham had the singular honour of representing the highest, holiest God and Father, who "spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all" (Rom. viii. 32. See Aug. 'De Civ. D.' XVI. 32).

14. *JEHOVAH-jireh*] *i. e.* "the Lord will see," or "the Lord will provide." The same words which Abraham had used in v. 8, but with a change in the sacred names. In v. 8, when Isaac had asked, "where is the Lamb?" Abraham answered, *Elohim jireh*, "God will see," or "provide a lamb for Himself." Now he perceives that he had uttered an unconscious prophecy, and that the God (Elohim) in whom he trusted had shewn Himself indeed JEHOVAH, the Eternal Truth and the covenanted Saviour of his servants, and so he names the place JEHOVAH-jireh. The connection which there is between these words and the word Moriah (see on v. 2) has suggested the belief, that the name Moriah in v. 2 is used proleptically, and that it really originated in this saying of Abraham.

as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen] Or, "it shall be provided."

There is great variety of renderings in the ancient Versions. Indeed, if we disregard the vowel points, it would be equally possible to translate "In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen or provided," or "In the mount the Lord will see or provide," or "In the mount the Lord will be seen." The LXX. takes the last, the Vulgate, Syriac and Samaritan take the second. Onkelos departs from his habit of translating, and paraphrases, like the late Targums; "And Abraham worshipped and prayed there and said before the Lord, Here shall generations worship; whereupon it shall be said in that day, In this mountain Abraham worshipped before the Lord." St Jerome, taking the Latin, explained it thus: "This became a proverb among the Hebrews, that if any should be in trouble and should desire the help of the Lord, they should say, *In the mount the Lord will see*, that is, as He had mercy on Abraham, so will He have mercy on us" ('Qu. Hebraic. in Gen.' XXII).

On the whole, the pointing of the Masorites, a tradition never lightly to be rejected, which is followed by the Authorised Version, seems to give the most probable sense of the passage (So Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1246; Rosemn., Knobel). But, in any case, there seems not only a general assurance of God's providential care of His people, who in trouble may remember that "the Lord will provide," but also a special prophecy, 1st of the manifestation of the Lord in His temple at Jerusalem, where He was to be seen in the Shechinah or cloud of glory between the Cherubim, where He provided access to Himself and sacrifices for His service; 2ndly, of the coming of the Lord to His temple (Mal. iii. 1), thereby making "the glory of the latter house greater than of the former" (Hagg. ii. 9); and of His providing there a Lamb for a sacrifice, which should save not only from temporal but from eternal death, taking away the sin of the world.

16. *by myself have I sworn*] This is the final promise of the Lord to Abraham, confirming all the former promises by the solemnity of an oath, and "because He could swear by no greater, He sware by Himself"

not withheld thy son, thine only *son:*

17 That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which *is* upon the sea † Heb. *lip.* †shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies;

[d] chap. 12. 3 & 18. 18. Ecclus. 44. 22. Acts 3. 25. Gal. 3. 8. 18 [d]And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.

19 So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 ¶ And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she hath also born children unto thy brother Nahor;

21 Huz his first-born, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram,

22 And Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel.

23 And Bethuel begat [e]Rebekah: these eight Milcah did bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. [e] Called, Rom. 9. 10, *Rebecca.*

24 And his concubine, whose name *was* Reumah, she bare also Tebah,

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(Heb. vi. 13). The vast importance of the revelation and of the promise here recorded is proved by this remarkable act of the Most High. "God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of His counsel, interposed Himself by an oath" (or "made Himself the Mediator to be sworn by," ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ); "that by two immutable things" (*i. e.* His word and His oath, Chrysost., Theod., Theophyl.), "in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us" (Heb. vi. 17, 18). Abraham had by Divine grace achieved a victory of faith unheard of before in the world's history; and so to him personally a most blessed and most solemn promise is given of prosperity, honour and enlargement to him and to his seed after him. But this great victory of Abraham's was the type of a still greater victory to be won hereafter by God and God's only begotten Son; and so the promise to Abraham includes a promise still greater to all mankind, for in the seed of Abraham all the nations of the earth were to be blessed for ever. N. B. Onkelos renders here, "I have sworn by My Word," *Memra;* and the Arabic, "I have sworn by My own Name."

20. *it was told Abraham*] This is introduced for the sake of tracing the genealogy of Abraham's brother Nahor down to Rebekah the wife of Isaac, v. 23.

21. *Huz*] See on ch. x. 23, where we have seen Uz and Aram together before. It is only natural that names should have been repeated in the same race, the race of Shem. Uz and Aram also occur among the posterity of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 28), whence Idumea is called "the land of Uz" (Lam. iv. 21). This recurrence of names in juxtaposition creates some obscurity as to the sites to be assigned to their descendants in the division of the nations. St Jerome ('Qu. in Gen.') thinks that Job was a descendant of Huz or Uz the son of Nahor. It is said that Job was of the land of Uz (Job i. 1), and his friend Elihu was "a Buzite of the kindred of Ram" (xxxii. 2). If Ram be the same as Aram, we have then the three names in this verse—Huz, Buz and Aram occurring in the history of Job. In Jerem. xxv. 23 Buz is placed with Dedan and Tema, apparently in Arabia Petræa.

22. *Chesed*] Jerome supposes the Chasdim (or Chaldæans) to have derived their name from him, to which conjecture the occurrence of the Chasdim also in the Book of Job, gives some colour (see on v. 21). If, indeed, "Ur of the Chaldees" was so called when Abraham dwelt there (Gen. xi. 31), this would be an anachronism, but very probably it may have been known as Ur of the Chaldees when Moses wrote, and so designated by him, though the Chaldees or Chasdim may not have been in existence in the days of Abraham.

23. *Bethuel begat Rebekah*] The relationship therefore of Rebekah to Isaac was that Rebekah was daughter of Isaac's first cousin. They were, as we should say, first cousins once removed. Nahor was the elder brother of Abraham, and his granddaughter may have been of a suitable age to be the wife of Abraham's son.

these eight] The sons of Nahor, like the sons of Ishmael and of Jacob, were twelve in number. But though it happens that among the descendants of Terah three persons had twelve sons, there is such a diversity in the other circumstances of the family, such a difference with regard to their mothers, and there are so many other patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, &c., the numbering of whose children were quite unlike these, that the notion of a mystic number is utterly untenable (see Keil in loc.).

and Gaham, and Thahash, and Maachah.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *The age and death of Sarah.* 3 *The purchase of Machpelah,* 19 *where Sarah was buried.*

AND Sarah was an hundred and seven and twenty years old: *these were* the years of the life of Sarah.

2 And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba; the same *is* Hebron in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.

3 ¶ And Abraham stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying,

4 I *am* a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.

5 And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him,

6 Hear us, my lord: thou art a [t]mighty prince among us: *in* the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead.

7 And Abraham stood up, and

[t] Heb. *a prince of God.*

CHAP. XXIII. 1. *And Sarah was an hundred and seven and twenty years old*] Sarah is the only woman whose age is mentioned in the Scriptures (Lightfoot, 'Har. of Old Testament,' Gen. xxiii.), because as the mother of the promised seed, she became the mother of all believers. (1 Pet. iii. 6) (Del., Keil.) She died 37 years after the birth of Isaac, as she was 90 when he was born.

2. *Kirjath-arba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan*] See on ch. xiii. 18. The supposition that the name Hebron was not given till the time of Joshua, and that the use of it in Genesis indicates a later hand, is contradicted by the natural force of these words. They appear plainly to have been written by some one not then living in the land of Canaan. Hebron was apparently the original name, which was changed to Kirjath-arba, and restored again by Caleb, Josh. xiv. 15.

Abraham came to mourn for Sarah] Abenezra and others infer from this that Abraham was not with Sarah when she died. It may mean no more than that Abraham went into Sarah's tent to mourn for her.

4. *I am a stranger and a sojourner*] (Cp. Heb. xi. 13). Abraham had only pastured his flocks, moving from place to place, as a nomad chief; but the various Canaanitish tribes had settled in the land, building cities and cultivating fields; and so as Lightfoot observes ('Harm.:' on Gen. xxiii.), "a burial place is the first land that Abraham has in Canaan." The heir of the promises was but a stranger and a pilgrim, never to rest but in the grave, but with a glorious future before him for his race and for himself; assured that his seed should possess the land, and himself "desiring a better country, that is a heavenly."

Give me a possession of a buryingplace with you] This is the first mention of burial. It was noted by the heathen historian as a characteristic of the Jews, that they preferred to bury their dead rather than to burn them; *corpora condere quam cremare* (Tac. 'Hist.' v. 5). It is observable that this is thus mentioned first, when the first death takes place in the family of him, who had received the promises. The care of the bodies of the departed is a custom apparently connected with the belief in their sanctity as vessels of the Grace of God, and with the hope that they may be raised again in the day of the restitution of all things. The elaborate embalming of the Egyptians had perhaps a very different significance, looking rather to retain the beloved body in its former shape, and perhaps to preserve the living principle in permanent existence with it, rather than hoping that the body, being "sown a natural should be raised a spiritual body."

5. *saying unto him*] The Sam. Pent. and LXX. read (by the variation of a single letter), "saying, Not so."

6. *thou art a mighty prince among us*] lit. "a prince of God." See on ch. x. 9, the name of God being apparently added to give a superlative force: cp. 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, where R. D. Kimchi writes, "When the Scripture would magnify anything, it joins it to the name of God."

in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead] The Hittites in the complimentary manner common in oriental bargains (see Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 578) offer Abraham to bury his dead in their sepulchres; but there was a separation between them of faith and life, which forbade Abraham to deposit the body of Sarah in the same grave with the people of the land. We know nothing of the funeral rites of the Canaanites at this early period, nor whether they buried the bodies of the departed or only their ashes. It is, however, very probable, that there were idolatrous rites connected with their sepulture, which it would have been unlawful for Abraham to countenance.

bowed himself to the people of the land, *even* to the children of Heth.

8 And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight; hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar,

9 That he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which *is* in the end of his field; for † as much money as it is worth he shall give it me for a possession of a buryingplace amongst you.

10 And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the † audience of the children of Heth, *even* of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying,

11 Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that *is* therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.

12 And Abraham bowed down himself before the people of the land.

13 And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou *wilt give it*, I pray thee, hear me: I will give thee money for the field; take *it* of me, and I will bury my dead there.

14 And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him,

15 My lord, hearken unto me: the land *is worth* four hundred shekels of silver; what *is* that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead.

† Heb. *full money.*

† Heb. *ears.*

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7. *bowed himself*] The Vulgate has "adoravit coram populo." It was simply the deep reverence common in the East (cp. 1 Sam. xxv. 24; xxviii. 14; 1 Kings xviii. 7; 2 Kings ii. 15; Esth. viii. 3). It was a matter of courtesy and respect, also of entreaty or of gratitude.

9. *the cave of Machpelah*] The soil of Palestine being rocky naturally suggested sepulture in caves (see Winer, 'Realw.' s.v. *Grabes*, Smith, 'Dict. of Bible,' s.v. *Burial*). All the ancient Versions render the words "cave of Machpelah" by "the double cave," deriving Machpelah from the verb *Caphal* to divide, to double. Interpreters have explained this in various ways, as either that there were two entrances to the cave, or that it had a double structure such that two bodies (as e.g. that of Abraham and Sarah) might be laid there (see Heidegger, II. 131). Others, however, treat the word as a proper name, and Gesenius considers it more probably to signify "portion" than "duplication." The site of this ancient burialplace is well ascertained. Josephus tells us that "Abraham and his descendants built monuments over the sepulchres" here (A. J. I. 14), which were said to be still visible in the days of Jerome ('Onomast.'). Now a mosque is erected over the ground believed to cover the sepulchres. The Haram or sacred precinct of the mosque is surrounded by a wall, believed to be as ancient as anything now remaining in Palestine. The present condition and appearance of it are described by Robinson ('B. R.' II. p. 431 sq.), see also Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 580, and a full account of the sepulchre in the appendix to Stanley's 'Sermons in the East.'

for as much money as it is worth] lit. "for full money." The same words are rendered 1 Chron. xxi. 22, "for the full price."

10. *all that went in at the gate of his city*] The transaction took place publicly at the gate of the city, the forum or public place of the ancient cities of the East, see on ch. xix. 1.

11. *the field give I thee*] Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 20, 24. Both conversations, that between Abraham and Ephron, and that between David and Araunah, are specimens of the extreme courtesy of the Eastern people in the transaction of business.

13. *But if thou wilt give it, I pray thee, hear me*] Rather perhaps, "But do thou, I pray thee, hear me." Two particles of wishing or intreating are used.

money for the field] Lit. "the money of the field," i.e. the value of the field.

15. *four hundred shekels of silver*] The word *shekel* means merely *weight*, cp. *pondus, pound*. See on ch. xx. 16, where no name for a coin or weight occurs, but only the words "a thousand of silver." Here we first have the name of a weight, though probably not of a coin. There is no mention of coinage in Scripture before the Babylonish Captivity; but the Egyptians had rings of gold and silver of fixed weight long before Moses, which are represented on the monuments. The first actual Jewish money appears to have been coined by Simon Maccabæus (1 Macc. xv.). It is not easy to conjecture accurately what the value of a shekel may have been in the time of Abraham. In later times the LXX. and the New Testament (Matt. xvii. 24)

16 And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the merchant.

17 ¶ And the field of Ephron, which *was* in Machpelah, which *was* before Mamre, the field, and the cave which *was* therein, and all the trees that *were* in the field, that *were* in all the borders round about, were made sure

18 Unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city.

19 And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre: the same *is* Hebron in the land of Canaan.

20 And the field, and the cave that *is* therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the sons of Heth.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Abraham sweareth his servant.* 10 *The servant's journey:* 12 *his prayer:* 14 *his sign.* 15 *Rebekah meeteth him,* 18 *fulfilleth his sign,* 22 *receiveth jewels,* 23 *sheweth her kindred,* 25 *and inviteth him home.* 26 *The servant blesseth God.* 29 *Laban entertaineth him.* 34 *The servant sheweth his message.* 50 *Laban and Bethuel approve it.* 58 *Rebekah consenteth to go.* 62 *Isaac meeteth her.*

AND Abraham was old, *and* †well stricken in age: and the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things. † Heb. *gone into days.*

2 And Abraham said unto his eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had, [a] Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh: [a] chap. 47. 29.

3 And I will make thee swear by the LORD, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell:

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identify the half shekel with the didrachma, which would make the shekel nearly half an ounce, 220 grains of our weight, or a little less in value than half-a-crown of our present money. The field therefore would have been purchased for about fifty guineas, *52l.* 10*s.* (See Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 1474; Winer, 'R. W. B.' s.v. *sekel;* Smith's 'Dict. of Bib.' s.vv. *money, shekel, weights and measures.*)

16. *current money with the merchant*] Lit. "silver passing with the merchant." The Canaanites were great merchants, so much so that the very word Canaanite became a synonym for merchant, see Job xl. 30 (in Authorised Version xli. 6); Prov. xxxi. 24. It is therefore very probable that they early learned the use of silver as a means of barter: and though it may not have been coined, yet the masses or bars of silver may have been early formed into conventional shapes, or marked with some rude sign to indicate their weight (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 982).

17. *the field,* &c.] Not only the cave, as first proposed by Abraham, but the whole field with trees in it, which may have formed part of that grove of Mamre, where Abraham dwelt before the overthrow of Sodom and where he built an altar to the Lord.

were made sure unto Abraham] Lit. "stood firm to Abraham."

CHAP. XXIV. 1. *Abraham was old*] He was 137 at the death of Sarah. Isaac was then 37; and when he married Rebekah, he was 40 (see ch. xxv. 20). Abraham therefore must have been in his 140th year at this time, and he lived 35 years after it (ch. xxv. 7).

2. *unto his eldest servant of his house*] Lit. **to his servant, the elder of his house.** The word *elder* in Hebrew as in most languages is used as a title of honour, cp. *Sheykh, Senatus,* γέροντες, *presbyter, Signor, Mayor,* &c. (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 427; Hammond, on Acts xi. 30). It is generally supposed that this was Eliezer of Damascus, see ch. xv. 2.

Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh] A form of adjuration mentioned only here and in the case of Jacob, ch. xlvii. 29. Various conjectures have been made by Jews (Joseph. 'Ant.' I. 16; Hieron. 'Qu. in Gen.'; Ambrose, 'De Abraham.' I. 6; Eliezer, in 'Pirke,' c. 39), and by the fathers (Ambros. 'De Abrahamo,' I. 9; Hieron. ubi supra; August. 'De C. D.' XVI. 33); but nothing is known with certainty of the signification of the action. Aben-Ezra supposes that it was a form of oath prevalent in patriarchal times but only taken by inferiors, as here by Abraham's steward, and in Gen. xlvii. 29 by a son to his father; that accordingly it was a kind of homage, the servant or son thereby indicating subjection and the purpose of obedience. (See Heidegger, II. pp. 134, 135; Rosenm. in loc.)

3. *of the daughters of the Canaanites*]

4 But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac.

5 And the servant said unto him, Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest?

6 And Abraham said unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again.

7 ¶ The LORD God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred, and which spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, [b] Unto thy seed will I give this land; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife unto my son from thence.

8 And if the woman will not be willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath: only bring not my son thither again.

9 And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning that matter.

10 ¶ And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his master, and departed; [1] for all the goods of his master *were* in his hand: and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto the city of Nahor.

11 And he made his camels to kneel down without the city by a well of

[b] chap. 12. 7. & 13. 15. & 15. 18. & 26. 4.

[1] Or, *and*

The licentiousness of the Canaanites had probably determined Abraham against marrying his son to one of their daughters. He had also, no doubt, reference to the Promised Seed, and desired that the race from which He was to come should be kept pure from admixture with the race of Ham.

6. *Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again*] Abraham had been distinctly called of God to leave his own country, and to be a stranger and sojourner in the land which was to be his hereafter. It would therefore have been an act both of unbelief and of disobedience, to send his son back again. He trusted that He, who had so called him, would provide his son with a wife from his own kindred, not defiled, at least as the Canaanites were, with heathen worship and heathen morality; but in any case he would rather his son should wed among the aliens than return to the place whence he himself had been bidden to depart.

10. *ten camels*, &c.] The journey was long and could only be performed in safety by a considerable company or caravan. The words which follow, "for all the goods of his master were in his hand," very probably are no more than an explanation of his taking so many camels with him, his master sparing nothing to make the journey successful. The LXX. and Vulgate render "and he took part of all his master's goods in his hand," as though Abraham had sent a present with the servant to conciliate the favour of the bride's family.

to Mesopotamia] Lit. "Aram of the two rivers," or **Aram-Naharaim.** The name *Naharina* constantly occurs in Egyptian inscriptions of the 18th and 19th dynasties. In other passages in Genesis (xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 6, 7; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlvi. 15) we read of Padan Aram or simply Padan (Gen. xlviii. 7), "the Plain of Syria," "the flat land of Syria." *Aram-Naharaim* occurs again Deut. xxiii. 5; Judg. iii. 8; Ps. lx. 2 (Heb.). Both names describe the low flat country lying between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates, though Padan Aram was more limited in extent than Aram-Naharaim. The whole highland country of Syria appears to have been called Aram, as many think to distinguish it from Canaan, the low country, Aram meaning "high" and Canaan "low" land. The country, however, which lies between the two rivers, is chiefly a vast plain, though intersected by the Sinjar range, and becoming more mountainous towards the North (see Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 129; Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' II. p. 338). Aram-Naharaim was the whole region afterwards called Mesopotamia, lying between the two rivers: Padan Aram being a limited portion of this country of flat character in the neighbourhood of Haran (see on xxv. 20, xxvii. 43).

the city of Nahor] i. e. Haran or Charran (compare ch. xxvii. 43, and see ch. xi. 31; Acts vii. 2).

11. *made his camels to kneel down*] That they might be unloaded, and rest there. (See on the whole of this scene, Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 592.)

the time that women go out to draw water] Le Clerc compares Hom. Od. VII. 20, where Minerva, in the form of a girl carrying a pitcher, meets Ulysses as he is about to enter the city of the Phœnicians in the evening. See also Robinson, 'B. R.' vol. II. p. 368, where a somewhat similar scene to this is described.

water at the time of the evening, *even* the time † that women go out to draw *water*.

† Heb. *that women which draw water go forth.*

12 And he said, O LORD God of my master Abraham, I pray thee, send me good speed this day, and shew kindness unto my master Abraham.

[c] Ver. 43.

13 Behold, [c] I stand *here* by the well of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water:

14 And let it come to pass, that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: *let the same be* she *that* thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master.

15 ¶ And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder.

† Heb. *Good of countenance.*

16 And the damsel *was* † very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up.

17 And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher.

18 And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.

19 And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will draw *water* for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.

20 And she hasted, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw *water*, and drew for all his camels.

21 And the man wondering at her held his peace, to wit whether the LORD had made his journey prosperous or not.

22 And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ‖ earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for

‖ Or, *jewel for the forehead.*

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12. *O LORD God of my master Abraham*] The Damascene recognizes JEHOVAH, the God of his master Abraham, the Supreme Disposer of all things. He had probably been born a heathen idolater; but Abraham, to whom God had been revealed as JEHOVAH, the eternal self-existing, had no doubt taught his household to acknowledge Him as the Covenant God of Abraham and his family. It is very observable, however, that when Abraham administers an oath to his servant, he makes him swear not only by JEHOVAH, but adds the God of heaven and the God of the earth, which might be a stronger sanction to one brought up in ignorance of the faith of his master.

give me good speed] Lit. "cause to meet me," i. e. the person of whom I am in quest.

14. *the damsel*] The word here used for *damsel* is of common gender, signifying a child or young person of either sex. This is a peculiarity of the Pentateuch. In all the later books the distinction of gender is observed, the feminine affix (ה) being used when a girl is intended. It is important to notice this here; first as shewing the antiquity of the Pentateuch generally; secondly, as shewing that this chapter, which is markedly Jehovistic, is also of marked antiquity. Those, who accuse the so-called Jehovistic chapters of being modern (of the date of Samuel for instance), ground their arguments on a minute criticism of the difference of the words used by the Elohist and the Jehovist writers respectively. It is, however, here very apparent that the word child, "nangar," had not, in the time of the writer of this most Jehovistic history, been distinguished in the singular number into masculine and feminine, *nangar* and *nangarah*, boy and girl.

thereby shall I know] Perhaps more correctly "by her shall I know;" though the Versions generally render the feminine pronoun here by a neuter, the Hebrew having no neuter gender.

15. *who was born to Bethuel*] See ch. xxii. 20 and note.

21. *wondering at her*] "Amazed and astonished" at finding his prayer so suddenly answered.

22. *earring*] So LXX., Vulg., but perhaps more probably "nose-ring." St Jerome in Ezek. xvi. 11, 12, mentions that to his day the women in the East wore golden rings hanging down from their foreheads, on their noses. Hence here the marginal reading gives "jewel for the forehead." To the present

her hands of ten *shekels* weight of gold;

23 And said, Whose daughter *art* thou? tell me, I pray thee: is there room *in* thy father's house for us to lodge in?

24 And she said unto him, I *am* the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor.

25 She said moreover unto him, We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in.

26 And the man bowed down his head, and worshipped the LORD.

27 And he said, Blessed *be* the LORD God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of his mercy and his truth: I *being* in the way, the LORD led me to the house of my master's brethren.

28 And the damsel ran, and told *them of* her mother's house these things.

29 ¶ And Rebekah had a brother, and his name *was* Laban: and Laban ran out unto the man, unto the well.

30 And it came to pass, when he saw the earring and bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by the camels at the well.

31 And he said, Come in, thou blessed of the LORD; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels.

32 ¶ And the man came into the house: and he ungirded his camels, and gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that *were* with him.

33 And there was set *meat* before him to eat: but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on.

34 And he said, I *am* Abraham's servant.

35 And the LORD hath blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and menservants, and maidservants, and camels, and asses.

36 And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old: and unto him hath he given all that he hath.

37 And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell:

38 But thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son.

39 And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me.

40 And he said unto me, The LORD, before whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house:

41 Then shalt thou be clear from *this* my oath, when thou comest to

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day some Eastern nations wear nose-rings. Schrœder ('De Vest. Mul. Hebr.' c. xxii. § 2). Hartmann ('Hebr.' II. 166); Winer ('R. W. B.' II. 162); Gesen. ('Th.' p. 870); Rosenmüller (in loc.), argue for the rendering "nose-ring" in this passage. The word, however, simply signifies a ring.

half a shekel] Probably about 2 drachms or a quarter of an ounce. See on ch. xxxiii. 14.

28. *her mother's house*] Her father Bethuel was still living (see v. 50); but the mother is mentioned, perhaps because even thus early women may have lived in separate tents from the men (Rashi): which appears also from v. 67, where Sarah's tent is named, and Rebekah is installed in it at her marriage. The daughter naturally went to tell her mother rather than her father of what the servant of Abraham had done; the jewel, which he gave her, being perhaps intended to denote the nature of his embassage.

33. *I will not eat, until I have told mine errand*] Ancient hospitality taught men to set meat before their guests before asking them their names and their business; but here the servant of Abraham felt his message to be so momentous, that he would not eat till he had unburdened himself of it.

my kindred; and if they give not thee *one*, thou shalt be clear from my oath.

42 And I came this day unto the well, and said, O LORD God of my master Abraham, if now thou do prosper my way which I go:

[d] Ver. 13. 43 [d]Behold, I stand by the well of water; and it shall come to pass, that when the virgin cometh forth to draw *water*, and I say to her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink;

44 And she say to me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels: *let* the same *be* the woman whom the LORD hath appointed out for my master's son.

45 And before I had done speaking in mine heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder; and she went down unto the well, and drew *water:* and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee.

46 And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her *shoulder*, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink also.

47 And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter *art* thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the earring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands.

48 And I bowed down my head, and worshipped the LORD, and blessed the LORD God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the right way to take my master's brother's daughter unto his son.

49 And now if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.

50 Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from the LORD: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.

51 Behold, Rebekah *is* before thee, take *her*, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the LORD hath spoken.

52 And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he worshipped the LORD, *bowing himself* to the earth.

53 And the servant brought forth [†] jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave *them* to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother precious things. [†] Heb. *vessels.*

54 And they did eat and drink, he and the men that *were* with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, [e]Send me away unto my master. [e] Ver. 56. & 59.

55 And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us [f]*a few* days, at the least ten; after that she shall go. [f] Or, *a full year*, or, *ten months.*

56 And he said unto them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my master.

57 And they said, We will call the damsel, and inquire at her mouth.

58 And they called Rebekah,

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50. *Laban and Bethuel*] The brother is here put before the father, and in v. 39 the brother only is mentioned. It appears that in those days the brother was much consulted concerning the marriage of his sisters (Cp. ch. xxxiv. 13; Judg. xxi. 22): but it has also been observed that Bethuel is altogether kept in the background in this history, as though he were a person of insignificant character, see ch. xxix. 6, where he is altogether passed over, Laban being called the son of Nahor, who was his grandfather. (See Blunt's 'Coincidences,' p. 35, and Wordsworth in loc.) Laban was evidently an active stirring man, as is manifested throughout the subsequent history of Jacob. The Hebrew tradition was that Bethuel died on the day that Eliezer, Abraham's servant, arrived (Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, on v. 55). Josephus ('Ant.' I. 16) speaks of him as dead, which, however, is unlikely, see on ch. xxvii. 2.

53. *jewels of silver*, &c.] Lit. "vessels of silver," &c.

55. *days, at the least ten*] Lit. "days or ten." Certain days or at least ten; unless "days" be a phrase for the regular period of seven days, i.e. a week, when it would be "a week of days or ten days."

and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.

59 And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men.

60 And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou *art* our sister, be thou *the mother* of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.

61 ¶ And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went his way.

62 And Isaac came from the way of the [f]well Lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the south country.

63 And Isaac went out [1]to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, the camels *were* coming.

64 And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel.

65 For she *had* said unto the servant, What man *is* this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant *had* said, It *is* my master: therefore she took a vail, and covered herself.

66 And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done.

67 And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's *death*.

[f] chap. 16. 14. & 25. 11.

[1] Or, *to pray.*

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *The sons of Abraham by Keturah.* 5 *The division of his goods.* 7 *His age, and death.* 9 *His burial.* 12 *The generations of Ishmael.* 17 *His age, and death.* 19 *Isaac prayeth for Rebekah, being barren.* 22 *The children*

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59. *their sister*] Only one brother is mentioned, viz. Laban: but her relatives generally are spoken of here, as saying of her, "Thou art our sister," sister being used in that wide sense for relation, in which brother is so often found in Scripture.

her nurse] Her name, Deborah, and her death are mentioned ch. xxxv. 8.

62. *And Isaac came from the way of the well of Lahai-roi*] Perhaps "Isaac had come from a journey to Lahai-roi," or "had returned from going to Lahai-roi."

for he dwelt in the south country] Probably at Beer-sheba. Abraham's later dwelling places had been Hebron and Beer-sheba. After the sacrifice of Isaac, we find him dwelling at Beer-sheba (xxii. 19), until we hear of the death of Sarah at Hebron. Very probably Abraham returned after this to Beer-sheba. And so Isaac, whether living with his father, or pitching his tent and feeding his flocks near him, is here represented as dwelling in the south country. In ch. xxv. 11 we find that, after Abraham's death, Isaac took up his residence at Lahai-roi, to which we find that he had been on a visit, when Rebekah arrived, where perhaps he had already been pasturing his flocks and herds (Knobel). All this is in the strictest harmony; though the German critics discover the hand of the Elohist in chapter xxiii., and in the earlier verses of xxv., and that of the Jehovist throughout xxiv.

63. *to meditate*] So LXX., Vulg., but the Targg., Sam., Arab., Saad., Rashi, render "to pray;" some (Syr., Aben-Ezra) "to walk." The word, however, appears most probably to signify religious meditation (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1322). Such occupation seems very characteristic of Isaac, whose whole life was so tranquil, and his temper and spirit so calm and submissive, as suiting one who was made an eminent type of Him, who "was oppressed and afflicted, yet He opened not His mouth: He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth" (Is. liii. 7). St Jerome ('Qu. in Gen.') sees in this quiet meditation and prayer a type of Him "who went out into a mountain apart to pray" (Matt. xiv. 23).

64. *lighted off the camel*] "It is customary for both men and women, when an Emir or great personage is approaching, to alight some time before he comes up with them. Women frequently refuse to ride in the presence of men; and when a company of them are to pass through a town, they often dismount and walk." (Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 593.)

65. *a vail*] The long cloak-like vail, with which the Eastern women covered their faces (see Jerome in loc. and in 'Comment. ad Jes.' III.; Tertullian, 'De velandis Virginibus' (Cap. XVI.). Even at this early period it seems to have been the custom for brides not to suffer the bridegroom to see their faces before marriage (cp. ch. xxix. 23, 25).

67. *Sarah's tent*] See on v. 28.

strive in her womb. 24 *The birth of Esau and Jacob.* 27 *Their difference.* 29 *Esau selleth his birthright.*

THEN again Abraham took a wife, and her name *was* Keturah.

[a] 1 Chron. i. 32. 2 And [a]she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah.

3 And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.

4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah. All these *were* the children of Keturah.

5 ¶ And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac.

6 But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country.

7 And these *are* the days of the years

CHAP. XXV. 1. *Then again Abraham took a wife, and her name was Keturah*] **And Abraham took another wife.** The later Targg. and some Jewish commentators (Rashi and R. Eliezer, in 'Pirke,' c. 30; see also Jer. 'Qu. in Gen.'), say that Keturah was Hagar, whom Abraham took again, after Sarah's death. This seems inconsistent with v. 6, which speaks of "the concubines" in the plural, meaning, doubtless, Hagar and Keturah. The latter, though called wife here, is called concubine in 1 Chron. i. 32. Moreover, in 1 Chron. i. 28, 32, the sons of Keturah are named separately from Isaac and Ishmael. The concubine (Pilegesh) was a kind of secondary wife, sometimes called "the concubine wife," Judg. xix. 1; 2 S. xv. 16; xx. 3. It is generally supposed, that Abraham did not take Keturah to wife, till after Sarah's death. So the fathers generally. Abraham lived to the age of 175. If we consider this extreme old age as equivalent to eighty-five or ninety in the present day, his age at the time of Sarah's death would correspond to that of a man of from sixty-five to seventy now.

Some, however, think, that Abraham took Keturah to be a secondary wife, during Sarah's life, though no mention is made of this marriage till this time, as the chief purpose of mentioning it was that some account should be given of Keturah's children. So Keil, Poole (in 'Dict. of Bible'), &c. It is impossible to decide this question, as the text gives no note of time. The Authorised Version indeed renders, "Then again Abraham took a wife," but the Hebrew only conveys the notion that Abraham took another wife.

2. *she bare him Zimran*] Josephus ('A. J.' i. 15) tells us that the descendants of Keturah occupied the Troglodyte country and Arabia Felix, which statement is repeated by Jerome ('Qu. Heb. in Gen.'). Some of their names occur among the Arab tribes, but it is not easy to identify them all clearly

Zimran has been thought to be identified with the Zabram of Ptolemy (vi. 7, 5), the royal city of the Cinædocolpitæ to the West of Mecca, on the Red Sea; Jokshan with the Cassanitæ on the Red Sea (Ptol. vi. 7, 6); Ishbak with Shobek, in Idumæa (Knobel, Del., Keil).

Medan, and Midian] In ch. xxxvii. 28, 36, the Midianites and Medanites are identified. The Midianites dwelt partly in the peninsula of Sinai, partly beyond Jordan, in the neighbourhood of the Moabites. We meet with them first as the merchants to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren (as ch. xxxvii. 28 sqq.), trafficking between Egypt and Canaan. Next we find Moses flying to the land of Midian, and marrying the daughter of a priest of Midian, Exod. ii. 15, 16, 21, whose flocks pastured in the desert, in the neighbourhood of Mount Horeb (Ex. iii. 1). Later we find the people of Midian in immediate juxta-position with the Moabites (Num. xxii. 4, xxv. 6, 17, 18). We find them afterwards as formidable neighbours to the Israelites, invading and oppressing them, though afterwards expelled and conquered (Judg. vi. vii. viii.). It has been thought that traces of the name of Midian may be found in Modiana on the Eastern coast of the Elanitic Gulf mentioned by Ptolemy (vi. 7), (Knobel).

3. *Sheba, and Dedan*] Are named, ch. x. 7, among the descendants of Cush. It has been thought that in these, as in other instances, the Shemite and Hamite races intermarried, and that there consequently arose a certain confusion in their names, or that very probably they adopted names from those with whom they were thus connected (see on ch. x. 6, 7; also Ges. 'Thes.' p. 322).

4. *Ephah*] We meet with this Midianitish tribe in Is. lx. 6, as a people rich in camels and gold and incense. The attempts to identify the various descendants of Keturah, mentioned in this chapter, with the names of tribes or cities known to later geographers and historians, may be seen in Knobel, Del., Keil, &c. The uncertainty of such identification is very great.

6. *eastward, unto the east country*] That

of Abraham's life which he lived, an hundred threescore and fifteen years.

8 Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old man, and full *of years;* and was gathered to his people.

9 And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which *is* before Mamre;

[b] chap. 23. 16. 10 [b]The field which Abraham purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife.

11 ¶ And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed his son Isaac; and Isaac dwelt by the

[c] chap. 16. 14. & 24. 62. [c]well Lahai-roi.

12 ¶ Now these *are* the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham:

[d] 1 Chron. 1. 29. 13 And [d]these *are* the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,

14 And Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa,

15 [1]Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah:

16 These *are* the sons of Ishmael, and these *are* their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations.

17 And these *are* the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred and thirty and seven years: and he gave up the ghost and died; and was gathered unto his people.

18 And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that *is* before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria: *and* he [1]died in the presence of all his brethren. [1] Heb. *fell.*

19 ¶ And these *are* the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham begat Isaac:

20 And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian.

21 And Isaac intreated the LORD

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is into Arabia, the inhabitants of which were called Benc-Kedem, "children of the East" (Judg. vi. 3; 1 K. iv. 30; Job i. 3; Is. xi. 14), and afterwards "Saracens," i.e. "Easterns."

8. *Abraham gave up the ghost*] The history of Abraham is thus wound up before the history of Isaac's family is told. Abraham did not die till Jacob and Esau were born. Indeed they were fifteen years old at Abraham's death: for he died at 175, Isaac was then seventy-five years old, but Esau and Jacob were born when Isaac was sixty (see v. 26).

was gathered to his people] This cannot mean that he was buried where his fathers had been buried, for he had been a hundred years a pilgrim in the land of Israel, far from the home of his ancestors, and he was buried in the cave of Machpelah. The place therefore seems to indicate the belief of the patriarchal ages in a place of departed spirits, to which the souls of the dead were gathered. Thus Jacob expected to "go down into the grave (to Sheol) unto his son," though he did not believe his son to have been buried, but to have been devoured by wild beasts (ch. xxxvii. 35; compare also Deut. xxxii. 50). St Augustine ('Qu. in Gen.' 268) interprets the words "his people," of "the people of that city, the heavenly Jerusalem," spoken of in Heb. xii. 22, and which God is said to have prepared for the faithful patriarchs, Heb. xi. 16.

9. *his sons Isaac and Ishmael*] From this we see that Ishmael, though sent to dwell Eastward, had not lost sight of his father and Isaac; and very probably their father's death reconciled the two brothers to each other. Isaac is put first as the heir, and the heir of the promises.

16. *castles*] See on Num. xxxi. 10.

18. *and he died in the presence*] Or, more probably, **He abode over against.**

19. *And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son*] This is the beginning of a new Section of Genesis, which continues to the end of ch. xxxv. According to the uniform plan, there is a brief recapitulation, to make the Section complete. In this case it is very brief, consisting of the latter part of v. 19, and v. 20.

20. *the Syrian of Padan-aram*] **The Aramean of Padan-aram.** Padan-aram is the "plain or flat land of Aram," translated or paraphrased in Hosea xii. 12 by Sĕdeh-Aram, "the field or plain of Aram." In the last chapter the country of Rebekah is called Aram-Naharaim, or Aram of the two rivers. See on ch. xxiv. 10. There is no reasonable foundation for the belief that Padan-aram

for his wife, because she *was* barren: and the LORD was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived.

22 And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If *it be* so, why *am* I thus? And she went to inquire of the LORD.

23 And the LORD said unto her, Two nations *are* in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and *the one* people shall be stronger than *the other* people; and [e] the elder shall serve the younger.

[e] Rom. 9. 12.

24 ¶ And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold, *there were* twins in her womb.

25 And the first came out red, all

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was the old name used by the so-called Elohist, Aram-Naharaim being the name which had been adopted by the later Jehovist. It was natural that the historian, when relating the embassy of Eliezer of Damascus to Mesopotamia to seek a wife for Isaac, should have used the general name of the country into which Eliezer was sent, whereas in the present Section more particularity is to be expected, where Jacob is described as sojourning for years in Padan-aram, the land of Laban; just as in one case it might be natural to speak of going into Scotland, whilst in a more detailed account, we might prefer to speak of the Highlands of Scotland, or the Lowlands, or of some particular county or district.

21. *Isaac intreated the* LORD *for his wife, because she was barren*] This barrenness had lasted twenty years (v. 26). Another instance of the delay in the fulfilment of God's promises, and of the trial of the faith of those for whom the greatest blessings are reserved. The word here used for prayer is by many thought to mean frequent and repeated prayer; implying the anxious desire of Isaac to be blessed with offspring. Gesenius (p. 1085) thinks the word is connected with a root signifying "to offer incense," which certainly appears to belong to it in Ezek. viii. 11. If it be so, we must believe that the patriarchal worship, which from the earliest times was accompanied with sacrifice, had also, whether from Divine revelation or from an instinctive feeling, adopted the use of incense.

22. *If it be so, why am I thus?*] An obscure saying. The Vulg. and Targums render, "If it was to be thus with me, why did I conceive?" The Arabic has, "If I had known it would be thus, I would not have sought for offspring." Much to the same effect Rashi, "If such be the sufferings of pregnancy, why did I desire it?" The Syriac and most of the German Comm. understand it, "If it be so, wherefore do I live?"

And she went to inquire of the LORD] By prayer, or by sacrifice, perhaps at some special place of prayer; as to the domestic altar of Isaac (Theodor. 'Qu. in Gen.'), or more likely, by going to a prophet. The Jerusalem Targum, followed by several Jewish commentators says, she went to Shem; others say to Melchizedec. Abraham, who was still living, was the head of the family then dwelling in Palestine; he had been specially honoured by revelations from heaven; and was probably esteemed the patriarch-priest of the whole race. It is most likely, therefore, that if the inquiry was made through a man, it would have been made through him. Still we may conclude with St Augustine ('Qu.' 72), that nothing is certain except that Rebekah went to ask of the Lord, and that the Lord answered her.

23. *Two nations*, &c.] The response is in antistrophic parallelisms, a poetic form, in which no doubt it was more readily handed down from father to son:

> Two nations are in thy womb:
> and two peoples shall be separated from thy bowels;
> and nation shall be stronger than nation,
> and the elder shall serve the younger.

To this see the reference Mal. i. 2, 3, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," and in Rom. ix. 10—13, where St Paul shews that election to the privilege of being the depositories of God's truth and the Church of God on earth is inscrutable, but not therefore necessarily unjust or unmerciful. Such election indeed plainly marks that God does not choose men as His instruments because of their merits, but it does not shew that He is therefore simply arbitrary. In all there is a hidden stream of mercy flowing. The chosen race shall be made the means of salvation to others as well as to themselves. Their privileges will be blessed to them, if they use those privileges faithfully. Otherwise whilst they are the channels of God's grace to their brethren, they themselves will be cast out, and others shall come into their inheritance.

25. *red, all over like an hairy garment*] He seemed as if covered with a kind of fur, a thick down, which is said to be found on some new born infants. It gave an animal appear-

over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.

26 And after that came his brother out, and /his hand took hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: and Isaac *was* threescore years old when she bare them.

/ Hos. 12. 3.

27 And the boys grew: and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob *was* a plain man, dwelling in tents.

28 And Isaac loved Esau, because †he did eat of *his* venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob.

† Heb. *venison was in his mouth.*

29 ¶ And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came from the field, and he *was* faint:

30 And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, †with that same red *pottage;* for I *am* faint: therefore was his name called ‖Edom.

† Heb. *with that red, with that red* pottage.
‖ That is, *Red.*

31 And Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright.

32 And Esau said, Behold, I *am*

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ance to Esau, and probably indicated his more sensual nature. Owing to this he was called Esau, "hairy."

Jacob] Meaning, literally, "he holds the heel;" but, from the act of a person tripping up an adversary in wrestling or running by taking hold of the heel, it signifies also to "trip up," "to outwit," "to supplant." (See xxvii. 36).

27. *a cunning hunter*] **Skilled in hunting.** Instead of following the quiet pastoral life of his forefathers, Esau preferred the wilder life of a hunter, betokening his wild, restless, self-indulgent character, and leading him probably to society with the heathen Canaanites round about.

a man of the field] This is antithetic to what follows, "a dweller in tents." It probably indicates still more fully the wild life of Esau. Instead of spending his life in the society of his family, returning to his tent after the day's labour at night, he roved over the country, like the uncivilized hunters in half savage lands.

Jacob was a plain man] **An upright man,** a man of steady, domestic, moral habits.

dwelling in tents] *i.e.* staying at home, attending to the pasturing of the flocks and the business of the family, instead of wandering abroad in search of pleasure and amusement. (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 634.)

28. *Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison*] Lit. "because venison was in his mouth." The bold daring of Esau was, perhaps by force of contrast, pleasant to the quiet spirit of Isaac. That quiet temper was not strong enough to rule such a restless youth; there was also a marked selfishness in Isaac's affection, which brought with it its own punishment. The mother, on the contrary, loved the well-conducted and helpful Jacob. Yet her love too was not guided by the highest principle, and so led her and her favourite son to sin against truth and justice, and brought heavy trials and sorrows on them both.

30. *Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage*] **Let me, I pray thee, devour some of that red, that red.** The words express the vehemence of the appetite, and probably the very words uttered by Esau in his impatient hunger and weariness. The red lentil is still esteemed in the East, and has been found very palatable by modern travellers (Robinson, 'Bib. Res.' i. 246). Dr Kitto says he often partook of a red pottage made of lentils. "The mess had the redness, which gained for it the name of red" ('Pict. Bib.' Gen. xxv. 30, quoted in Smith's 'Dict. of Bib.' ii. 92). It is also described by Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 587, as exhaling an odour very tempting to a hungry man.

therefore was his name called Edom] Names appear to have been frequently given from accidental causes, especially in the East; and sometimes the occurrence of more than one circumstance to the same person seems to have riveted a name. Thus we read above that Esau was born with red hair and colour. His frantic demand for *red* pottage and selling his birthright to gain it, may have conspired with his hair and complexion to stamp the name Edom (or Red) upon him. The conjecture of Tuch and others, that the name was connected with the Red Sea, near which the Edomites dwelt, is wholly groundless. The Red Sea was never so called in early times, or in Semitic tongues. The name Red was given in later days to this sea by the Greeks.

31. *Sell me this day thy birthright*] It is doubtful what privileges the birthright carried with it in patriarchal times. In after times a double portion of the patrimony was assigned to the firstborn by law (Deut. xxi. 15—17); but in the earliest days the respect paid to the eldest son is very apparent; and as the family spread out into a tribe, the patriarchal head became a chieftain or prince.

[1] Heb. *going to die.*

[1]at the point to die: and what profit shall this birthright do to me?

33 And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he sware unto him: [f] Heb. 12. 16. and [f]he sold his birthright unto Jacob.

34 Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentiles; and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way: thus Esau despised *his* birthright.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *Isaac because of famine went to Gerar.* 2 *God instructeth, and blesseth him.* 7 *He is reproved by Abimelech for denying his wife.* 12 *He groweth rich.* 18 *He diggeth Esek, Sitnah, and Rehoboth.* 26 *Abimelech maketh a covenant with him at Beer-sheba.* 34 *Esau's wives.*

AND there was a famine in the land, beside the first famine that was in the days of Abraham. And

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It also looks as if the head of the family exercised a kind of priesthood. Then the father's chief blessing was given to his firstborn son. Above all, in the family of Abraham, there was a promise of peculiar spiritual privileges, which, if not fully understood, would have been much dwelt upon by believing minds. All this was to Esau of little account compared with the desire of present gratification of appetite. It has been thought, not improbably, that the famine impending (see xxvi. 1) was already, more or less, pressing on the family of Isaac (Lightfoot, 'Harm. of O. T.' in loc.). Esau had perhaps been seeking in vain for food in the chase, whilst Jacob had prepared a mess of pottage, sufficient to relieve the pains of hunger. If it were so, Esau, wearied and famished, may have been strongly tempted to give up much for food. But his worldly and "profane" character is exhibited in his contempt for that, which was, whether in a worldly or in a spiritual point of view, rather an object of faith or sentiment, than of sight and sense. Jacob, a man of widely different character, had probably looked with reverence on the spiritual promises, though with culpable ambition for the personal pre-eminence of the firstborn. He and Esau were twins, and it may have seemed hard to him to be shut out from the chief hope of his house by one not older than himself, and whose character was little worthy of his position. This may be some excuse for his conduct, but the sacred history, whilst exposing the carnal indifference of Esau, does not extenuate the selfishness of Jacob. Throughout their history, Esau is the bold, reckless, but generous and openhearted man of this world; Jacob, on the contrary, is a thoughtful, religious man, but with many infirmities, and especially with that absence of simplicity and uprightness, which often characterizes those who have made their choice of heaven and yet let their hearts linger too much on earth.

The events correspond with the characters of the men. Esau lives on his rough and reckless life; though towards the end of it we see his better feelings overcoming his vindictiveness. Whatever his own final state with God may have been, he has disinherited his children, left them wild men of the desert and the rocks, instead of leaving them heirs of the promises and ancestors of the Messiah. Jacob, with a less prosperous life, has yet gone through a long training and chastening from the God of his fathers, to whose care and guidance he had given himself; he suffers heavily, but he learns from that he suffered; at last he goes down to Egypt to die, comforted in having his children yet alive, confessing that few and evil had been the days of the years of his pilgrimage, but yet able to say in peaceful confidence upon his deathbed, "I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD." He has inherited the promises; but for trying by unworthy means to anticipate the promise of inheritance, he has to go through a life of trial, sorrow, and discipline, and to die at last, not in the land of promise, but in the house of bondage.

CHAP. XXVI. 1. *Abimelech*] It has been doubted whether this be the Abimelech with whom Abraham was concerned or not. The events related in this chapter took place about eighty years after those related in ch. xx. It is not therefore impossible, when men lived to 180, that the same king may still have been reigning over the Philistines; and it has been thought that the character described here is very similar to that in ch. xx. It seems more probable that the present Abimelech should have been the son or successor of the earlier king. Names were very frequently handed down to the grandson, recurring alternately, and this may very possibly have been the case here: but moreover, *Abimelech* (*father king*, or *father of the king*), may very likely have been, like Pharaoh, a title rather than a name, so also Phichol (*the mouth of all*, i.e. commanding all), sounds like the title of the commander in chief or the grand vizier. Cp. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26.

Gerar] The chief city of the Philistines, now Kirbet el Gerar.

Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.

2 And the LORD appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of:

3 Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, [a]I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father;

[a] chap. 13. 15. & 15. 18.

4 And I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these countries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be [b]blessed;

[b] chap. 12. 3. & 15. 18. & 22. 18.

5 Because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.

6 ¶ And Isaac dwelt in Gerar:

7 And the men of the place asked *him* of his wife; and he said, She *is* my sister: for he feared to say, *She is* my wife; lest, *said he*, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah; because she *was* fair to look upon.

8 And it came to pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out at a window, and saw, and, behold, Isaac *was* sporting with Rebekah his wife.

9 And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of a surety she *is* thy wife: and how saidst thou, She *is* my sister? And Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her.

10 And Abimelech said, What *is* this thou hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have brought guiltiness upon us.

11 And Abimelech charged all *his* people, saying, He that toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.

12 Then Isaac sowed in that land, and [†]received in the same year an

[†] Heb. *found.*

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2. *the* LORD *appeared unto him*] The last recorded vision was at the sacrifice of Isaac more than sixty years before, ch. xxii. These revelations were not so frequent as they seem to us, as we read one event rapidly after the other; but just sufficient to keep up the knowledge of God and the faith of the patriarchs in the line of the chosen people and of the promised seed.

Go not down into Egypt] "In the first famine, which was in the days of Abraham," Abraham had gone down to Egypt. Probably, after this example, and from the plenty with which Egypt was blessed, Isaac had purposed to go down there now.

3. *Sojourn in this land*] He was the heir, to whom the land had been promised. He is to dwell in it, as a stranger and sojourner, and not to be tempted by suffering to go down to that land of spiritual danger, from which his father so narrowly escaped.

4. *all these countries*] The lands of the different Canaanitish tribes named in ch. xv. 19—21. The pronoun here rendered "these" is one of those ancient forms peculiar to the Pentateuch (*ha-el;* in the later books it would be *ha-eleh*).

7. *She is my sister*] Isaac acted on this occasion just as Abraham had done in Egypt and in Philistia. Probably too, he called Rebekah his sister because she was his cousin, and the deep importance of strict truthfulness had not been fully unfolded to the patriarchs in their twilight state of faith. The difference in the details of this story and the events in the life of Abraham is too marked to allow it to be thought that this is only a repetition of the histories in ch. xii. and xx. In the history of Abraham Sarah was taken into the house of Pharaoh, and afterwards into that of Abimelech, and in both cases preserved by Divine intervention. In the history of Isaac, there is no apparent intention on the part of Abimelech to take Rebekah into his house, but he accidentally discovers that Isaac and Rebekah were not brother and sister but husband and wife, and then reproves Isaac for his concealment of the truth, on the ground that so some of his people might have ignorantly taken Rebekah to wife.

12. *sowed in that land*] The patriarchs were not so wholly nomadic and pastoral in their habits of life as to neglect agriculture entirely. Even the Bedouins practise agriculture at the present day as well as grazing (Robinson, 'B. R.' Vol. I. p. 77).

an hundredfold] **An hundred measures;** *i. e.* probably a hundred measures for each measure sown, a very unusual increase, though not quite unknown in a virgin soil, especially if the corn were barley. (The LXX. and Syr. render here "a hundred of barley,"

hundredfold: and the LORD blessed him.

13 And the man waxed great, and † went forward, and grew until he became very great:

14 For he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of ‖ servants: and the Philistines envied him.

15 For all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them, and filled them with earth.

16 And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we.

17 ¶ And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.

18 And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.

19 And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of † springing water.

20 And the herdmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac's herdmen, saying, The water *is* ours: and he called the name of the well ‖ Esek; because they strove with him.

21 And they digged another well, and strove for that also: and he called the name of it ‖ Sitnah.

22 And he removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they strove not: and he called the name of it ‖ Rehoboth; and he said, For now the LORD hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.

23 And he went up from thence to Beer-sheba.

24 And the LORD appeared unto him the same night, and said, I *am* the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I *am* with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.

25 And he builded an altar there, and called upon the name of the LORD, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's servants digged a well.

26 ¶ Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath one of his friends, and Phichol the chief captain of his army.

27 And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore come ye to me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you?

28 And they said, † We saw certainly that the LORD was with thee: and we said, Let there be now an oath betwixt us, *even* betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee;

29 † That thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou *art* now the blessed of the LORD.

† Heb. *went going.*

‖ Or, *husbandry.*

† Heb. *living.*

‖ That is, *Contention.*

‖ That is, *Hatred.*

‖ That is, *Room.*

† Heb. *Seeing we saw.*

† Heb. *If thou shalt, &c.*

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which Michaelis and others have adopted. The reading and rendering of the Authorised Version are more generally supported, and are probably correct.) The fertility of the soil in this neighbourhood is still very great.

17. *the valley of Gerar*] The word for *valley* signifies properly the bed or course of a stream or mountain torrent, a *wady*. It is not easy to say which of the valleys running to the sea, South of Beer-sheba, may be identified with this valley of Gerar (see Robinson, 'Physical Geography,' p. 112).

22. *Rehoboth*] Probably identified as to site with the Wady er-Ruhaibeh, where are the ruins of an extensive city, eight hours South of Beer-sheba. Here is an ancient well, now filled up, twelve feet in diameter, and regularly built with hewn stone (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 243; see also 'B. R.' p. 289).

26. *Phichol*] See on v. 1. The name signifies "the mouth of all," which would be applicable to a grand vizier, through whom all might have access to the sovereign, or to a general whose voice gave command to all. The former sense would seem the more probable, if it had not been said that Phichol was "the chief captain of the army."

29. *thou art now the blessed of the LORD*] We have here twice (see v. 28) the sacred name JEHOVAH, used by the heathen king of Gerar. This does not, however, indicate that the writer of this portion of the

30 And he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink.

31 And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace.

32 And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water.

33 And he called it [1]Shebah: [2]therefore the name of the city *is* [2]Beersheba unto this day.

34 ¶ And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite:

35 Which [c]were [f]a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

[1] That is, *an oath.*
[2] That is, *the well of the oath.*
[c] chap. 27. 46.
[f] Heb. *bitterness of spirit.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *Isaac sendeth Esau for venison.* 6 *Rebekah instructeth Jacob to obtain the blessing.* 15 *Jacob under the person of Esau obtaineth it.* 30 *Esau bringeth venison.* 33 *Isaac trembleth.* 34 *Esau complaineth, and by importunity obtaineth a blessing.* 41 *He threateneth Jacob.* 42 *Rebekah disappointeth it.*

AND it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his eldest son, and said

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history had so-called Jehovistic tendencies, or that he simply identified the name JEHOVAH with the name Elohim. Abraham had dwelt for some time in Gerar, either under this very Abimelech, or under his immediate predecessor. Abraham was known as a worshipper of JEHOVAH, and was seen to be blessed and prospered by his God. Now again Abraham's son Isaac comes and sojourns for a long time in the same country. He too worships his father's God, and is seen, like his father, to prosper abundantly. The Philistines therefore recognize him, as his father, to be a worshipper of JEHOVAH, and perceive that he has succeeded to his father in the favour of their great Protector. Abimelech does not profess himself a worshipper of the LORD, but looks on the LORD as the God of Abraham, and sees that Abraham's son Isaac is "*now* the blessed of the LORD."

33. *he called it Shebah: therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day*] Shebah, with a slight change of pointing, means either *seven* or *oath*, seven being a sacred number, and oaths being apparently ratified with presents or sacrifices seven in number (see ch. xxi. 28). There is no inconsistency in the history which tells us that Abraham gave the name of Beer-sheba to this well long before, and under similar circumstances. The well, dug by Abraham, and secured to him by oath, had been covered and lost. It is found by Isaac's servants just after the covenant made between him and Abimelech. The whole series of events recalls to Isaac's mind the original name, and that which gave rise to the name, and so he restores, not the well only, but the name also. "Upon the Northern side of the Wady es-Seba are the two deep and ancient wells, which gave occasion to this name" (Robinson, 'Phys. Geog.' p. 242; 'B. R.' I. p. 300). It is supposed by Robinson, that the one is that dug by Abraham, the other that dug by Isaac, the name having been afterwards given to both.

34. *Esau was forty years old*, &c.] Isaac was now a hundred years old. Esau marries two wives and both of them Canaanites. On account of his polygamy and his marrying without consent of his parents from among the idolatrous Hittites and Hivites (see ch. xxxvi. 2), he is called "a fornicator" by the Apostle (Heb. xii. 16). These two verses do not belong so much to this chapter as to the next. The account of Esau's marriage, and the consequent grief of Isaac and Rebekah, is intended to prepare the way for the succeeding history.

35. *a grief of mind*] **A bitterness of spirit.**

CHAP. XXVII. 1. *Isaac was old*] The Jewish intepreters say he was now one hundred and thirty-seven years old, the age at which Ishmael died fourteen years before, and it is not improbable that the thought of his brother's death at this age put Isaac in mind of his own end. The calculation on which it is inferred that Isaac was one hundred and thirty-seven, Esau and Jacob being seventy-seven at this time, is as follows; Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 46), then came seven years of plenty (v. 47—53), which made Joseph thirty-seven; then two years of famine ere Jacob came into Egypt (ch. xlv. 6), which brings Joseph's age to thirty-nine; but at this time Jacob was one hundred and thirty; therefore Jacob must have been ninety-one when Joseph was born. Now Joseph was born in the last year of the second seven, or in the fourteenth year of Jacob's service with Laban, at the very end of that year

unto him, My son: and he said unto him, Behold, *here am* I.

2 And he said, Behold now, I am old, I know not the day of my death:

3 Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and † take me *some* venison;

† Heb. *hunt.*

4 And make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring *it* to me, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee before I die.

5 And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt *for* venison, *and* to bring *it*.

6 ¶ And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying,

7 Bring me venison, and make me savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee before the LORD before my death.

8 Now therefore, my son, obey my

(ch. xxx. 25, 26). Take fourteen years out of ninety-one, Jacob's age when Joseph was born, and we have seventy-seven for the age of Jacob, when he was sent away from the wrath of Esau to the house of Laban. (See Lightfoot's 'Harmony of Old Testament' in loc., works by Pitman, 1822, Vol. II. pp. 96, 97). If this calculation be true, Isaac had still forty-three years to live, his quiet life having been extended to an unusual length. There is however great risk of numerical calculations from various causes being inexact. The last chapter had brought us down only to the hundredth year of Isaac's life, Esau being then but forty; and in some respects an earlier date seems more accordant with the tenor of the subsequent history, it being hardly probable that Jacob should have been seventy-seven when he fled to Laban and served seven years for his wife, and then another seven years for his second wife; even at a period when human life was still extended so far beyond that of future generations. On the chronology of Jacob's life see note at the end of ch. xxxi.

3. *quiver*] So LXX., Vulg., Pseudo-Jon.: but Onkelos, Syr. have "sword." The Jewish commentators are divided between the two senses. The word occurs nowhere else, but is derived from a verb meaning to "hang," to "suspend," which would suit either the quiver which hung over the shoulder, or the sword, the "hanger," which was suspended by the side.

4. *that my soul may bless thee*] There appears a singular mixture of the carnal and the spiritual in this. Isaac recognizes his own character as that of the priestly and prophetic head of his house, privileged to bless as father and priest, and to foretell the fortunes of his family in succession to Abraham in his office of the prophet of God. Yet his carnal affection causes him to forget the response to the enquiry of Rebekah, "the elder shall serve the younger," and the fact that Esau had sold his birthright and alienated it from him for ever by a solemn oath. Moreover, in order that his heart may be the more warmed to him whom he desires to bless, he seeks to have some of that savoury meat brought to him which he loved.

6. *Rebekah spake unto Jacob*] She had no doubt treasured up the oracle which had assured her, even before their birth, that her younger son Jacob, whom she loved, should bear rule over Esau, whose wild and reckless life, and whose Canaanitish wives had been a "bitterness of soul" to her. She probably knew that Jacob had bought Esau's birthright. Now, believing rightly that the father's benediction would surely bring blessing with it, she fears that these promises and hopes would fail. She believed, but not with that faith, which can patiently abide till God works out His plans by His Providence. So she strove, as it were, to force forward the event by unlawful means; even, as some have thought that Judas betrayed Christ that he might force Him to declare Himself a king and to take the kingdom. Every character in this remarkable history comes in for some share of blame, and yet some share of praise. Isaac, with the dignity of the ancient patriarch and faith in the inspiring Spirit of God, prepares to bless his son, but he lets carnal and worldly motives weigh with him. Rebekah and Jacob, seeing the promises afar off and desiring the spiritual blessings, yet practise deceit and fraud to obtain them, instead of waiting till He who promised should shew Himself faithful. Esau, defrauded of what seems his right, exhibits a natural feeling of sorrow and indignation, which excites our pity and sympathy; but we have to remember how "for a morsel of meat he sold his birthright," and that so, when he would have inherited the promises he was rejected, being set forth as an example of the unavailing regret of such as wantonly despise spiritual privileges, and when they have lost them, seek too late for the blessings to which they lead.

voice according to that which I command thee.

9 Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats; and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth:

10 And thou shalt bring *it* to thy father, that he may eat, and that he may bless thee before his death.

11 And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother *is* a hairy man, and I *am* a smooth man:

12 My father peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.

13 And his mother said unto him, Upon me *be* thy curse, my son: only obey my voice, and go fetch me *them*.

14 And he went, and fetched, and brought *them* to his mother: and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father loved.

15 And Rebekah took [t] goodly raiment of her eldest son Esau, which *were* with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her younger son:

16 And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck:

17 And she gave the savoury meat and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son Jacob.

18 ¶ And he came unto his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here *am* I; who *art* thou, my son?

19 And Jacob said unto his father, I *am* Esau thy firstborn; I have done according as thou badest me: arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me.

20 And Isaac said unto his son, How *is it* that thou hast found *it* so quickly, my son? And he said, Because the LORD thy God brought *it* [t] to me.

21 And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou *be* my very son Esau or not.

22 And Jacob went near unto Isaac his father; and he felt him, and said, The voice *is* Jacob's voice, but the hands *are* the hands of Esau.

23 And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him.

24 And he said, *Art* thou my very son Esau? And he said, I *am*.

[t] Heb. *desirable.*

[t] Heb. *before me.*

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15. *goodly raiment of her elder son Esau*] St Jerome ('Qu. Hebr.' in loc.) mentions it as a tradition of the rabbins, that the firstborn in the patriarchal times, holding the office of priesthood, had a sacerdotal vestment in which they offered sacrifice; and it was this sacerdotal vestment which was kept by Rebekah for Esau, and which was now put upon Jacob. See on ch. xxxvii. 3.

16. *the skins of the kids of the goats*] Martial (Lib. XII. Epig. 46) alludes to kid skins as used by the Romans for false hair to conceal baldness. The wool of the oriental goats is much longer and finer than of those of this country. (Cp. Cant. iv. 1. See Bochart, 'Hieroz.' p. 1, Lib. II. c. 51. See also Rosenm., Tuch, &c.)

18. *who art thou, my son?*] The anxiety and trepidation of Isaac appear in these words. He had perhaps some misgiving as to the blessing of Esau, and doubted whether God would prosper him in the chase and bring him home with venison to his father.

20. *Because the LORD thy God brought it to me*] The covering of his falsehood with this appeal to the Most High is the worst part of Jacob's conduct. In the use of the names of God, Jacob speaks of JEHOVAH as the God of his father. A little further on in the history, Jacob vows that, if he is prospered in his journey, then JEHOVAH shall be his God (ch. xxviii. 21). This is exactly accordant with the general use of these sacred names. Elohism would, so to speak, correspond with our word Theism. Though Jacob was a believer in JEHOVAH, yet revelation in those early days was but slight, and the knowledge of the patriarchs imperfect. There were gods of nations round about. JEHOVAH had revealed Himself to Abraham and was Abraham's God, and again to Isaac, and Isaac had served Him as his God. It is quite possible that Esau, with his heathen wives, may have been but a half worshipper of JEHOVAH; but Jacob recognizes Him as the God of his father Isaac (cp. ch. xxxi. 53), and afterwards solemnly chooses Him as the object of his own worship and service. See however note on ch. xxviii. 2.

25 And he said, Bring *it* near to me, and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought *it* near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him wine, and he drank.

26 And his father Isaac said unto him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son.

27 And he came near, and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son *is* as the smell of a field which the LORD hath blessed:

Ch. 11. 28 Therefore [a]God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine:

29 Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed *be* every one that curseth thee, and blessed *be* he that blesseth thee.

30 ¶ And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother came in from his hunting.

31 And he also had made savoury meat, and brought it unto his father, and said unto his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's venison, that thy soul may bless me.

32 And Isaac his father said unto him, Who *art* thou? And he said, I *am* thy son, thy firstborn Esau.

33 And Isaac [†]trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who? where *is* he that hath [†]taken venison, and brought *it* me, and I have eaten [‡]of all before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, *and* he shall be blessed.

[†] Heb. *trembled with a great trembling.*
[‡] Heb. *hunted.*

34 And when Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, *even* me also, O my father.

35 And he said, Thy brother came with subtilty, and hath taken away thy blessing.

36 And he said, Is not he rightly named [‖]Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?

[‖] That is, *a supplanter.*

37 And Isaac answered and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him

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26. *kiss me*] Tuch. has suggested that Isaac asked his son to kiss him, that he might distinguish the shepherd who would smell of the flock from the huntsman who would smell of the field. It may have been so (see next verse), or it may have only been paternal love.

28. *God*] Lit. *The God*, i.e. that God just named, the God of thy Father, viz. JEHOVAH. It does not indicate (as Keil) "the personal God," nor is it (as some would have it) a Jehovistic formula. The article is perfectly natural as referring to Jacob's words v. 20. The blessing is, as usual, thrown into the poetic form of an antistrophic parallelism.

29. *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee*] This was fulfilled in the extensive dominions of the descendants of Jacob under David and Solomon, but, no doubt, has a fuller reference to the time when "the LORD should arise upon Israel, and His glory should be seen on her, when Gentiles should come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising"...when "the abundance of the sea should be converted unto her, the forces of the Gentiles should come unto her" (Isa. lx. 5, 6. Cp. Rom. xi. 25).

29. *cursed be every one*, &c.] This is the continued promise to the chosen race, first given (Gen. xii. 3) to Abraham. It is observed, however, that Isaac does not pronounce on Jacob that emphatic spiritual blessing, which God Himself had assured to Abraham twice (xii. 3; xxii. 18), and to Isaac once (xxvi. 4), "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." There was something carnal and sinful in the whole conduct of the persons concerned in the history of this chapter, Isaac, Rebekah, Jacob, Esau: and it may have been this which withheld for the time the brightest promise to the family of Abraham; or perhaps it may have been that that promise should come only from the mouth of God Himself, as it is given afterwards in ch. xxviii. 14.

36. *Is not he rightly named Jacob?*] Lit. "Is it that he is called Jacob, and he supplanteth or outwitteth me these two times?"

thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with corn and wine have I ‖ sustained him: and what shall I do now unto thee, my son?

‖ Or, *supported.*

38 And Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me, *even* me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept.

[b] Heb. 12. 17.

39 And Isaac his father answered and said unto him, Behold, [c] thy dwelling shall be [f] the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above;

[c] ver. 28.

[f] Or, *of the fatness.*

40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.

41 ¶ And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed *him*: and Esau said in his heart, The days of mourning for my father are at hand; [d] then will I slay my brother Jacob.

[d] Obad. 10

42 And these words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah: and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself, *purposing* to kill thee.

43 Now therefore, my son, obey my voice; and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran;

44 And tarry with him a few days, until thy brother's fury turn away;

45 Until thy brother's anger turn away from thee, and he forget *that* which thou hast done to him: then I will send, and fetch thee from thence: why should I be deprived also of you both in one day?

A paronomasia on the name Jacob. See on ch. xxv. 26. The words seem to mean, Is there not a connection between the meaning of his name Jacob, and the fact that he thus supplants or outwits me?

39. *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above*] Lit. "from the fatness of the earth and from the dew of heaven." Castalio, Le Clerc, Knobel, Del., Keil, render the preposition "from" by "far from." So apparently Gesenius ('Thes.' p. 805, *absque, sine*). But the Authorized Version corresponds with the ancient versions. The very same words with the very same preposition occur in v. 28, and it is difficult to make that preposition partitive in v. 28, and privative in v. 39.

40. *by thy sword thou shalt live, and shalt serve thy brother*, &c.] Josephus ('B. J.' IV. 4. 1) describes the Edomites as a tumultuous, disorderly race, and all their history seems to confirm the truth of this description. The prophecy thus delivered by Isaac was fulfilled in every particular. At first Esau, the elder, seemed to prosper more than his brother Jacob. There were dukes in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 31); and whilst Israel was in bondage in Egypt, Edom was an independent people. But Saul defeated and David conquered the Edomites (1 S. xiv. 47; 2 S. viii. 14), and they were, notwithstanding some revolts, constantly subject to Judah (see 1 K. xi. 14; 2 K. xiv. 7, 22; 2 Chr. xxv. 11; xxvi. 2) till the reign of Ahaz, when they threw off the yoke (2 K. xvi. 6; 2 Chr. xxviii. 7). Judas Maccabæus defeated them frequently (1 Macc. v.; 2 Macc. x.). At last his nephew Hyrcanus completely conquered them, and compelled them to be circumcised, and incorporated them into the Jewish nation (Joseph. 'Ant.' XIII. 9. 1); though finally under Antipater and Herod they established an Idumæan dynasty, which continued till the destruction of the Jewish polity.

when thou shalt have dominion] More probably **when thou shalt toss** (the yoke). So the LXX., Vulg. (*excutias*); Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1269; Hengst., Keil, &c. The allusion is to the restlessness of the fierce Edomite under the yoke of the Jewish dominion. The prophecy was fulfilled when they revolted under Joram and again under Ahaz; and finally when they gave a race of rulers to Judæa in the persons of Herod and his sons (see last note).

43. *Haran*] It appears that not only Abraham and the family of his brother Haran must have left Ur of the Chaldees (see ch. xi. 31); but that the family of Nahor must have followed them to Haran, which is therefore called "the city of Nahor" (ch. xxiv. 10). The name Harran still remains in the centre of the cultivated district at the foot of the hills lying between the Khabour and the Euphrates.

45. *why should I be deprived also of you both in one day?*] *i.e.* of Jacob by the hand of Esau, and of Esau by the hand of justice (ch. ix. 6). The sacred history has shewn us the sins and errors of the family of Isaac; it here briefly but emphatically exhibits the distress

[e] chap. 26. 35. 46 And Rebekah said to Isaac, [e] I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these *which are* of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Isaac blesseth Jacob, and sendeth him to Padan-aram.* 6 *Esau marrieth Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael.* 10 *The vision of Jacob's ladder.* 18 *The stone of Beth-el.* 20 *Jacob's vow.*

AND Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan.

[a] Hos. 12. 12. 2 [a] Arise, go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.

3 And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be [†] a multitude of people;

[†] Heb. *an assembly of people.*

4 And give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land [†] wherein thou art a stranger, which God gave unto Abraham.

[†] Heb. *of thy sojournings.*

5 And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Padan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother.

6 ¶ When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan;

7 And that Jacob obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Padan-aram;

8 And Esau seeing that the daughters of Canaan [†] pleased not Isaac his father;

[†] Heb. *were evil in the eyes, &c.*

9 Then went Esau unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife.

10 ¶ And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward [b] Haran.

[b] Called, Acts 7. 2, *Charran.*

11 And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night,

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and misery which at once followed; Isaac and Rebekah left in their old age by both their children; idols become scourges; Esau disappointed and disinherited; Jacob banished from his home, destined to a long servitude and a life of disquietude and suffering. Even those, whom God chooses and honours, cannot sin against Him without reaping, at least in this world, the fruit of evil doings (1 Cor. xi. 32).

CHAP. XXVIII. 1. *Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him*] Isaac has learned that God had decreed that Jacob should be the heir of the promises, the recipient of the blessings. Accordingly, in v. 4, he invokes on Jacob "the blessing of Abraham," that "he and his seed should inherit the land of his sojourning," and no doubt also the spiritual blessings pronounced on the descendants of Abraham.

2. *Padan-aram*] See on xxiv. 10, xxv. 20, xxvii. 43.

Bethuel] This looks as if Bethuel were still living, not as the Jewish tradition says, that he died before Isaac's marriage. It is more likely that he was either naturally of weak character, or enfeebled by age. (See on ch. xxiv. 50.)

3. *God Almighty*] "El-Shaddai." It was under this name that God appeared to Abraham, ch. xvii. 1, and gave him the blessing to which Isaac now refers.

4. *the land wherein thou art a stranger*] Lit. **the land of thy sojournings.**

8. *pleased not*] Lit. **were evil in the eyes of.**

11. *he lighted upon a certain place*] Lit. **he lighted on the place.** The definite article probably indicates either that it was the place appointed by God, or that it was the place afterwards so famous from God's revelation to Jacob. We may well picture to ourselves the feelings of Jacob on this night, a solitary wanderer from his father's house, going back from the land of promise, conscious of sin and in the midst of danger, with a dark and doubtful future before him, yet hitherto having always cherished the hope of being the chosen of God to bear the honours and privileges of his house, to have the inheritance promised to Abraham, and now too with

because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put *them for* his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep.

12 And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.

13 [c] And, behold, the LORD stood above it, and said, I *am* the LORD God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed;

14 And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt [†] spread abroad [d] to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and [e] in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

15 And, behold, I *am* with thee, and will keep thee in all *places* whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done *that* which I have spoken to thee of.

16 ¶ And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew *it* not.

17 And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful *is* this place! this *is* none other but the house of God, and this *is* the gate of heaven.

18 And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put *for* his pillows, and set it up *for* a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.

19 And he called the name of that place [‖] Beth-el: but the name of that city *was called* Luz at the first.

20 And Jacob vowed a vow, say-

c chap. 35. 1. & 48. 3.
† Heb. *break forth.*
d Deut. 12. 20.
e chap. 12. 3. & 18. 18. & 22. 18. & 26. 4.
‖ That is, *the house of God.*

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the words of Isaac's blessing just ringing in his ears. Whether would fear or faith prevail?

12. *a ladder*] God takes this opportunity to impress Jacob more deeply with the sense of His presence, to encourage him with promises of protection and to reveal to him His purpose of mercy and love.

The ladder might only indicate that there was a way from God to man, and that man might by God's help mount up by it to heaven, that angels went up from man to God, and came down from God to man, and that there was a continual providence watching over the servants of God. So the dream would teach and comfort the heart of the dreamer. But we cannot doubt, that there was a deeper meaning in the vision thus vouchsafed to the heir of the promises, in the hour of his greatest desolation, and when the sense of sin must have been most heavy on his soul. Our Lord Himself teaches (John i. 51), that the ladder signified the Son of Man, Him, who was now afresh promised as to be of the Seed of Jacob (v. 14); Him, by whom alone we go to God (John xiv. 6); who is the way to heaven, and who has now gone there to prepare a place for us.

13. *the LORD stood above it*] Onkelos renders "the glory of the LORD."

16. *Surely the LORD is in this place*] It is possible that Jacob may not have had quite so intelligent a conviction of God's omnipresence as Christians have; but it is apparent throughout the patriarchal history that special sanctity was attached to special places. This feeling is encouraged by the highest sanction in Ex. iii. 5.

18. *set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it*] This was probably the most ancient and simplest form of temple or place for religious worship; excepting the altar of stones or earth for a burnt sacrifice. Whether this is the first example of such an erection we cannot judge. It was a very natural and obvious way of marking the sanctity of a spot; as in Christian times wayside crosses and the like have been set up so frequently. The pouring oil on it was a significant rite, though what may have been the full significance to Jacob's mind it is not easy to say. St Augustine ('De C. D.' XVI. 38) says that it was not that he might sacrifice to the stone or worship it, but that as *Christ* is named from *chrism*, or unction, so there was a great mystery (*sacramentum*) in this anointing of the stone with oil. The constant connection in religious thought between unction and sanctification seems a more probable solution of the question.

19. *Beth-el*] Abraham had built an altar in this neighbourhood (xii. 8, xiii. 4); and it is possible that the spot thus sanctified may have been the very place which Jacob lighted on (v. 11), and which he found to be the house of God and the gate of heaven.

The place consecrated perhaps first by Abraham's altar, and afterwards by Jacob's vision and pillar, was plainly distinct from the *city* which was "called Luz at the first," and which afterwards received the name of Bethel

ing, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on,

21 So that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the LORD be my God:

22 And this stone, which I have set *for* a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *Jacob cometh to the well of Haran.* 9 *He taketh acquaintance of Rachel.* 13 *Laban entertaineth him.* 18 *Jacob covenanteth for Rachel.* 23 *He is deceived with Leah.* 28 *He marrieth also Rachel, and serveth for her seven years more.* 32 *Leah beareth Reuben,* 33 *Simeon,* 34 *Levi,* 35 *and Judah.*

THEN Jacob † went on his journey, and came into the land of the † people of the east. † Heb. *lift up his feet.* † Heb. *children.*

2 And he looked, and behold a well in the field, and, lo, there *were* three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and a great stone *was* upon the well's mouth.

3 And thither were all the flocks

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from its proximity to the sanctuary. So late as the time of Joshua (see Josh. xvi. 1, 2) the two places were distinct. When the tribe of Joseph took the city (Judg. i. 21—26), they appear to have given to the *city* the name of Bethel, formerly attaching only to the sanctuary, and thenceforward, the name Luz having been transferred to another town, the old town of Luz is always called Bethel. According to Eusebius and Jerome ('Onomast.' art. *βαιθήλ*) it lay about twelve miles from Jerusalem on the road to Sichem. Its ruins are still called by the name of *Beitin*. The rocky character of the hills around, and the stony nature of the soil, have been much noted by travellers (see Robinson, 'B. R.' II. pp. 127—130, and Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' pp. 217—223). It has been thought by many that this act of Jacob, in setting up a stone to mark a sacred spot, was the origin of Cromlechs and all sacred stones. Certainly we find in later ages the custom of having stones, and those too anointed with oil, as objects of idolatrous worship. Clem. Alex. ('Stromat.' Lib. VII. p. 713) speaks of "worshipping every oily stone," and Arnobius, ('Adv. Gentes,' Lib. I. 39), in like manner, refers to the worshipping of "a stone smeared with oil, as though there were in it a present power." It has been conjectured farther that the name *Bætulia*, given to stones, called animated stones (*λίθοι ἔμψυχοι*), by the Phœnicians (Euseb. 'Præp. Evang.' I. 10) was derived from this name of Bethel. (See Spencer, 'De Legg.' I. 2; Bochart, 'Canaan,' II. 2.) These Bætulia, however, were meteoric stones, and derived their sanctity from the belief that they had fallen from heaven: and the name has probably but a fancied likeness to the name Bethel. Still the connection of the subsequent worship of stones with the primitive and pious use of them to mark places of worship is most probably a real connection. The erection of all such stones for worship was strictly forbidden in later times (see Lev. xxvi. 1; Deut. xvi. 22, &c.). What was good in its origin had become evil in its abuse.

21. *then shall the* LORD *be my God*] So the LXX., Vulg., Syr.; but the Arab. and several of the Hebrew commentators put these words in the protasis; "And if the LORD will be my God, then shall this stone be God's house," &c. The Hebrew is ambiguous, and so is the Targum of Onkelos: but the change of construction and of tense certainly appears to be at the beginning of v. 22, for all the verbs, beginning with "will keep me" in v. 20 to the end of v. 21, are in the same form (the perfect with vau conversive); and in verse 22 there is a change to the future. If this be so, the whole passage will then run, "If God will be with me and will keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and if I come again to my father's house in peace, and if the LORD will be my God, then shall this stone, which I have set for a pillar, be the house of God, and of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give a tenth unto Thee." The fulfilment of this vow is related in ch. xxxv. 15, where God again appears to Jacob on his return from Padan-aram, and Jacob restores the pillar which he had before set up, and again solemnly gives it the name of Bethel, "the house of God" (see Quarry, 'on Genesis,' p. 486).

22. *give the tenth unto thee*] In ch. xiv. 20, we have an instance of Abraham giving tithes to Melchizedek. Here we have another proof that the duty of giving a tenth to God was recognized before the giving of the Law.

CHAP. XXIX. 1. *Then Jacob*, &c.] Lit. "Then Jacob lifted up his feet and came into the land of the children of the East," *i.e.* into Mesopotamia, which lies East of Judæa.

2. *he looked, and behold a well*] Cp. ch. xxiv. 11—15. The similarity of the two stories results from the unvarying customs of

gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place.

4 And Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence *be* ye? And they said, Of Haran *are* we.

5 And he said unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? And they said, We know *him*.

† Heb. [Is there peace to him?

6 And he said unto them, †*Is* he well? And they said, *He is* well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.

† Heb. yet the day is great.

7 And he said, Lo, †*it is* yet high day, neither *is it* time that the cattle should be gathered together: water ye the sheep, and go *and* feed *them*.

8 And they said, We cannot, until all the flocks be gathered together, and *till* they roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep.

9 ¶ And while he yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep: for she kept them.

10 And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's brother.

11 And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.

12 And Jacob told Rachel that he *was* her father's brother, and that he *was* Rebekah's son: and she ran and told her father.

13 And it came to pass, when Laban heard the †tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all these things.

† Heb. hearing.

14 And Laban said to him, Surely thou *art* my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him †the space of a month.

† Heb. a month of days.

15 ¶ And Laban said unto Jacob, Because thou *art* my brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me for nought? tell me, what *shall* thy wages *be?*

16 And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder *was* Leah, and the name of the younger *was* Rachel.

17 Leah *was* tender eyed; but Rachel was beautiful and well favoured.

18 And Jacob loved Rachel; and said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.

19 And Laban said, *It is* better

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the East, and from the natural halting place being a well outside a city.

5. *Laban the son of Nahor*] *i.e.* the descendant, the grandson of Nahor. Just as in v. 12, Jacob calls himself the brother of Laban, being in truth his nephew. The omission of Bethuel is here again observable.

6. *Is he well?*] Lit. "Is it peace to him?"

8. *We cannot*] Probably because there was an agreement not to roll away the stone till all were assembled, not because the stone was too heavy for three shepherds to move.

9. *Rachel came with her father's sheep*] So Ex. ii. 16, the daughters of Reuel, the priest of Midian, led their father's sheep to water. And even now among the Arabs it is not beneath the daughter of an Emir to water the sheep.

13. *he told Laban all these things*] *i.e.* probably the cause of his exile from home, his father's blessing and command to him to marry a wife of his mother's kindred, and the various events of his journey.

14. *the space of a month*] Lit. "a month of days;" the word "days" being frequently added to a note of time, as we might say "a month long," or as here in the Authorized Version, "the space of a month."

17. *tender eyed*] *i.e.* weak eyed, so LXX., Vulg., &c.

18. *I will serve thee seven years for Rachel*] In the case of Isaac and Rebekah, Abraham's servant gives handsome presents to Rebekah, ch. xxiv. 53, the Eastern custom at marriages. Jacob could give neither presents nor dowry, for he was a fugitive from his father's house, and describes himself as having passed over Jordan with only his staff (ch. xxxii. 10). He proposes therefore to serve Laban seven years, if he will give him his daughter to wife, a proposal, which Laban's grasping disposition prompts him to accept, even from one whom he calls brother and of his own bone and flesh (vv. 14, 15).

19. *It is better that I should give her to thee*, &c.] It has always been the custom

that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me.

20 And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him *but* a few days, for the love he had to her.

21 ¶ And Jacob said unto Laban, Give *me* my wife, for my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her.

22 And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast.

23 And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her.

24 And Laban gave unto his daughter Leah Zilpah his maid *for* an handmaid.

25 And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold, it *was* Leah: and he said to Laban, What *is* this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me?

26 And Laban said, It must not be so done in our [t]country, to give the younger before the firstborn.

27 Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.

28 And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife also.

29 And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her maid.

30 And he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.

31 ¶ And when the LORD saw that Leah *was* hated, he opened her womb: but Rachel *was* barren.

32 And Leah conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name [l]Reuben: for she said, Surely the LORD hath looked upon my affliction; now therefore my husband will love me.

33 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because the LORD hath heard that I *was* hated, he hath therefore given me this *son* also: and she called his name [l]Simeon.

[t] Heb. *place.*

[l] That is, *see a son.*

[l] That is, *hearing.*

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with Eastern tribes to prefer marrying among their own kindred.

20. *but a few days, for the love he had to her*] He loved Rachel so much, that he valued the labour of seven years as though it were the labour of but few days in comparison with the great prize, which that labour was to bring him.

24. *Zilpah his maid for an handmaid*] So ch. xxiv. 61.

25. *it was Leah*] This deception was possible, because there appears to have been no religious or other solemn ceremony, in which the bride was presented to the bridegroom, and the veil in which brides were veiled was so long and close that it concealed, not only the face, but much of the figure also.

27. *Fulfil her week*] *i.e.* celebrate the marriage feast for a week with Leah (cp. Judg. xiv. 12); and after that we will give thee Rachel also. "It was not after another week of years that he should receive Rachel to wife; but after the seven days of the first wife's nuptials." (St Jerome, 'Qu. Hebr.' in loc.) It has been observed that the fraud practised by Laban on Jacob was a fit penalty for the fraud practised by Jacob on Isaac and Esau. The polygamy of Jacob must be explained on the same principle as that of Abraham. It had not yet been expressly forbidden by the revealed law of God. The marriage of two sisters also was afterwards condemned (Lev. xviii. 18), but as yet there had been no such prohibition.

31. *was hated*] *i.e.* less loved (cp. Mal. i. 3).

32. *Reuben*] *i.e.* "Behold a son." The words which follow are but one of those plays on a name so general in these early days; they do not give the etymology of the name; they have however led some to think that the meaning of "Reuben" is rather "the son of vision," or as Jerome interprets it, "the son of God's gracious regard," *filium respectus gratuiti.* The Syr. and Josephus give the name as Reubel, the latter explaining it as "the pity of God" ('Ant.' I. 19. 8), which is supported by Michaelis, though it is obviously a corrupt reading (see Rosenm. in loc. and Gesen. p. 1247).

33. *Simeon*] *i.e.* "hearing." The birth of her first son convinces her that God hath *seen* her, the second that God hath *heard* her.

34 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have born him three sons: therefore was his name called [1]Levi.

35 And she conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, Now will I praise the LORD: therefore she called his name [a][1]Judah; and [†]left bearing.

[1] That is, *joined.*

[a] Matt. 1. 2.

[1] That is, *praise.*

[†] Heb. *stood from bearing.*

CHAPTER XXX.

1 *Rachel, in grief for her barrenness, giveth Bilhah her maid unto Jacob.* 5 *She beareth Dan and Naphtali.* 9 *Leah giveth Zilpah her maid, who beareth Gad and Asher.* 14 *Reuben findeth mandrakes, with which Leah buyeth her husband of Rachel.* 17 *Leah beareth Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah.* 22 *Rachel beareth Joseph.* 25 *Jacob desireth to depart.* 27 *Laban stayeth him on a new covenant.* 37 *Jacob's policy, whereby he became rich.*

AND when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister; and said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else I die.

2 And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, *Am* I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?

3 And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also [†]have children by her.

[†] Heb. *be built by her.*

4 And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her.

5 And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son.

6 And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore called she his name [1]Dan.

[1] That is, *judging.*

7 And Bilhah Rachel's maid conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son.

8 And Rachel said, With [†]great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed: and she called his name [1][a]Naphtali.

[†] Heb. *wrestlings of God.*

[1] That is, *my wrestling.*

[a] Called, Matt. 4. 13, *Nephthalim.*

9 When Leah saw that she had left bearing, she took Zilpah her maid, and gave her Jacob to wife.

10 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a son.

11 And Leah said, A troop cometh: and she called his name [1]Gad.

[1] That is, *a troop, or, company.*

12 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a second son.

13 And Leah said, [†]Happy am I, for the daughters will call me blessed: and she called his name [1]Asher.

[†] Heb. *In my happiness.*

[1] That is, *happy.*

14 ¶ And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them

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34. *Levi*] "Association" or "associated."

35. *Judah*] *i.e.* "praised" (from the Hophal future of *Jadah*).

CHAP. XXX. 3. *that I may also have children by her*] Lit. "that I may be built up by her." (See on ch. xvi. 2.)

6. *Dan*] *i.e.* "judge."

8. *With great wrestlings*] Lit. "with wrestlings of God." The LXX. renders "God has helped me," and Onkelos, "God has received my prayer." So virtually the Syriac. Though the addition of the name of God often expresses a superlative, yet "wrestling" being a type of prayer, it is most probable that in this passage the allusion is to Rachel's earnest striving in prayer with God for the blessing of offspring. (So Hengst., Del., Keil.) Above, v. 1, Rachel had manifested impatience and neglect of prayer, seeking from Jacob what only could be given of God. Jacob's remonstrance with her, v. 2, may have directed her to wiser and better thoughts.

11. *A troop cometh*] Rather, **Good fortune cometh**, or, "in good fortune," *i.e.* happily, prosperously. The rendering of the Authorized Version is favoured by the Samaritan version, and has been supposed to be in accordance with ch. xlix. 19. The latter, however, may have no reference to the derivation, but be only the common Oriental play upon a word. The LXX., Vulg., Syr., Onk., Jerus., Pseudo-Jon., all interpret *Gad* to mean "success," "good fortune," "prosperity." So Gesen., Rosenm., Knobel, Del., Keil, &c.

13. *Happy am I*, &c.] Lit. **in my happiness** (*am I*), **for the daughters call me happy; and she called his name Asher**, *i.e.* happy.

14. *mandrakes*] So with great unanimity the ancient versions and most of the Jewish commentators. There is little doubt that the plant was really the *atropa mandragora*, a species closely allied to the deadly nightshade (*atropa belladonna*). It is not uncommon in Palestine (Tristram, pp. 103, 104). It is said to be a narcotic, and to have stupefying and even intoxicating properties. It has

unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes.

15 And she said unto her, *Is it* a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with thee to night for thy son's mandrakes.

16 And Jacob came out of the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for surely I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that night.

17 And God hearkened unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob the fifth son.

18 And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I have given my maiden to my husband: and she called his name [1]Issachar.

[1] That is, *an hire.*

19 And Leah conceived again, and bare Jacob the sixth son.

20 And Leah said, God hath endued me *with* a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have born him six sons: and she called his name [1][b]Zebulun.

[1] That is, *dwelling.* [b] Called, Matt. 4. 13, *Zabulon.*

21 And afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name [1]Dinah.

[1] That is, *judgment.*

22 ¶ And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb.

23 And she conceived, and bare a son; and said, God hath taken away my reproach:

24 And she called his name [1]Joseph; and said, The LORD shall add to me another son.

[1] That is, *adding.*

25 ¶ And it came to pass, when Rachel had born Joseph, that Jacob

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broad leaves and green apples, which become pale yellow when ripe, with a strong tuberous bifid root, in which Pythagoras discerned a likeness to the human form, whence many ancient fables concerning it. They are still found ripe about the time of wheat harvest on the lower ranges of Lebanon and Hermon. The apples are said to produce dizziness; the Arabs believe them to be exhilarating and stimulating even to insanity; hence the name *tuffah el jan*, "apples of the jan" (Thomson, 'Land and Book,' p. 577). The ancients believed them calculated to produce fruitfulness, and they were used as philtres to conciliate love, hence their name in Hebrew, *dudaim*, *i.e.* love-apples. Rachel evidently shared in this superstitious belief. (See Heid. Tom. II. Ex. xix.; Winer, 'R. W. B.' voc. *Abram;* Ges. 'Thes.' p. 324; Rosenm. in loc.; Smith's 'Dict.' voc. *mandrake*), &c.

18. *Issachar*] *i.e.* "there is a reward."

20. *Zebulun*] *i.e.* "dwelling," derived from *zabal*, to dwell, with a play on the word *Zabad*, "to give, to endow."

21. *Dinah*] *i.e.* "judgment." It is thought that Jacob had other daughters (see ch. xxxvii. 35; xlvi. 7). Daughters, as they did not constitute links in a genealogy, are not mentioned except when some important history attaches to them, as in this case the history in ch. xxxiv.

24. *Joseph*] *i.e.* "adding," from *jasaph*, "to add," with a play on *asaph*, "to take away."

25. *when Rachel had born Joseph*] It has been inferred from this, that Joseph was born at the end of the second seven years of Jacob's servitude; though it is by no means certain that Jacob demanded his dismissal at the first possible moment. The words of this verse seem to indicate that Jacob did not desire to leave Laban, at all events till after Joseph's birth. Many reasons may have induced him to remain in Padan-aram longer than the stipulated fourteen years; the youth of his children unfitting them for a long journey, the pregnancy of some of his wives, the unhappy temper of his beloved Rachel, whom he may have been unwilling to take from her parents, till she had a son of her own to comfort her; above all, the fear of Esau's anger, who had resolved to slay him. There is nothing necessarily inconsistent in the narrative. It is possible that Leah should have borne 6, Rachel 1, Bilhah 2, and Zilpah 2 sons in seven years. It is not certain that Dinah was born at this time at all. Her birth is only incidentally noticed. It would be possible even that Zebulun should have been borne by Leah later than Joseph by Rachel; it being by no means necessary that we should believe all the births to have followed in the order in which they are enumerated, which is in the order of mothers, not of births. The common explanation is, that the first four sons of Leah were born as rapidly as possible, one after the other, in the first four years of marriage. In the meantime, not necessarily after the birth of Leah's fourth son, Rachel gives her maid to Jacob, and so very probably Bilhah gave birth to Dan and Naphtali before the birth of Ju-

said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may go unto mine own place, and to my country.

26 Give *me* my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my service which I have done thee.

27 And Laban said unto him, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thine eyes, *tarry: for* I have learned by experience that the LORD hath blessed me for thy sake.

28 And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give *it*.

29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy cattle was with me.

30 For *it was* little which thou hadst before I *came*, and it is *now* †increased unto a multitude; and the LORD hath blessed thee †since my coming: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also?

31 And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me any thing: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed *and* keep thy flock:

32 I will pass through all thy flock to day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and *of such* shall be my hire.

33 So shall my righteousness answer for me †in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that *is* not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me.

34 And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word.

35 And he removed that day the he goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she goats that were speckled and spotted, *and* every one that had *some* white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave *them* into the hand of his sons.

36 And he set three days' journey

† Heb. *broken forth.*
† Heb. *at my foot.*
† Heb. *to morrow.*

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dah. Leah, then finding that she was not likely to bear another son soon, may, in the state of jealousy between the two sisters, have given Zilpah to Jacob, of whom were born Asher and Naphtali, and then again in the very last year of the seven, at the beginning of it, Leah may have borne Issachar, and at the end of it Zebulun. Another difficulty has been found in Reuben's finding the mandrakes: but there is no reason why he should have been more than four years old, when he discovered them, and attracted by their flowers and fruits, brought them to his mother. (See Petav. 'De Doct. Temp.' x. 19; Heid. II. Exer. xv. xviii.; Kurtz 'on the Old Covenant,' in loc.; Keil in loc. &c., and note at end of ch. xxxi.)

27. *I have learned by experience*] **I have learned by divination**, literally either "I have hissed, muttered" (so Knobel on ch. xliv. 5), or more probably, "I have divined by omens deduced from serpents" (Boch. 'Hier.' I. 20; Gesen. 'Th.' p. 875). The heathenism of Laban's household appears by ch. xxxi. 19, 32; and though Laban acknowledged the LORD as Jacob's God, this did not prevent him from using idolatrous and heathenish practices. It is however quite possible that the word here used may have acquired a wider signification, originally meaning to "divine," but then having the general sense of "investigate," "discover," "learn by enquiry," &c.

30. *increased*] Lit. **broken forth.**

since my coming] Lit. "at my foot," *i.e.* God sent blessing to thee following on my footsteps, wherever I went. (See Ges. 'Th.' p. 1262.)

32. *removing from thence all the spotted and speckled cattle*] It is said, that in the East the sheep are generally white, very rarely black or spotted, and that the goats are black or brown, rarely speckled with white. Jacob therefore proposes to separate from the flock all the spotted and speckled sheep and goats, which would be comparatively few, and to tend only that part of the flock which was pure white or black. He is then to have for his hire only those lambs and kids, born of the unspeckled flock, which themselves should be marked with spots and speckles and ringstrakes. Laban naturally thinks that these will be very few; so he accepts the offer, and, to make matters the surer, he removes all the spotted and ringstraked goats, and all the sheep with any brown in them, three days' journey from the flock of white sheep and brown goats to be left under Jacob's care (see

betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.

37 ¶ And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chesnut tree; and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which *was* in the rods.

38 And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink.

39 And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted.

40 And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle.

41 And it came to pass, whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods.

42 But when the cattle were feeble, he put *them* not in: so the feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's.

43 And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants, and menservants, and camels, and asses.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *Jacob upon displeasure departeth secretly.* 19 *Rachel stealeth her father's images.* 22 *Laban pursueth after him,* 26 *and complaineth of the wrong.* 34 *Rachel's policy to hide the images.* 36 *Jacob's complaint of Laban.* 43 *The covenant of Laban and Jacob at Galeed.*

AND he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that *was* our father's; and of *that* which *was* our father's hath he gotten all this glory.

2 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it *was* not toward him † as before.

† Heb. *as yesterday and the day before.*

3 And the LORD said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee.

4 And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock,

5 And said unto them, I see your father's countenance, that it *is* not toward me as before; but the God of my father hath been with me.

6 And ye know that with all my power I have served your father.

7 And your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.

8 If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus,

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vv. 35, 36), lest any of them might stray unto Jacob's flock and so be claimed by him, or any lambs or kids should be born like them in Jacob's flock.

37. *poplar*] So Celsius ('Hierobot.' I. 292), and many other authorities after the Vulg., but the LXX. and Arab. have the storax tree, which is adopted by Gesenius (p. 740) and many others.

hazel] **Almond**, Ges. (p. 747).

chesnut tree] **Plane-tree**, Ges. (p. 1071).

40. *And Jacob did separate the lambs*] The apparent inconsistency of this with the rest of the narrative, especially with v. 36, has induced some commentators to suspect a corruption in the text. The meaning, however, appears to be, that Jacob separated those lambs, which were born after the artifice mentioned above, keeping the spotted lambs and kids apart; but though he thus separated them, he contrived that the ewes and she goats should have the speckled lambs and kids in sight. "His own flocks" mentioned in the latter part of the verse were the young cattle that were born ringstraked and speckled; "Laban's cattle," on the contrary, were those of uniform colour in the flock tended by Jacob; not that flock which Laban had separated by three days' journey from Jacob.

CHAP. XXXI. 2. *as before*] Lit. "as yesterday and the day before."

5. *the God of my father hath been with me*] *i.e.* God has been present with me and has protected me. Jacob calls him the God of his father, so distinguishing the Most High from the gods of the nations and from the idols, which perhaps the family of Laban had worshipped. vv. 19, 30.

7. *ten times*] *i.e.* probably "very frequently." Cp. Num. xiv. 22; Job xix. 3.

The ringstraked shall be thy hire; then bare all the cattle ringstraked.

9 Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given *them* to me.

10 And it came to pass at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream,
[1] Or, *he goats.* and, behold, the [1]rams which leaped upon the cattle *were* ringstraked, speckled, and grisled.

11 And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, *saying*, Jacob: And I said, Here *am* I.

12 And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the rams which leap upon the cattle *are* ringstraked, speckled, and grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee.

[a] chap. 28. 18. 13 I *am* the God of Beth-el, [a]where thou anointedst the pillar, *and* where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred.

14 And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, *Is there* yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house?

15 Are we not counted of him strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath quite devoured also our money.

16 For all the riches which God hath taken from our father, that *is* ours, and our children's: now then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.

17 ¶ Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon camels;

18 And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting, which he had gotten in Padan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.

19 And Laban went to shear his sheep: and Rachel had stolen the [†] Heb. *teraphim.* [†]images that *were* her father's.

20 And Jacob stole away [†]una- [†] Heb. *the heart of Laban.*

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10. *the rams*] The he goats. And in v. 12.

grisled] *i. e.* "sprinkled as with hail," the literal meaning of the word "grisled."

13. *I am the God of Beth-el*] (Heb. "El-Beth-el.") In v. 11 it is said, "the angel of God spake unto me." The Jewish commentators explain this by saying that God spoke through the mouth of the angel, and therefore though the angel actually spoke to Jacob, yet the words are the words of God. The Christian fathers generally believe all such visions to have been visions of the Son of God, who is both God and the angel of God: see on ch. xvi. 7.

There is no necessary contradiction between this dream and the account of Jacob's artifice given in the last chapter. If the dream occurred just before the flight of Jacob from Laban, it would be an indication to Jacob that all his artifices would have had no effect, had it not been God's pleasure that he should grow rich. The labours of the husbandman do not prosper but through the blessing of God. It seems, however, not improbable that Jacob is here relating to his wives two dreams, that concerning the sheep and goats having occurred at the beginning of his agreement with Laban, and that in which he was commanded to depart from Padan-aram just before his actual departure. This was suggested by Nachmanides and is approved by Rosenmüller. If so, we may infer, that Jacob believed the promise that the sheep which were to be his hire should multiply rapidly: but yet consistently with his mixed character, partly believing and partly impatient of the fulfilment, he adopted natural means for bringing about this event which he desired (so Kurtz, and apparently Keil).

15. *he hath sold us*] Probably referring to Laban's giving his daughter to Jacob as wages for his service.

19. *And Laban went to shear his sheep*] The force of the tenses in the Hebrew will perhaps be better explained as follows: "Now Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and (or, whereupon) Rachel stole the Teraphim which were her father's, and Jacob stole away unawares to (lit. stole the heart of) Laban the Syrian." There may be a series of paronomasias in the Hebrew, "Rachel *stole* the Teraphim," "Jacob *stole* the heart of Laban;" and again, "the heart of Laban" is *Leb-Laban*, the first syllable of Laban corresponding with the word for "heart."

images] Teraphim. These were undoubtedly images in the human form, but whether whole length figures or only busts has been much doubted. In 1 S. xix. 13, Michal puts teraphim (the plural perhaps for a single image) in David's bed to deceive the messengers of Saul; which looks as if the image was of the size of life. In the present history as Rachel hides them under the camel's saddle, they were probably not so large. Laban calls them his gods v. 30, which corresponds with

wares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.

21 So he fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face *toward* the mount Gilead.

22 And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled.

23 And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and they overtook him in the mount Gilead.

24 And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob †either good or bad.

† Heb. *from good to bad.*

25 ¶ Then Laban overtook Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mount: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mount of Gilead.

26 And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters, as captives *taken* with the sword?

† Heb. *hast stolen me.*

27 Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and †steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?

28 And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? thou hast now done foolishly in *so* doing.

29 It is in the power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

30 And now, *though* thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house, *yet* wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?

31 And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Peradventure thou wouldest take by force thy daughters from me.

32 With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live: before our brethren discern thou what *is* thine with me, and take *it* to thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them.

33 And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the two maidservants' tents; but he found *them* not. Then went he out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent.

34 Now Rachel had taken the im-

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what we find afterwards concerning their worship (see Judg. xvii. 5; xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20). They are condemned with other idolatrous practices (1 S. xv. 23; 2 K. xxiii. 24), and in later times we find that they were consulted for purposes of divination (Ezek. xxi. 21; Zech. x. 2). They have been generally considered as similar to the Penates of the classical nations. Most probably they were of the nature of a fetish, used for purposes of magic and divination, rather than strictly objects of divine worship. In them we perhaps see the earliest form of patriarchal idolatry; a knowledge of the true God not wholly gone, but images, perhaps of ancestors, preserved, revered and consulted. There have been numerous conjectures as to the derivation of the name. The majority of recent Hebraists refer to the Arab. root *tarafa*, "to enjoy the good things of life," and think that teraphim were preserved and honoured, like the penates, or the household fairy, to secure domestic prosperity (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1520). Other but improbable derivations are that suggested by Castell from the Syriac *Teraph*, "to enquire," alluding to their use as oracles; and that by Prof. Lee, from the Æthiopic root, signifying "to remain, survive," so that the name may originally have meant "relics." The motive of Rachel's theft has been as much debated as the root of the word and the use of the images. It is at all events probable, that Rachel, though a worshipper of Jacob's God, may not have thrown off all the superstitious credulity of her own house, and that she stole the teraphim for some superstitious purpose.

20. *stole away unawares to Laban*] Lit. "stole the heart of Laban," i.e. deceived his mind and intelligence.

21. *the river*] The Euphrates.

mount Gilead] So called by anticipation. It received the name from what occurred below, vv. 46, 47.

26. *as captives taken with the sword*] As captives of the sword.

29. *It is in the power of my hand*] So probably, not as Hitzig, Knobel, Keil, &c., "my hand is for God," i.e. my hand serves me for God, is powerful.

ages, and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And
† Heb. *felt.* Laban †searched all the tent, but found *them* not.

35 And she said to her father, Let it not displease my lord that I cannot rise up before thee; for the custom of women *is* upon me. And he searched, but found not the images.

36 ¶ And Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban: and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What *is* my trespass? what *is* my sin, that thou hast so hotly pursued after me?

† Heb. *felt.* 37 Whereas thou hast †searched all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff? set *it* here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may judge betwixt us both.

38 This twenty years *have* I *been* with thee; thy ewes and thy she goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten.

39 That which was torn *of beasts* I brought not unto thee; I bare the
[b] Ex. 22. 12. loss of it; of [b]my hand didst thou require it, *whether* stolen by day, or stolen by night.

40 *Thus* I was; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes.

41 Thus have I been twenty years in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle: and thou hast changed my wages ten times.

42 Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now empty. God hath seen mine affliction and the labour of my hands, and rebuked *thee* yesternight.

43 ¶ And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, *These* daughters *are* my daughters, and *these* children *are* my children, and *these* cattle *are* my cattle, and all that thou seest *is* mine: and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have born?

44 Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee.

45 And Jacob took a stone, and set it up *for* a pillar.

46 And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there upon the heap.

47 And Laban called it [l] Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed. [l] That is, *the heap of witness.*

34] *the camel's furniture*] The word for furniture (*Car*, perhaps cognate with *currus*, *car*, *carry*, *carriage*, &c.), seems to have signified a covered seat, litter, or palanquin, which was placed on the back of the camel for carrying women and children and supplied with curtains for concealing them, not only from sun and wind, but also from public view (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 715 and the authorities there referred to). The Teraphim, being probably not of large size, would easily be concealed under such apparatus.

38. *This twenty years*] See above, v. 41. On the chronology, see Note A at the end of this chapter.

40. *in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night*] In the East it is common for extremely hot days to be succeeded by very cold nights.

42. *the fear of Isaac*] That is to say, the object of Isaac's reverential awe. The whole history of Isaac points him out to us as a man of subdued spirit, whilst his father Abraham appears as of livelier faith and as admitted to a more intimate communion with God. Hence Jacob not unnaturally calls his father's God "the fear of Isaac."

47. *Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed*] Jegar-sahadutha is the Aramaic (Chaldee or Syriac) equivalent for the Hebrew Galeed; both meaning the "heap of witness." It appears therefore that at this time Jacob spoke Hebrew whilst his uncle Laban spoke Syriac. We can only account for this by supposing either that the family of Nahor originally spoke Syriac and that Abraham and his descendants learned Hebrew in Canaan, where evidently the Hebrew language was indigenous when he first went there, having probably been acquired by the Hamitic Canaanites from an earlier Shemite race—or else, which is not otherwise supported, that the ancestors of Laban having left the early seat of the family had unlearned their original Hebrew and acquired the Syriac dialect of Padan-aram.

48 And Laban said, This heap *is* a witness between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Galeed;

[1] That is, *a beacon*, or, *watch-tower*.

49 And [1]Mizpah; for he said, The LORD watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.

50 If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take *other* wives beside my daughters, no man *is* with us; see, God *is* witness betwixt me and thee.

51 And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold *this* pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee;

52 This heap *be* witness, and *this* pillar *be* witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.

53 The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac.

54 Then Jacob [1]offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount.

[1] Or, *killed beasts*.

55 And early in the morning Laban rose up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place.

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49. *Mizpah*] *i.e.* "watch-tower."

The LORD *watch*] Here Laban adopts both the language and the theology of Jacob. He calls the place Mizpah, which is a Hebrew name, and he acknowledges the watchfulness of JEHOVAH the God of Abraham.

53. *The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge between us*] The verb *judge* is in the plural. This looks as if Laban acknowledged JEHOVAH as Jacob's God and Abraham's God, but being himself descended from Nahor and Terah and doubting whether the God who called Abraham from his father's house was the same as the God whom Terah and Nahor had served before, he couples the God of Abraham with the God of Nahor and Terah, and calls on both to witness and judge. Polytheism had still hold on Laban, though he felt the power of the God of Jacob. We learn from Josh. xxiv. 2, that the ancestors of Abraham worshipped strange gods. There is a very marked unity of purpose throughout this chapter in the use of the names of the Most High, utterly inconsistent with the modern notion of a diversity of authors, according to some not fewer than four, in the different portions of the same chapter. To Jacob He is JEHOVAH, v. 3, and the God of his father, v. 5, &c., whilst Laban acknowledges Him as the God of Jacob's father, v. 29. Once more Jacob refers to Him as the God of Abraham and the fear of Isaac (v. 42), by appeal to whom it was but likely that Laban would be moved; and lastly Laban, being so moved, himself appeals to the watchfulness of JEHOVAH, v. 49, but yet joins with Him, as possibly a distinct Being, the God of their common ancestor Nahor.

NOTE A on CHAP. XXXI. V. 41. ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF JACOB'S LIFE.

(1) Difficulty of the question. Common reckoning. (2) Suggestion of Dr Kennicott. (3) Dates on this hypothesis. (4) Greater facility for explaining the events thus obtained.

THE difficulties in the Chronology of the life of Jacob and his sons are very great, so great that Le Clerc has said, "There occur entanglements (*nodi*) in these things which no one has yet unravelled, nor do I believe will any one ever unravel them." It has been generally held by commentators, Jewish and Christian, that Isaac was 137 and Jacob 77 when Jacob received his father's blessing, and left his father's house to go to Padan-aram. (See note, ch. xxxvii. 1.) This calculation rests mainly on the following two points: the 1st is that Joseph was born just fourteen years after Jacob went to Haran, *i.e.* at the end of the second hebdomade which Jacob served for his wives; an inference, which would oblige us to conclude that all the sons of Jacob except Benjamin, eleven in number, were born in six years, a thing not quite impossible, but highly improbable (see on ch. xxx. 25). The second is, that Jacob, in vv. 38, 41, of this ch. xxxi. seems to say that his whole sojourn in Padan-aram was only twenty years. If these points be made out, we cannot deny the conclusion, that as Joseph was 39 when Jacob was 130, and so born when Jacob was 91, therefore Jacob must have been $91-14=77$, when he fled from Beer-sheba to Padan-aram.

As regards the first point, however, it has

already been seen (note on ch. xxx. 23), that it is not necessary to conclude that Jacob should have wished to leave Laban immediately on the conclusion of his 14 years' servitude. On the contrary, with his children too young to carry on so long a journey, with but little independent substance, and with the fear of Esau before his eyes, it is far more likely that he should have been willing to remain longer in the service of Laban. But, if this be so, we have then an indefinite time left us for this additional sojourn, limited only by the words "when Rachel had born Joseph" (ch. xxx. 25). Jacob may have lived and worked for twenty years longer with Laban, and not have asked for his dismissal, till Joseph was old enough to travel, or at all events till he was born.

As to the second point, almost all commentators take the statements in vv. 38 and 41 as identical, v. 41 being but a repetition, with greater detail, of the statement in v. 38, as appears in the translation of the Authorized Version. It has, however, been suggested by Dr Kennicott, that very probably the twenty years in v. 38 are not the same twenty years as those mentioned in v. 41, and that the sense of the Hebrew would be better expressed as follows, v. 38, "one twenty years I was with thee" (*i.e.* taking care of thy flocks for thee but not in thy house); and (v. 41), "another twenty years I was for myself in thy house, serving thee fourteen years for thy two daughters and six years for thy cattle." This, he contends, is a legitimate mode of rendering the repeated particle (*zeh, zeh*). Each mention of the twenty years is introduced with the word *zeh*, "this," which word, when repeated, is used in opposition or by way of distinction (see Ex. xiv. 20; Job xxi. 23, 25; Eccl. vi. 5). He understands Jacob therefore as saying, that he had served Laban fourteen years for his wives, after that, he had for twenty years taken care of his cattle, not as a servant but as a neighbour and friend; and then, not satisfied to go on thus without profit, at last for six years more he served for wages, during which short period Laban had changed his hire 10 times.

If this reasoning be correct, and Bp Horsley has said that Dr Kennicott assigns unanswerable reasons for his opinion, then the following table will give the dates of the chief events in Jacob's life.

Years of Jacob's life		
0		Jacob and Esau born.
40		Esau marries two Hittite wives, Gen. xxvi. 34.
57	14 years' service.	Jacob goes to Padan-aram, Isaac being 117.
58		Esau goes to Ishmael and marries his daughter, Gen. xxviii. 9.
63		Ishmael dies, aged 137, Gen. xxv. 17.
64		Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, Gen. xxix. 20, 21, 27, 28.
		Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, born of Leah.
		Dan and Naphtali born of Bilhah.
71		End of fourteen years' service.
72	20 years' assistance.	Beginning of 20 years mentioned in Gen. xxxi. 38.
		Gad and Asher born of Zilpah.
		Issachar and Zebulun born of Leah.
		Dinah born.
91		Joseph born of Rachel.
92	6 years' service for cattle.	Agreement made, Gen. xxx. 25—34.
		Events in the family unknown.
97		Flight from Padan-aram.
98		Benjamin born, Rachel dies.
108		Joseph at 17 is carried to Egypt, Gen. xxxvii. 2.
120		Isaac dies at 180, Gen. xxxv. 28.
121		Joseph, aged 30, Governor of Egypt.
130		Jacob goes down to Egypt, Gen. xlvi. 1.
147		Jacob dies, Gen. xlvii. 28.

It is not possible to date accurately the events in ch. xxxiv., xxxviii., but the above seems a far more probable chronology than that commonly acquiesced in. According to the common calculation, Judah and his sons Er and Onan must have been quite children when they married, whereas the assigning 40 instead of 20 years to the sojourn of Jacob in Padan-aram, will allow time for them to have grown up, though even so their marriages must have been for that time unusually early. The common calculation, which makes Jacob 84 at his marriage, whilst his son Judah could not have been more than 20, and his grandchildren Er and Onan not above 15 when they married (see Keil on ch. xxxviii.), must surely require some correction, even allowing for the length of patriarchal lives on the one side and for the early age of eastern marriages on the other.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *Jacob's vision at Mahanaim.* 3 *His message to Esau.* 6 *He is afraid of Esau's coming.* 9 *He prayeth for deliverance.* 13 *He sendeth a present to Esau.* 24 *He wrestleth with an angel at Peniel, where he is called Israel.* 31 *He halteth.*

AND Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him.

2 And when Jacob saw them, he said, This *is* God's host: and he called the name of that place [1] Mahanaim.

[1] That is, *two hosts, or, camps*

3 And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the [†] country of Edom.

[†] Heb. *field.*

4 And he commanded them, say-

ing, Thus shall ye speak unto my lord Esau; Thy servant Jacob saith thus, I have sojourned with Laban, and stayed there until now:

5 And I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and womenservants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find grace in thy sight.

6 ¶ And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and also he cometh to meet thee, and four hundred men with him.

7 Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed: and he divided the people that *was* with him, and the flocks, and herds, and the camels, into two bands;

8 And said, If Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the other company which is left shall escape.

9 ¶ And Jacob said, O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, the LORD which saidst unto me, [a] Return unto thy country, and to thy kindred, and I will deal well with thee:

[a] chap. 31. 13.

10 [†] I am not worthy of the least

[†] Heb. *I am less than all, &c.*

CHAP. XXXII. 1. *the angels of God met him*] The conjectures of various Jewish interpreters concerning this vision of angels may be seen in Heidegger, Tom. II. Ex. XV. § 37. The real purpose of it seems to have been this. When Jacob was flying from Esau's anger into Mesopotamia, he had a vision of angels ascending and descending on the ladder of God. He was thus assured of God's providential care over him, and mysteriously taught that there was a way from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven. Now he is again about to fall into the power of Esau; and so the angels encamped, perhaps on each side of him (*Mahanaim*, v. 2, signifying "two camps"), may have been sent to teach him, as a similar vision taught afterwards the servant of Elisha (2 K. vi. 16, 17), that, though he was encompassed with danger, there were more with him than could be against him, or, as the Psalmist wrote afterwards, that "the angel of the LORD encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them" (Ps. xxxiv. 7). Thus Josephus ('A. J.' I. 20) says, "these visions were vouchsafed to Jacob returning into Canaan, to encourage him with happy hopes of what should befal him afterwards," and St Chrysost. ('Hom. 58 in Gen.'), "the fear of Laban having passed away, there succeeded to it the fear of Esau; therefore the merciful Lord, willing that the pious man should be encouraged and his fear dispelled, ordained that he should see this vision of angels."

2. *Mahanaim*] *i.e.* "two camps." Some have thought the dual here used for the plural; others that Jacob thought of his own camp and the camp of angels. (So Abenezra, and after him Clericus.) More likely the angels were encamped on the right-hand and on the left, so seeming to surround and protect Jacob (see on v. 1). The place called Mahanaim was in the tribe of Gad, and was assigned to the Levites, Josh. xxi. 38. The name *Mahneh* is still retained in the supposed site of the ancient town (Robinson).

3. *unto the land of Seir, the country of Edom*] It does not follow necessarily from this verse, that Seir had by this time become Esau's permanent place of residence. The historian calls Seir the country of Edom, because it had become so long before Moses wrote. Esau was a great hunter, and very probably a conqueror, who took possession of Seir, driving out or subjugating the Horites. It may have been for this very conquest, that he was now at the head of 400 armed men (v. 6). He had not yet removed his household from Canaan (ch. xxxvi. 6); and did not settle permanently in his newly conquered possession till after his father's death, when, yielding to the assignment made to Jacob by Isaac's blessing, he retires to Idumæa, and leaves Canaan to Jacob (ch. xxxvi. 1—8). (See Kurtz in loc.)

7. *Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed*] Though he had just seen a vision of angels, he was not unnaturally alarmed at the apparently hostile approach of Esau. He makes therefore all preparation for that approach, and then takes refuge in prayer. His faith was imperfect, but he was a religious man, and so he seeks in his terror help from God.

9. *O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, the LORD*] This combination of names is natural and exact. He appeals to the Most High as the Covenant God, who had given promises to his fathers, of which promises he himself was the heir, and who had revealed Himself to the chosen family as the self-existent JEHOVAH, who would be their God. The whole prayer is one of singular beauty and piety.

10. *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies*] Lit. "I am less than all the mercies."

of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two bands.

11 Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, *and* the
† Heb. *upon.* mother † with the children.

12 And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.

13 ¶ And he lodged there that same night; and took of that which came to his hand a present for Esau his brother;

14 Two hundred she goats, and twenty he goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams,

15 Thirty milch camels with their colts, forty kine, and ten bulls, twenty she asses, and ten foals.

16 And he delivered *them* into the hand of his servants, every drove by themselves; and said unto his servants, Pass over before me, and put a space betwixt drove and drove.

17 And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose *art* thou? and whither goest thou? and whose *are* these before thee?

18 Then thou shalt say, *They be* thy servant Jacob's; it *is* a present sent unto my lord Esau: and, behold, also he *is* behind us.

19 And so commanded he the second, and the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him.

20 And say ye moreover, Behold, thy servant Jacob *is* behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face; peradventure he will accept † of me. † Heb. *my face.*

21 So went the present over before him: and himself lodged that night in the company.

22 And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two womenservants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford Jabbok.

23 And he took them, and † sent † Heb. *caused to pass.* them over the brook, and sent over that he had.

24 ¶ And Jacob was left alone;

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11. *the mother with the children*] Lit. "upon the children." Whence some have thought that there was allusion to the mother protecting the child, as a bird covers its young (Tuch, Knobel, Keil), or to the slaying of the child before the parent's eyes, and then the parent upon him (Ros.); but the sense seems correctly expressed by "with," as in Ex. xxv. 22; Num. xx. 11; Deut. xvi. 3; Job xxxviii. 32, &c. (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1027.)

13. *of that which came to his hand*] or perhaps "that which had come to his hand," *i.e.* into his possession, what he possessed.

20. *I will appease him*, &c.] The sentence literally rendered would be, "I will cover his face with the present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face, peradventure he will accept my face." "To cover the eyes or the face" was an expression apparently signifying to induce the person to turn away from or connive at a fault. (Ges. pp. 700, 706.) "To accept or lift up the face" was equivalent to accepting a person favourably (*Ib.* p. 915).

22. *the ford Jabbok*] or "the ford of Jabbok." The name Jabbok is either derived from *bakak*, "to pour forth, to gush forth," or from *abak*, "to wrestle," from the wrestling of Jacob there. It flowed into the Jordan about half way between the Dead Sea and the sea of Galilee, at a point nearly opposite to Shechem. It is now called *Zerka*, *i.e.* "blue" (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 232).

23. *the brook*] The word signifies either a brook, a torrent, or the bed of a torrent, sometimes dry and sometimes flowing, like the Arabic *Wady*.

24. *Jacob was left alone*] He remained to the last that he might see all his family pass safely through the ford, that he might prevent anything being left behind through carelessness; and most probably that he might once more give himself to earnest prayer for God's protection in his expected meeting with his brother Esau.

and there wrestled a man with him until the † breaking of the day.

25 And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him.

26 And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, [b] I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. [b] Hos. 12. 4.

† Heb. *ascending of the morning.*

there wrestled a man with him] He is called "the angel," Hos. xii. 4, and Jacob says of him (v. 30), "I have seen God face to face." The Jews of course believed that he was a created angel, and said that he was the angel of Esau, *i.e.* either Esau's special guardian angel (cp. Acts xii. 15), or the angel that presided over Esau's country (cp. Dan. x. 13). So Abenezra and Abarbanel. Many Christian commentators also prefer to consider this a vision of a created angel, as thinking it inconsistent with the greatness of the Creator to have manifested Himself in this manner to Jacob. Most of the fathers, however, thought this to have been one of the manifestations of the Logos, of the eternal Son, anticipatory of His incarnation. Theodoret (Qu. 92 in Gen.) argues thus at length. (See also Justin M. 'Dial.' § 126; Tertull. 'Contrâ Marcion.' c. 3; Euseb. 'H. E.' I. 22; August. 'De C. D.' XVI. 39, &c. &c.). From vv. 29, 30, this seems the true opinion. The word for 'wrestle" (*abak*) is derived from *abak*, "dust," from the rolling of athletes in the dust when wrestling with each other.

until the breaking of the day] lit. "till the rising of the dawn."

25. *when he saw that he prevailed not against him*] There must have been some deep significance in this wrestling, in which an Angel, or more probably the God of angels, Himself "the Angel of the LORD," prevailed not against a man. The difficulty of believing that man could prevail against God led to some forced interpretations, such as that of Origen ('De Principiis,' Lib. III.), and Jerome ('in Epist. ad Ephes.' c. VI.), that Jacob wrestled against evil spirits, and that the "Man" is said to have wrestled *with* him in the sense of assisting him, wrestling on his side; an interpretation refuted by the words of the "Man" Himself in v. 28. The mystical meaning of the whole transaction seems probably to be of this kind. The time was an important epoch in Jacob's history. It was a turning-point in his life. There had been much most faulty in his character; which had led him to much trouble, and subjected him to a long penitential and reformatory discipline. He was now returning after an exile, of 20 or more probably 40 years, to the land of his birth, which had been promised to him for his inheritance. It was a great crisis. Should he fall under the power of Esau and so suffer to the utmost for his former sins? or should he obtain mercy and be received back to his father's house as the heir of the promises? This eventful night, this passage of the Jabbok, was to decide; and the mysterious conflict, in which by Divine mercy and strength he is permitted to prevail, is vouchsafed to him as an indication that his repentance, matured by long schooling and discipline and manifested in fervent and humble prayer, is accepted with God and blessed by the Son of God, whose ancestor in the flesh he is now once more formally constituted.

the hollow of the thigh] The socket of the hip-joint, the hollow place like the palm of a hand (Heb. *Caph*) into which the neck-bone of the thigh is inserted. The reason of this act of the Angel was very probably lest Jacob should be puffed up by the "abundance of the revelations;" he might think that by his own strength and not by grace he had prevailed with God; as St Paul had the thorn in the flesh sent to him lest he "should be exalted above measure," 2 Cor. xii. 7. (So Theodoret in loc.).

26. *Let me go, for the day breaketh*] Lit. "for the dawn ariseth." The contest had taken place during the later hours of the night. It was now right that it should be ended: for the time had arrived, the breaking of the day, when Jacob must prepare to meet Esau and to appease his anger. It was for Jacob's sake, not for His own convenience, that the Divine wrestler desired to go. (So Abarbanel, Heidegger, &c. &c.).

except thou bless me] Jacob had plainly discovered that his antagonist was a heavenly Visitor. Though he had been permitted to prevail in the contest, he still desired blessing for the future.

28. *Israel: for as a prince hast thou power*], The verb *Sarah* and its cognate *Sûr* signify "to contend with," and also "to be a prince or leader." See Judg. ix. 22; Hos. xii. 4 (Ges. pp. 1326, 1338, Ros. in loc.). It is quite possible that both senses are conveyed by the word, and it might be rendered either, "thou hast contended with God," or "thou hast been a prince with God." The Authorised Version combines both. The best Vss., LXX., Vulg., render, "Thou hast had power with God, and how much more wilt thou prevail with men," which has been followed by many moderns, as Heidegger, Rosenm., &c. The sense is thus rendered more perspicuous, as implying a promise of safety from

27 And he said unto him, What *is* thy name? And he said, Jacob.

c chap. 35. 10. 28 And he said, [c]Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.

29 And Jacob asked *him*, and said, Tell *me*, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore *is* it *that* thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.

30 And Jacob called the name of the place [l]Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.

l That is, *the face of God.*

31 And as he passed over Penuel the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh.

32 Therefore the children of Israel eat not *of* the sinew which shrank, which *is* upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The kindness of Jacob and Esau at their meeting.* 17 *Jacob cometh to Succoth.* 18 *At Shalem he buyeth a field, and buildeth an altar called El-elohe-Israel.*

AND Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two handmaids.

2 And he put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost.

3 And he passed over before them, and bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.

4 And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept.

5 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children; and said, Who *are* those [t]with thee? And he said, The children which God hath graciously given thy servant.

t Heb. *to thee?*

6 Then the handmaidens came near, they and their children, and they bowed themselves.

7 And Leah also with her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves.

t Heb. *What is all this band to thee?*

8 And he said, [t]What *meanest* thou

Esau. The difficulty, however, of thus explaining the particle *Vau* before "hast prevailed" is great.

29. *Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?*] Comp. Judg. xiii. 18, "And the Angel of the Lord said unto him (*i. e.* Manoah), Why askest thou after my name seeing it is secret?" lit. "wonderful." In the present instance perhaps the words mean, "Why dost thou ask my name? as it may be plain to you who I am."

30. *Peniel*] *i. e.* "the face of God." Elsewhere it is always *Penuel*, and the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Vulg. have Penuel here. The LXX. does not give this name itself, but translates it both here and in v. 31. Josephus has Phanuel only. The words only differ by a single line in one letter, and have no difference of meaning. Strabo ('Geogr.' L. XVI. c. 2, §§ 15, 18) mentions a town among the Phœnician cities with a Greek name of the same meaning, viz. *Theou prosopon.*

32. *the sinew which shrank*] This is the rendering of LXX., Vulg., Onk. Many Jewish and Christian commentators have rendered it "the nerve of contraction" or "the nerve of oblivion." Whatever be the literal sense of the words, they doubtless mean the "sciatic nerve," the *nervus ischiadicus*, which is one of the largest in the body, and extends down the thigh and leg to the ankle. The Arabs still use this same word (*Nasheh* or *Naseh*) to designate the sciatic nerve (see Ros. in loc., Ges. 'Thes.' p. 924). The custom prevailing among the Jews to this day of abstaining religiously from eating this sinew seems a lasting monument of the historical truth of this wonderful event in the life of Jacob.

CHAP. XXXIII. 3. *bowed himself to the ground*] A deep oriental bow, not probably such profound prostration as is expressed in ch. xix. 1: "he bowed himself with his face to the ground."

5. *Who are those with thee?*] Lit. "to thee;" *i. e.* that thou hast.

8. *What meanest thou by all this drove*] Lit. "What to thee is all this camp?" The sheep with their shepherds assumed the appearance of a band or troop, hence called "camp."

by all this drove which I met? And he said, *These are* to find grace in the sight of my lord.

9 And Esau said, I have enough, my brother; † keep that thou hast unto thyself.

† Heb. *be that to thee that is thine.*

10 And Jacob said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand: for therefore I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me.

11 Take, I pray thee, my blessing that is brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough. And he urged him, and he took *it*.

12 And he said, Let us take our journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee.

13 And he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children *are* tender, and the flocks and herds with young *are* with me: and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die.

14 Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant: and I will lead on softly, † according as the cattle that goeth before me and the children be able to endure, until I come unto my lord unto Seir.

† Heb. *according to the foot of the work, &c. and according to the foot of the children.*

15 And Esau said, Let me now † leave with thee *some* of the folk that *are* with me. And he said, † What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord.

† Heb. *set,* or, *place.* † Heb. *Wherefore is this?*

16 ¶ So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir.

17 And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called † Succoth.

† That is, *booths.*

18 ¶ And Jacob came to Shalem,

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10. *for therefore I have seen thy face*, &c.] Rather "for I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God." The same particles are rendered "because," Gen. xxxviii. 26; "forasmuch as," Num. x. 31; "because," Num. xiv. 43 (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 682). Jacob pleads as a reason why Esau should accept his present, that Esau's face had seemed as gracious and favourable to him as though it had been God's face. It is highly probable that Jacob here refers to his vision of God in the night past at Peniel. The words he uses are "for I have seen thy face, like a vision of *Peney El-ohim*," *i.e.* "the face of God." It might have seemed likely that Jacob on his meeting with Esau would use the special name of their father's God, JEHOVAH; but this, in addition to the reason given above, would have been like claiming to be the heir of the promises and under the peculiar care of JEHOVAH, which would have been very offensive to Esau.

11. *my blessing*] That is, "this gift which is meant to express good will and affection, offered with prayers for blessing on the recipient" (cp. Judg. i. 15; 1 S. xxv. 32, xxx. 26; 2 K. v. 15).

I have enough] Lit. "I have all."

13. *with young*] **In milk.**

if men should overdrive them one day] Esau's 400 horsemen would be likely to move too rapidly for the milch cattle.

14. *according as the cattle that goeth before me and the children be able to endure*] **According to the pace** (lit. "the foot") **of the cattle that is before me, and according to the pace of the children.** The word for cattle is literally "work;" thence anything acquired by labour, property, and hence cattle, the chief possession of a pastoral people.

until I come unto my lord unto Seir] It is probable that Jacob here intimated a hope that he might one day visit Esau at Seir. It does not necessarily mean that he was directly on his way thither; his course being evidently towards Shechem.

17. *booths*] Perhaps only wattled enclosures, or very possibly some simple contrivance of branches and leaves made for sheltering the milch cattle from the heat of the sun.

Succoth] "Booths," from *saccac*, to entwine, to shelter. Jacob could easily visit his father from this place. Jerome ('Qu. Heb.' ad h.l.) says that "Sochoth is to this day a city beyond Jordan in Scythopolis." According to Josh. xiii. 27, Judg. viii. 4, 5, Succoth was in the valley of the Jordan, "on the other side of the Jordan eastward," and was allotted to the tribe of Gad.

18. *to Shalem*] Or "in peace." The LXX., Vulg., Syr. render "Shalem." Robinson ('B. R.' III. 322) and Wilson ('Lands of the Bible,' II. 72) mention a place still called Salim to the east of Nablus. On the other hand the Sam. Pent. has *Shalom*, *i.e.* "safe."

a city of [1]Shechem, which *is* in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-aram; and pitched his tent before the city.

19 And he bought a parcel of a field, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of [1]Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred [1]pieces of money.

20 And he erected there an altar, and called it [1]El-elohe-Israel.

[1] Called, Acts 7. 16, *Sychem.*

[1] Called, Acts 7. 16, *Emmor.*

[1] Or, *lambs.*

[1] That is, *God the God of Israel.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *Dinah is ravished by Shechem.* 4 *He sueth to marry her.* 13 *The sons of Jacob offer the condition of circumcision to the Shechemites.* 20 *Hamor and Shechem persuade them to accept it.* 25 *The sons of Jacob upon that advantage slay them,* 27 *and spoil their city.* 30 *Jacob reproveth Simeon and Levi.*

AND Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land.

2 And when Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, he took her, and lay with her, and [1]defiled her.

3 And his soul clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake [1]kindly unto the damsel.

4 And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this damsel to wife.

5 And Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter: now his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob held his peace until they were come.

6 ¶ And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with him.

7 And the sons of Jacob came out of the field when they heard *it:* and the men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought

[1] Heb. *humbled her.*

[1] Heb. *to her heart.*

Onkelos renders "in peace," and he is followed by Saadias, Rashi and most Jewish commentators, by Rosenm., Schum, Gesen., Tuch, Del., Knobel, Keil.

a city of Shechem] If instead of "to Shalem" we adopt the rendering "in peace," or "in safety;" then we must render here "to the city of Shechem." It was perhaps called after Shechem the son of Hamor (v. 19). In ch. xii. 6 (where see note), we read of "the place of Sichem," *i.e.* perhaps the site on which Sichem or Shechem was afterwards built. It was the first place in which God appeared to Abraham, and it is the place at which Jacob re-enters the promised land; for Succoth, whence he came to it, was on the other side of Jordan. Abraham only purchased a burial-place, Jacob purchases a dwelling-place. Perhaps the country had now become more fully inhabited, and therefore land must be secured before it could be safely lived upon.

19. *an hundred pieces of money*] "A hundred Kesita." All the ancient Versions (except Targg. Jerus. and Jonath.) render "a hundred lambs," whence it has been inferred that the *Kesita* was a piece of money bearing the impression of a lamb. It appears however to have been either an ingot or bar of silver of certain weight, or perhaps merely a certain weight of silver; a word of the same root in Arabic signifying "a balance," "a pair of scales." (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1241. Lee, 'Lex.' in voc.).

20. *El-elohe-Israel*] The name *Israel* contains in it the syllable *El*, one of the names of God. Jacob therefore calls *El* the God of Israel, and gives this title to the altar, which he built on the spot which had already been consecrated by Abraham (ch. xii. 7). Jacob had hitherto always spoken of JEHOVAH as the God of Abraham, and the God, or the Fear, of his father Isaac. Now on his gracious acceptance by Him, his change of name by His appointment, his return to Canaan as the heir of the land, he calls Him his own God, El, the God of Israel.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1. *Dinah the daughter of Leah*] Her birth is mentioned (ch. xxx. 21) before the birth of Joseph (vv. 22, 23). If Jacob's sojourn in Padan-aram was 40 years long and not 20 only (see note at the end of ch. xxxi.), it is quite possible that Dinah may have been some years older than Joseph, who was 17 at the beginning of the history related in ch. xxxvii. (see v. 2), *i.e.* probably about a year or two after the events related in this present chapter. In any case therefore she was not less than 15 years old at this time, supposing her to have been no older than Joseph; so that the objection urged by Tuch and others that at this time she was but 6 or 7 years old cannot be maintained.

went out to see the daughters of the land] Josephus ('Ant.' I. 21) states that a feast among the Shechemites was the occasion of this visit.

3. *spake kindly unto the damsel*] Lit. "Spake to the heart of the damsel." So ch. l. 21; Judg. xix. 3; Isa. xl. 2; Hos. ii. 14, &c.

7. *he had wrought folly in Israel...which*

folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter; which thing ought not to be done.

8 And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you give her him to wife.

9 And make ye marriages with us, *and* give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you.

10 And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions therein.

11 And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.

12 Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.

13 And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully, and said, because he had defiled Dinah their sister:

14 And they said unto them, We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised; for that *were* a reproach unto us:

15 But in this will we consent unto you: If ye will be as we *be*, that every male of you be circumcised;

16 Then will we give our daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one people.

17 But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone.

18 And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.

19 And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter: and he *was* more honourable than all the house of his father.

20 ¶ And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city, saying,

21 These men *are* peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for the land, behold, *it is* large enough for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters.

22 Only herein will the men consent unto us for to dwell with us, to be one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they *are* circumcised.

23 *Shall* not their cattle and their substance and every beast of theirs *be* ours? only let us consent unto them, and they will dwell with us.

24 And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city.

25 ¶ And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that

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thing ought not to be done] Lit. "and so it is not done." These are not the words of the sons of Jacob, but of the sacred historian. It is not likely that the family of Jacob should by this time have acquired the generic name of Israel; but Moses uses the designation which had become familiar in his own day. The words of this verse seem to have become proverbial, they are almost repeated in 2 S. xiii. 12. But this is no reason for supposing that the words of this present verse should be ascribed to a later hand than that of Moses.

13. *and said*] Schultens, Gesen. (p. 315), Knobel, Del., &c. translate here "and plotted" or "laid snares:" others repeat the word "deceitfully" from the former clause, rendering and "spoke deceitfully:" but the rendering of the Authorised Version seems preferable.

18. *their words pleased Hamor*, &c.] The readiness of the Shechemites to submit to circumcision may be accounted for, if circumcision had by this time become a rite known to others besides the descendants of Abraham (Herod. II. 104). At all events, it was now practised not only by the sons of Jacob and his household, but by the Ishmaelites, and the family and household of Esau, all growing into important tribes in the neighbourhood of the Shechemites.

25. *Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword*] *i.e.* sons of the same

two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the city
[chap. 49.] boldly, and [a]slew all the males.

26 And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the [†]edge of the
[Heb. mouth.] sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went out.

27 The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister.

28 They took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which *was* in the city, and that which *was* in the field,

29 And all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives took they captive, and spoiled even all that *was* in the house.

30 And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and I *being* few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.

31 And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *God sendeth Jacob to Beth-el.* 2 *He purgeth his house of idols.* 6 *He buildeth an altar at Beth-el.* 8 *Deborah dieth at Allon-bachuth.* 9 *God blesseth Jacob at Beth-el.* 16 *Rachel travaileth of Benjamin, and dieth in the way to Edar.* 22 *Reuben lieth with Bilhah.* 23 *The sons of Jacob.* 27 *Jacob cometh to Isaac at Hebron.* 28 *The age, death, and burial of Isaac.*

AND God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God, that appeared unto thee [a]when thou [a chap. 27. 43.] fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.

2 Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that *were* with him, Put away the strange gods that *are* among you, and be clean, and change your garments:

3 And let us arise, and go up to

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mother, Leah, as well as of the same father, Jacob. In ch. xxiv. 50, 55, &c. we saw Laban taking a principal part in giving his sister in marriage Michaelis (in loc.) mentions it as a prevalent opinion in the East that a man is more affected by the dishonour of his sister than even by the dishonour of his wife, as he may divorce his wife but can never cease to be his sister's brother. We are not to suppose that Simeon and Levi without help from others attacked and slew all the males: they had no doubt a retinue from their father's household with them, and perhaps were accompanied by some of their brothers, though they only are specially mentioned, as having taken the lead in the assault, and as most strongly actuated by the spirit of revenge.

27. *the sons of Jacob*] *i.e.* others beside Simeon and Levi, for all appear to have joined in the original stratagem (see v. 13), and probably all assisted in spoiling the city.

30. *I being few in number*] Lit. "I being men of number." That is, I and my family and followers (compare "I am become two bands," ch. xxxii. 10) are men so few that we can easily be numbered. A common idiom: see Deut. iv. 27; 1 Chr. xvi. 19; Ps. cv. 12; Isa. x. 19; Jer. xliv. 28.

It seems strange that Jacob should have reproached his sons as having brought him into danger, not as having been guilty of treachery and murder. This is only another instance of Jacob's weak character, and of the fidelity of the historian. Jacob's own fault was want of straightforward honesty. It is reproduced with grievous aggravations in his sons. The timidity of his disposition, a kindred defect with untruthfulness, shews itself now in his exclamation of fear rather than of moral horror. His more righteous indignation, the result of calmer thought, is expressed in his final judgment on the fierceness of their anger and the cruelty of their wrath (ch. xlix. 5, 6, 7).

CHAP. XXXV. 1. *Beth-el*] See on ch. xxviii. 19.

2. *strange gods*] Not only had Rachel stolen her father's teraphim, but probably others of Jacob's company had secreted instruments of idolatrous worship in the camp. As they had just spoiled a heathen city (ch. xxxiv. 27), it is not unlikely that they brought such instruments from that also.

be clean] "Purify yourselves." The same word is frequently used under the Law for purification from legal uncleanness before access to sacred ordinances (Lev. xiv. 4; Num. viii. 7; 2 Chr. xxx. 18; Ezra vi. 20; Neh. xii. 30; xiii. 22). Such purification was probably in the patriarchal times, as often even under the law, by washing merely, all such

Beth-el; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went.

4 And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which *were* in their hand, and *all* their earrings which *were* in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which *was* by Shechem.

5 And they journeyed: and the terror of God was upon the cities that *were* round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.

6 ¶ So Jacob came to Luz, which *is* in the land of Canaan, that *is*, Beth-el, he and all the people that *were* with him.

7 And he built there an altar, and [b]called the place [l]El-beth-el: because there God appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother.

[b] chap. 28. 19.
[l] That is, *the God of Beth-el.*

8 But Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried beneath Beth-el under an oak: and the name of it was called [l]Allon-bachuth.

[l] That is, *the oak of weeping.*

9 ¶ And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram, and blessed him.

10 And God said unto him, Thy name *is* Jacob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, [c]but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel.

[c] chap. 32. 28.

11 And God said unto him, I *am* God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of na-

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ceremonial washings being the prototypes of baptism, by which, false religions being rejected, men are brought into the Church of the living God.

4. *ear-rings*] perhaps talismans or idolatrous symbols worn in the ear. Augustine ('Qu.' ad h. l.) calls them "idolatrous phylacteries," *idolorum phylacteria*, and ('Epist.' CCXLV.) he mentions a superstitious use of earrings even in his own day among the African Christians "not to please men but to serve demons."

the oak which was by Shechem] See note on ch. xii. 6. It may have been under the very oak, or oak-grove, where Abraham pitched his tent, and which seems to have been sacred even in Joshua's time (Josh. xxiv. 26).

5. *the terror of God*] God inspired into the minds of the neighbouring tribes a sense of fear, so that they did not pursue Jacob in order to avenge the slaughter of the Shechemites.

6. *Luz*] See ch. xxviii. 19.

7. *El-beth-el*] *i.e.* "the God of Beth-el," or "the God of the House of God." At Bethel God first appeared to him. Then he devoted himself to God's service and received the promises of God's protection. He accordingly called the place Bethel, which name he now renews with addition of *El*.

God appeared unto him] The word for God, "Elohim," being here as generally in the plural, the verb is by a kind of attraction put in the plural also. Some have discovered in this a relic of polytheism, and Onkelos has rendered angels, a most unwarrantable translation. The Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX. and Vulg. Versions have the verb in the singular, which may be the true reading; but see on ch. xx. 13.

8. *Allon-bachuth*] "The oak of weeping."

9. *God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram*] He was now at Bethel, the place from which he may be considered to have set out for Padan-aram, and where he made his vow that if God would be with him and be his God, he would make that place the house of God. He had now come back again to the same spot; he had fulfilled his vow by consecrating Bethel as the temple of God; this might then well be considered as the accomplishment of his return from Padan-aram. Accordingly God appears to him here once more, promises him again, and more emphatically, protection, blessing, inheritance, confirms the name of Israel to him, a name given by the angel at the ford of the brook Jabbok, but now fixed and ratified, and assures him that his posterity shall be numerous, powerful and blessed Accordingly Jacob, recognizing the fulfilment of all that had been promised him when he fled from Esau, and of all that his vows had pointed to, rears again a stone pillar as he had done forty years before, and again solemnly names the place Bethel. The whole of this history thoroughly fits in to all that has gone before, there being nothing whatever to support the notion that it is a mere legendary repetition of the previous vision.

11. *I am God Almighty*] *El-Shaddai*. It was by this name that God revealed Himself to Abram, when he changed his name to Abraham, and promised him the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession (see ch. xvii. 8). The use of the same name here is

tions shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins;

12 And the land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.

13 And God went up from him in the place where he talked with him.

14 And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he talked with him, *even* a pillar of stone: and he poured a drink offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon.

15 And Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el.

16 ¶ And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was but †a little way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour.

†Heb. *a little piece of ground.*

17 And it came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, Fear not; thou shalt have this son also.

18 And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing, (for she died) that she called his name ‖Ben-oni: but his father called him ‖Benjamin.

‖That is, *the son of my sorrow.* ‖That is, *the son of the right hand.*

19 And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which *is* Beth-lehem.

20 And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that *is* the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.

21 ¶ And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar.

22 And it came to pass, when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and [d]lay with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel heard *it*. Now the sons of Jacob were twelve:

[d] chap. 49. 4.

23 The sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun:

24 The sons of Rachel; Joseph, and Benjamin:

25 And the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan, and Naphtali:

26 And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad, and Asher: these *are* the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-aram.

27 ¶ And Jacob came unto Isaac his father unto Mamre, unto the city of Arbah, which *is* Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.

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therefore singularly appropriate, and Jacob refers to it with evident comfort and satisfaction at the close of his life (see ch. xlviii. 3).

16. *a little way*] These words probably in the original denote a definite space. The LXX. does not translate the principal word. The Vulg. improperly renders "in the Spring time." Onk. has "an acre of land;" the Syr. "a parasang;" Saad. and Arab. Erpen. "a mile." The Jews generally incline to understand "a mile," because of the traditions that Rachel's tomb was a mile from Bethlehem or Ephrath (v. 19).

18. *Ben-oni*] *i.e.* "son of my sorrow."

Benjamin] *i.e.* "son of the right hand," a name of good significance, the right hand being connected with prosperity, as the left hand was with calamity. Some ancient versions (favoured by the Samaritan Pentateuch) interpret Benjamin as "son of days," *i.e.* "son of old age." There is evidently, however, an antithesis between Benoni, "son of sorrow," and Benjamin, "son of prosperity." It might possibly be interpreted "son of strength," from the "strong right hand."

20. *unto this day*] *i.e.* till Moses wrote. It was worthy of notice that the pillar still stood after the land had been so long inhabited by unfriendly tribes. On the knowledge of the geography of Palestine by Moses, see Introduction to the Pentateuch, p. 17.

21. *tower of Edar*] *i.e.* "tower of the flock." It was apparently a watch-tower for the protection of flocks against robbers and wild beasts. (Cp. 2 K. xviii. 8; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4.)

22. *Reuben*] The incest of Reuben is punished by his being deprived of his right of primogeniture, ch. xlix. 3, 4; 1 Chr. v. 1.

and Israel heard it] The LXX. adds "and it was evil in his sight." The silence of the Hebrew expresses more eloquently the indignation of the offended patriarch.

26. *in Padan-aram*] *i.e.* except Benjamin, whose birth has just been recorded in Canaan (v. 18).

27. *Jacob came unto Isaac his father*] Whether this was just before Isaac's death, or whether Jacob spent some time at Mamre with his father, we do not read. If this were only just before his death it is very probable that Jacob had visited him from time to time before.

28 And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years.

29 And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died, and [c] was gathered unto his people, *being* old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

[c] chap. 25. 8.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *Esau's three wives.* 6 *His removing to mount Seir.* 9 *His sons.* 15 *The dukes which descended of his sons.* 20 *The sons and dukes of Seir.* 24 *Anah findeth mules.* 31 *The kings of Edom.* 40 *The dukes that descended of Esau.*

NOW these *are* the generations of Esau, who *is* Edom.

2 Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite;

3 And Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.

[a] 1 Chron. 1. 35.

4 And [a] Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; and Bashemath bare Reuel;

5 And Aholibamah bare Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah: these *are* the sons of Esau, which were born unto him in the land of Canaan.

6 And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the [†] persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance, which he had got in the land of Canaan; and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob.

[†] Heb. *souls.*

7 For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle.

8 Thus dwelt Esau in [b] mount Seir: Esau *is* Edom.

[b] Josh. 24. 4.

9 ¶ And these *are* the generations of Esau the father of [†] the Edomites in mount Seir:

[†] Heb. *Edom.*

10 These *are* the names of Esau's sons; [c] Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Bashemath the wife of Esau.

[c] 1 Chron. 1. 35, &c.

11 And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

12 And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these *were* the sons of Adah Esau's wife.

13 And these *are* the sons of Reu-

CHAP. XXXVI. 2, 3. *Adah*, &c.] See note A at the end of the Chapter.

6. *went into the country*] Lit. "into a land." Onk. and Vulg. has "into another land." The Sam. Pentat. has "from the land of Canaan." The LXX. "from the land." The Syr. reads "into the land of Seir," which is adopted by Ewald, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil, &c. In ch. xxxii. 3, Esau is mentioned as in the land of Seir, but then probably he was only there for a time, perhaps engaged in its conquest, now he finally takes up his abode there. See note on xxxii. 3.

7. *the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle*] They were not settled inhabitants, but only sojourners in the land: and though they were allowed to pasture their flocks in the land, yet it was not to be expected that the settled inhabitants would tolerate more than a reasonable number of cattle from one family to eat up the produce of their fields.

8. *mount Seir*] Mount Seir was the mountainous country between the Dead Sea and the Elamitic Gulf, the northern part of which is called *Jebal*, *i.e.* "the hill country," by the Arabs. So the Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan put here *Gabala* for *Seir*. The southern part is called Sherah.

9. *the father of the Edomites*] Lit. the father of Edom, *i.e.* either "the father of the Edomites," or "the founder of Idumæa."

11. *Teman*] We read elsewhere of a district in Idumæa called Teman, famous for its wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7, 20; Amos i. 12; Hab. iii. 3); and in Job we meet with Eliphaz the Temanite, probably descended from this Teman, the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau. Pliny ('H. N.' VI. 32) speaks of the Thimanæi in connection with Petra.

Omar] is compared by Knobel with the Beni Ammer in Southern Palestine and Northern Idumæa, and with the Amarin Arabs and the Amir Arabs, all mentioned by Seetzen, Burckhardt, and Robinson.

Zepho] Compare Zaphia, a place to the south of the Dead Sea (Knobel).

Kenaz] Compare Aneizeh, the name of an Arab tribe, and of a fortress to the north-east of Petra (Knobel).

12. *Amalek*] The ancestor of the Amalekites, who probably at an early period separated themselves from the rest of the Edom-

el; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.

14 ¶ And these were the sons of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.

15 ¶ These *were* dukes of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the firstborn *son* of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz,

16 Duke Korah, duke Gatam, *and* duke Amalek: these *are* the dukes *that came* of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these *were* the sons of Adah.

17 ¶ And these *are* the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these *are* the dukes *that came* of Reuel in the land of Edom; these *are* the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.

18 ¶ And these *are* the sons of Aholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah: these *were* the dukes *that came* of Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife.

19 These *are* the sons of Esau, who *is* Edom, and these *are* their dukes.

20 ¶ [d]These *are* the sons of Seir the Horite, who inhabited the land; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, [d] 1 Chron. 1. 38.

21 And Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan: these *are* the dukes of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom.

22 And the children of Lotan were Hori and Hemam; and Lotan's sister *was* Timna.

23 And the children of Shobal *were* these; Alvan, and Manahath, and Ebal, Shepho, and Onam.

24 And these *are* the children of

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ites, and formed a distinct and powerful tribe. The Arabs have a legend concerning an aboriginal tribe of Amalek, with whom it has been thought that the Edomitish Amalekites were fused. Nöldeke has a monograph on the Amalekites, in which he shews that the Arabian legends concerning them are drawn directly or indirectly from the Old Testament, and are utterly valueless when they depart from that only historical source. There is no authority in the Old Testament for the existence of this aboriginal tribe, except the mention in ch. xiv. 7 of "the country of the Amalekites." This name, however, is probably given by anticipation, not because the country was so called in Abraham's time, but because it had become known by that title before the time of Moses and the Exodus. The Amalekites, having their chief seat to the south of the mountains of Judah, as far as Kadesh (Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 43, 45), spread over the whole of the northern part of Arabia Petræa, from Havilah to Shur on the border of Egypt (1 S. xv. 3, 7, xxvii. 8); whilst one branch penetrated into the heart of Canaan (Judg. xii. 15).

13. *Nahath*] "A descent." Cp. with the valley of Akaba of like significance (Knob.).

Shammah] Cp. the Sameni, a tribe of Nomad Arabs mentioned by Steph. Byzant. (Knob.)

14. *Aholibamah*] See note A on vv. 2, 3 below.

Korah] Perhaps perpetuated in the modern tribe of Kurayeh (Knobel).

15. *dukes*] *i.e. duces*, leaders of tribes, phylarchs. The Hebrew *alluph* is connected with *eleph*, which signifies either "a thousand" or "a family." Hence Bochart and others understand here *chiliarchs*, leaders of thousands; whilst others, with more probability, understand *phylarchs*, heads of tribes or families, (see Ges. 'Thes.' pp. 105, 106). Rosenmüller thinks that the word is used metonymically, for a family, and would render "These are the families (or tribes) of the sons of Esau." This interpretation would apply well throughout the catalogue, but does not so well correspond with the etymology and formation of the word.

16. *Duke Korah*] These words are omitted in one MS. in the Sam. Pent. and Version. They are considered as having crept in through a clerical error from v. 18, by Kennicott, Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, Keil, &c.

20. *sons of Seir the Horite*] The inhabitants of the country previously to the Edomitish invasion. The Horites (*i.e.* Troglodytes or dwellers in caves), mentioned ch. xiv. 6 as an independent people, were partly exterminated and partly subdued by Esau and his descendants (Deut. ii. 12, 22).

Lotan] is compared with *Leyathan*, the name of a fierce tribe in the neighbourhood of Petra (Knobel).

22. *Hemam*] Cp. *Homaima*, a place to the south of Petra (Knobel).

23. *Alvan*] Cp. the *Alawin*, a tribe of Arabs of evil notoriety to the north of Akaba (Knobel)

Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this *was that* Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father.

25 And the children of Anah *were* these; Dishon, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah.

26 And these *are* the children of Dishon; Hemdan, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran.

27 The children of Ezer *are* these; Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan.

28 The children of Dishan *are* these; Uz, and Aran.

29 These *are* the dukes *that came* of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah,

30 Duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these *are* the dukes *that came* of Hori, among their dukes in the land of Seir.

31 ¶ And these *are* the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.

32 And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom: and the name of his city *was* Dinhabah.

33 And Bela died, and Jobab the

Manahath] Ptolemy, v. 17, 3, mentions *Manychiates* west of Petra (Knobel).

Shepho] Cp. the hill *Shafeh* north of Akaba (Robinson, 'B. R.' i. 256; Knobel).

24. *Anah that found the mules*] **Anah that found the hot springs.** (See note on vv. 2, 3 below.) The Greek Versions do not translate the word *yemim* (the LXX. has τὸν Ἰαμείν). The Samaritan text has "the Emim," a gigantic people, with which agrees the Targum of Onkelos, "the giants." This is followed by Bochart, Patrick, and others. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan renders "mules," being followed herein by Saad., Kimchi, and many Rabbins, by Luther, and the Authorised Version. The Vulgate renders "warm waters," *aquas calidas*, and the Syriac has "waters," a rendering adopted by Gesen. (see 'Thes.' p. 586), Rosenm., Schumann, and most modern interpreters. There were many warm springs in this region, the most famous being Callirrhoe, in the Wady Zerka Maein, which some suppose to have been the very springs discovered by Anah.

30. *Hori*] Or, "the Horite."

31. *And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*] These words have led many to suppose that this and the following verses were a late interpolation, as, it is thought, they must have been written after kings had reigned in Israel. Spinoza argued from them that it was clearer than midday that the whole Pentateuch was written centuries after the time of Moses; a most illogical conclusion, for the utmost that could be inferred would be that (as Kennicott supposed) these verses were taken from 1 Chron. i. 43—54, and having been inserted in the margin of a very ancient MS. of Genesis, had crept into the text.

There is however nothing inconsistent with the Mosaic origin of the whole passage. In the last chapter (ch. xxxv. 11) there had been an emphatic promise from God Almighty (El-Shaddai) to Jacob that "kings should come out of his loins." The Israelites, no doubt, cherished a constant hope of such a kingdom and such a kingly race. Moses himself (Deut. xxviii. 36) prophesied concerning the king that the Israelites should set over them; and hence it was not unnatural that, when recording the eight kings, who had reigned in the family of Esau up to his own time, he should have noted that as yet no king had risen from the family of his brother Jacob, to whom a kingly progeny had been promised. The words in the original are "before the reigning of a king to the sons of Israel;" and might be rendered, "whilst as yet the children of Israel have no king;" there being nothing in the words expressive of a past tense, or indicating that before the writing of the sentence a king had reigned in Israel.

The other difficulty in the passage is chronological, it being thought that so many dukes and kings could not have succeeded one another in the period which elapsed from Esau to Moses. But there is no reason to suppose that the dukes, mentioned from v. 15 to 19, reigned in succession, then the kings from v. 31 to 39, and then again the dukes mentioned from v. 40 to 43. On the contrary, a comparison of Num. xx. 14 with Exod. xv. 15 shews, that a single king was reigning in Edom contemporaneously with several dukes or phylarchs. The dukes (as their title indicates) were not sovereigns of the whole of Idumæa, but princes or rulers of tribes or provinces: moreover the kings do not appear to have succeeded by inheritance, the son never succeeding to his father. Hence they were probably elected by the dukes.

33. *Jobab*] The LXX. and some of the fathers consider this to have been the same person as Job; and the mention of Eliphaz in v. 11 in connection with Teman, and of Eli-

son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead.

34 And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of Temani reigned in his stead.

35 And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city *was* Avith.

36 And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead.

37 And Samlah died, and Saul of Rehoboth *by* the river reigned in his stead.

38 And Saul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead.

39 And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city *was* Pau; and his wife's name *was* Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.

40 And these *are* the names of the dukes *that came* of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth,

41 Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon,

42 Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar,

43 Duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these *be* the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession: he *is* Esau the father of [1] the Edomites.

[1] Heb. *Edom.*

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phaz the Temanite in the book of Job favours this belief.

Bozrah] A famous city of Idumæa (see Isa. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1, &c.), remains of which are still traced in *El Buseireh*, a ruined village in *Jebal*. (Burckhardt, 'Syr.' 407; Robinson, II. 167.)

37. *Rehoboth by the river*] or *Rehoboth Hannahar*, so distinguished from *Rehoboth Ir*, ch. x. 11. The river here is probably the Euphrates.

39. *Hadar*] Called Hadad in 1 Chr. i. 50, and here also in the Samaritan text. He probably was living when Moses wrote, as no mention is made of his death, an argument for the Mosaic origin of this chapter; for Hadad could hardly have been living after the time of the kings of Israel, to which period those who from v. 31 consider it to be an interpolation would assign this genealogy, or perhaps the whole chapter.

40. *And these are the names of the dukes*, &c.] From comparing the words in this verse "after their places, by their names" with those in v. 43, "according to their habitations in the land of their possession," it is inferred with great probability, that this second catalogue of dukes is, not a catalogue of dukes who reigned subsequently to the kings of the preceding verses, nor a different version of the catalogue given in vv. 15 to 19, but rather a territorial catalogue, recounting, not the names, but the cities in which the various dukes or phylarchs before named had their seat of government. If so, we must render "the duke of Timnah, the duke of Alvah, the duke of Jetheth, &c." Two of the names in this list correspond with two in the former list, viz. Timnah and Kenaz, because, as it is supposed, the dukes Timnah and Kenaz called their cities after their own names. Aholibamah may have been a city called after the Horite princess (v. 25). (So Schumann, Knobel, Del., Keil, Kalisch, &c.).

43. *the father of the Edomites*] See on v. 9.

NOTE A on CHAP. XXXVI. VV. 2, 3.

Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; and Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth] The difficulty of reconciling this with the names of the three wives of Esau, as given in ch. xxvi. 34, xxviii. 3, will be seen by comparing the two accounts as follows:

Ch. xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9.

1. Judith, daughter of Beeri the Hittite.
2. Bashemath, daughter of Elon the Hittite.
3. Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael, sister to Nebaioth.

Ch. xxxvi. 2.

1. Aholibamah, daughter of Anah daughter of Zibeon the Hivite.
2. Adah, daughter of Elon the Hittite.
3. Bashemath, daughter of Ishmael, sister to Nebaioth.

From this table it appears that every one of the three wives is designated by a different name in the earlier history from that in the later genealogy. Yet there can be little doubt that 2 Bashemath the daughter of Elon = Adah the daughter of Elon, nor that 3 Mahalath = Bashemath, both being described as daughter

of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth. We may therefore conclude also that 1 Judith = Aholibamah. This excludes the explanation suggested by several commentators, that the wives of Esau, named in ch. xxvi. 34 had died without offspring, and that Esau had married others. It seems far more probable that the one set of names were those which they bore in their father's house, the other set having been given to them by Esau, or by the Edomites, after they had become mothers of tribes.

1. The identity of Judith and Aholibamah may appear thus. Judith is called the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, whilst Aholibamah is called "the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite." Anah was probably not the mother, but the father of Aholibamah, the second "daughter" being referrible back to Aholibamah, and not attributable to Anah (unless the reading of the Samaritan, LXX., and Syriac, "the son of Zibeon," be the right reading); for in v. 24 we find that Anah was the son of Zibeon, and the grandson of Seir the Horite. The reason why the same person has been called Anah and Beeri has been derived by Hengstenberg and others from the fact that Anah is said, in v. 24, to have discovered the hot springs, from which very probably he acquired the name of Beeri, *i.e. fontanus*, "the well-finder." A greater difficulty is apparent in his being called a "Hittite" (xxvi. 34), a "Hivite" (xxxvi. 2), and a "Horite" (xxxvi. 20). It is observed that these three words "Hittite," "Hivite," and "Horite," differ in Hebrew by one letter only, and that they were easily interchanged in transcription. It is, however, clear (from xxvii. 46) that Rebekah calls Judith a daughter of Heth. And from xxxvi. 20, 24, 25, that Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, was a Horite. The difficulty seems therefore rather to admit of solution by saying that Hittite (like Amorite) was a generic name for a large portion of the Canaanitish people, comprehending both Hivites and Horites. It is not improbable that Hivite in v. 2 may be an error of transcription for Horite (חורי for חוי), in which case we have only to conclude that the Horites of Mount Seir were reckoned by Isaac and Rebecca as among the Hittite inhabitants of Canaan. If, however, the reading Hivite be correct, it is not impossible that the Hivites, a southern people, may originally have come from Mount Seir, and have been dwellers in its rocky fastnesses, which is the meaning of the word Horite (troglodyte, dweller in caves). If this be correct, then we must conclude that Judith the daughter of Anah, called Beeri, from his finding the hot springs, and the granddaughter of Zibeon the Horite, one of the tribes reckoned in the great Hittite family, when she married Esau, assumed the name of Aholibamah ("the tent of the height").

2. Bashemath is described exactly as Adah is, *i.e.* as the daughter of Elon the Hittite. There is no difficulty here except in the change of name into Adah, "ornament," a change not improbable for Esau to have made.

3. In the same manner Mahalath is the daughter of Ishmael the sister of Nebaioth, and Bashemath is the daughter of Ishmael the sister of Nebaioth. There would be no difficulty in this, except that Bashemath, the second name of the daughter of Ishmael, is the same with the first name of the daughter of Elon the Hittite. If this seems to some irreconcileable with probability, it may be ascribed to an error of transcription, likely enough to occur in the writing out of genealogies, and the Samaritan text reads Mahalath in the genealogy as well as in the history.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

2 *Joseph is hated of his brethren.* 5 *His two dreams.* 13 *Jacob sendeth him to visit his brethren.* 18 *His brethren conspire his death.* 21 *Reuben saveth him.* 26 *They sell him to the Ishmeelites.* 31 *His father, deceived by the bloody coat, mourneth for him.* 36 *He is sold to Potiphar in Egypt.*

AND Jacob dwelt in the land †wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan. † Heb. *of his father's sojournings.*

2 These *are* the generations of Jacob. Joseph, *being* seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren; and the lad *was* with the

CHAP. XXXVII. 1. *And Jacob dwelt in the land*, &c.] Ch. xxxv. concluded the history of Isaac. Ch. xxxvi. disposed of the history of Esau and his descendants down to the very time of the Exodus. (See on ch. xxxvi. 39.) This first verse of ch. xxxvii. now lands us in the time and place, from whence the succeeding history is to begin. **Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings, in the land of Canaan.** Esau had left Canaan to Jacob, who after their father's death became the sojourner in the land, which his posterity were to possess.

2. *These are the generations of Jacob.*] The *Toledoth*, or genealogical history of Isaac began (ch. xxv. 19) after the death of his father Abraham, a few verses having been allotted (vv. 12—18) to dispose of the history of his brother Ishmael. In the same manner, the *Toledoth* of Jacob are given in this chapter after the death of his father Isaac, ch. xxxvi. having intervened to account for Esau and his family. Many of the preceding chapters had been occupied with the history of Jacob and his sons, but Jacob's *Toledoth* begin at this point, because now he has become

sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives: and Joseph brought unto his father their evil report.

3 Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he *was* the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of *many* [1]colours.

[1]Or, *pieces.*

4 And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him.

5 ¶ And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told *it* his brethren: and they hated him yet the more.

6 And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed:

7 For, behold, we *were* binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf.

8 And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his words.

9 ¶ And he dreamed yet another dream, and told it his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed a dream more; and, behold, the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me.

10 And he told *it* to his father, and to his brethren: and his father

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the sole head and father of the chosen seed. The *Toledoth*, or family history, of Jacob continues now till his death ch. l.

2. *Joseph, being seventeen years old.*] This history goes back a few years; for Isaac must have been living when Joseph was seventeen. (See note at the end of ch. xxxi.) But the historian had fully wound up the history of Isaac, before commencing the *Toledoth* of Jacob; and he now gives unity to the history of the descent into Egypt by beginning with the adolescence of Joseph, his father's fondness for him, and his brothers' jealousy of him.

3. *the son of his old age*] It is not impossible that the greater part of this narrative may have been chronologically before the birth of Benjamin and the death of Rachel, related in ch. xxxv. 18.

coat of many colours] (1). The LXX. Vulg. and most modern versions render a garment made of different pieces, of patchwork, and so of many colours. In the well-known scene from the tomb of Chnoumhotep at Beni Hassan, a tomb of the XIIth dynasty, the Semitic visitors who are offering presents to the Governor are dressed in robes of rich colouring, apparently formed of separate small pieces or patches sewn together. There is an excellent engraving and explanation in Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Egypte,' p. 63.

(2). The versions of Aquila, Symm., Syr. render a tunic with sleeves or fringes extending to both hands and feet, *tunica manicata et talaris* (see Hieron. 'Qu.' ad h. l.), which is the interpretation adopted by most modern Hebraists (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1117). We find Thamar, the daughter of David, wearing this same dress (2 S. xiii. 18): and Josephus ('Ant.' vii. 8. 1) speaks of long garments reaching to the hands and ankles as worn by Jewish maidens. But the engraving at Beni Hassan just mentioned makes the former interpretation (1) the more probable.

It has been thought by some that Jacob, in his anger at the sins of his elder sons, especially of Reuben his firstborn, and in his partiality for Joseph, the firstborn of Rachel, designed to give him the right of primogeniture, that this robe was the token of birthright, and perhaps even designating the priestly office of the head of the family. (See Heidegger, Tom. II. p. 581. Braunius 'de Vestitu sacerdotali,' pp. 473 sqq., Kurtz, Vol. I. p. 378, Clark's translation, Blunt, 'Undesigned Coincidences,' p. 15.)

7. *we were binding sheaves in the field*] It appears from this, that Jacob was not a mere nomad, but, like his father Isaac (ch. xxvi. 12), had adopted agricultural as well as pastoral employments.

10. *his father rebuked him*] Joseph may have told the dream in the simplicity of his heart, or perhaps he may have been elated by his father's partiality and by "the abundance of the revelations" (2 Cor. xii. 7).

thy mother] It is possible that Rachel may have been living now, for neither the date of the dream nor of Rachel's death are clearly given. The dream may have been some time before the selling of Joseph, and is only related here as one of the reasons which caused his brethren to hate him. If, however, Rachel was dead, we must then understand Jacob to mean by "thy mother" either Leah, who would be his step-mother, or perhaps more likely Bilhah, who was Rachel's handmaid, and at once nurse and step-mother to Joseph; and it is not impossible that in either Leah or Bilhah the dream may have been fulfilled; for we do not know whether they were

rebuked him, and said unto him, What *is* this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?

11 And his brethren envied him; but his father observed the saying.

12 ¶ And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem.

13 And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed *the flock* in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here *am I.*

14 And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, † see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

† Heb. *see the peace of thy brethren, &c.*

15 ¶ And a certain man found him, and, behold, *he was* wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?

16 And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed *their flocks.*

17 And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

18 And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him.

19 And they said one to another, Behold, this † dreamer cometh.

† Heb. *master of dreams.*

20 Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.

21 And [a] Reuben heard *it*, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him.

[a] chap. 42. 22.

22 And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, *but* cast him into this pit that *is* in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.

23 ¶ And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph out of his coat, *his* coat of *many* † colours that *was* on him;

† Or, *pieces.*

24 And they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit *was* empty, *there was* no water in it.

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alive or not when Jacob went down into Egypt.

14. *out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem*] It appears from this that Jacob was now dwelling in the neighbourhood of Hebron where his father Isaac was still living (see on v. 3). After the slaughter of the Shechemites (see ch. xxxiv.) Jacob journeyed southward; but from the fact that his sons were sent to feed sheep in Shechem, it is not impossible that he may have left some of his cattle still in their old pastures, and his anxiety here about his sons, who were thus feeding in Shechem, may have arisen in part from the enmity excited against them in that neighbourhood by their violence. In ch. xxxv. we trace Jacob's southward journeyings from Shechem first to Bethel, v. 6; then to Bethlehem, vv. 16, 19; then to the tower of Edar, v. 21; and finally to Hebron, v. 27, where Isaac died, v. 29. But from this verse, ch. xxxvii. 14, we infer that Jacob must have arrived at Hebron several years before his father's death.

17. *Dothan*] or *Dothain*, the two wells or cisterns. They may have gone there because of the water in these wells. Dothan is said (Euseb. 'Onomasticon') to have been twelve Roman miles north of Sebaste (*i.e.* Shechem or Samaria) towards the plain of Jezreel. It still retains its ancient name (Robinson, 'B. R.' III. 122).

20. *some pit*] A cistern, or well, dug by the shepherds of the country, to catch and preserve the rain-water. Some of these cisterns were very deep, and a lad thrown into one of them would have been unable to escape.

24. *the pit was empty, there was no water in it*] Apparently referred to by Zech. ix. 11, in a prophecy of the Messiah. Joseph has been recognised by most Christian interpreters as a type of Christ; in his father's love for him, in his being sent to his brethren, rejected by them, sold to the Gentiles, delivered to death, in the sanctity of his life, in his humiliation, in his exaltation to be a Prince and a Saviour, in that his father and mother and brethren all came and bowed down to him. We may notice here, that the counsels of his brethren to prevent the fulfilment of his dreams, like the counsels of Herod and the Jews to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecies con-

25 And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry *it* down to Egypt.

26 And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit *is it* if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood?

27 Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmeelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he *is* our brother *and* our flesh. And his brethren † were content.

† Heb. *hearkened.*

28 Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, [b] and sold Joseph to the Ishmeelites for twenty *pieces* of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

[b] Psal. 105. 17. Wisd. 10. 13. Acts 7. 9.

29 ¶ And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph *was* not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.

30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child *is* not; and I, whither shall I go?

31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood;

32 And they sent the coat of *many* colours, and they brought *it* to their father; and said, This have we found: know now whether it *be* thy son's coat or no.

33 And he knew it, and said, *It is* my son's coat; an [c] evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.

[c] chap. 44. 28.

34 And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.

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cerning Jesus, only served to bring about God's counsels, which were wrought out by the very means taken to defeat them. If Joseph had not been sold to the Midianites, he would never have been exalted to be governor in Egypt. If Christ had not been persecuted and at last crucified, He would not have worked out redemption for us, have risen from the dead, and ascended up into His glory.

25. *they sat down to eat bread*] In this heartless meal Reuben can have taken no part. It appears from verse 29, that he must have left his brethren, perhaps with the very purpose of seeking means to rescue Joseph. The simplicity and truthfulness of the narrative are all the more apparent by the indifference of the writer to the question how and why it was that Reuben was absent at this point of the history. A forger would have been likely to tell all about it, and make it all plain. Yet strangely enough, this very artlessness has been made an argument against the historical truth of the narrative, as being clumsily arranged, and inconsistent in these details.

25. *A company of Ishmeelites*] **A travelling company** or "caravan." Ishmaelites afterwards called Midianites in v. 28, and Medanim in v. 36. See note on ch. xxv. 2. Medan and Midian were sons of Abraham by Keturah; Ishmael his son by Hagar. The Ishmaelites and Midianites were near neighbours, and very probably joined together in caravans and commercial enterprizes. Very probably too the Ishmaelites, being the more powerful tribe, may have by this time become a general name for several smaller and associated tribes.

spicery] probably "storax," the gum of the styrax-tree. So Aqu. followed by Bochart, 'Hieroz.' II. p. 532, Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 883, &c. The LXX. and Vulg. give only "perfumes."

balm] Probably the gum of the opobalsam or balsam-tree, which grew abundantly in Gilead, and was especially used for healing wounds. This is the interpretation commonly given by the Jews, and adopted by Bochart ('Hieroz.' I. 628); Celsius ('Hierob.' II. 180); Ges. ('Thes.' 1185, &c.). Lee (Lex. in loc.) contends for "mastich" as the right rendering.

myrrh] According to almost all modern interpreters Ladanum, an odoriferous gum found on the leaves of the *cistus creticus* or *cistus ladanifera*. (See Celsius, 'Hierob.' I. 280—288, Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 748, Smith, 'Dict. of Bible,' s.v. *Myrrh*.)

27. *were content*] **hearkened.**

35. *his daughters*] See on ch. xxx. 21.

into the grave] **To sheol.** He thought his son devoured by wild beasts, therefore the word *Sheol* translated "grave" must here mean the place of the departed. The word appears to signify a hollow subterraneous place (comp. *hell, hole*, &c.). (See Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1348.)

36 And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an [†]officer of Pharaoh's, *and* [††]captain of the guard.

[†]Heb. *eunuch.* [but the word doth signify not only *eunuchs*, but also *chamberlains, courtiers,* and *officers.*]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *Judah begetteth Er, Onan, and Shelah.* 6 *Er marrieth Tamar.* 8 *The trespass of Onan.* 11 *Tamar stayeth for Shelah.* 13 *She deceiveth Judah.* 27 *She beareth twins, Pharez and Zarah.*

AND it came to pass at that time, that Judah went down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name *was* Hirah.

[†]Heb. *chief of the slaughtermen,* or, *executioners.*

[††]Or, *chief marshal.*

2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite, whose name *was* [a]Shuah; and he took her, and went in unto her.

[a] 1 Chron. 2. 3.

3 And she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name Er.

4 [b]And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan.

[b] Numb. 26. 19.

5 And she yet again conceived, and bare a son; and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, when she bare him.

6 And Judah took a wife for Er

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36. *Potiphar*] Generally supposed to be the same as Potiphera, *i.e.* "devoted to Ra," the Sun-God. (See Ges. 'Thes.,' p. 1094.) It is far more probably "devoted to Par or Phar," *i.e.* to the Royal House or Palace. (See 'Excursus on Egyptian Words' at the end of this volume.)

an officer of Pharaoh's] Heb. "an eunuch;" but used also of chamberlains and other officers about the court. The immediate predecessor in Manetho of Sesostris, who was of the same dynasty with Joseph's Pharaoh, was slain by his eunuchs.

captain of the guard] **Chief of the executioners**, or "commander of the body guard," who executed the sentences of the king. (Cp. 2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9, lii. 12.) Herod. (II. 168) tells us that "a thousand Calasirians and the same number of Hermotybians formed in alternate years the body-guard of the king" of Egypt.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1. *it came to pass at that time*] This chapter may appear to be an useless digression inserted at an inconvenient time; but in reality it supplies a very important link, and this was probably the best place for its introduction. In the *Toledoth*, or family history, of Jacob, the two chief persons were Joseph and Judah; Joseph from his high character, his personal importance, his influence in the future destinies of the race, and his typical foreshadowing of the Messiah; Judah, from his obtaining the virtual right of primogeniture, and from his being the ancestor of David and of the Son of David. Hence, at a natural pause in the history of Joseph, viz. when he had been now sold into Egypt and settled in Potiphar's house, the historian recurs to the events in the family of Judah, which he carries down to the birth of Pharez, the next link in the ancestry of the Saviour. Thus he clears away all that was necessary to be told of the history of the twelve patriarchs, with the exception of that which was involved in the history of Joseph. There is also a remarkable contrast brought vividly out by this juxtaposition of the impure line of Judah and his children with the chastity and moral integrity of Joseph as seen in the succeeding chapter.

at that time] It is by no means certain that this note of time is to be immediately connected with the events in the last chapter. The strict chronological sequence in these *Toledoth* is not always followed. Episodes, like the genealogies of Ishmael and Esau above referred to, are introduced here and there, in order to avoid interrupting the general order of another narrative, and so this episode of the history of Judah is brought in to prevent an interruption in the history of Joseph. If the chronology in note at the end of ch. xxxi. be adopted, Judah would have been at least 26 at the time of Jacob's flight from Padan-aram, and from that time to the going down to Egypt there would be an interval of 33 years.

went down from his brethren] *i.e.* went southward (Abenezra, Rosenm. &c.).

Adullamite] Adullam, a place afterwards famous in the history of David, 1 S. xxii. 1 (see also Josh. xii. 15; 2 S. xxiii. 13; 1 Chr. xi. 15; 2 Chr. xi. 7; Micah i. 15), is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his day, then a small village to the east of Eleutheropolis. It must have lain in the southern part of the plain of Judah, but its site has not been discovered by modern travellers.

2. *a certain Canaanite, whose name was Shuah*] Shuah was the name of the father of Judah's wife, not of the wife herself, as appears from the Hebrew and from v. 12. This marriage of Judah with one of the daughters of the land was the fruitful source of sin and misery in his family.

5. *at Chezib*] Probably the same as Achzib mentioned with Adullam, Mic. i. 14, 15.

his firstborn, whose name *was* Tamar.

[c] Numb. 26. 19.

7 And [c] Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD slew him.

8 And Judah said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and marry her, and raise up seed to thy brother.

9 And Onan knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled *it* on the ground, lest that he should give seed to his brother.

10 And the thing which he did [†] displeased the LORD: wherefore he slew him also.

[†] Heb. *was evil in the eyes of the* LORD.

11 Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow at thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown: for he said, Lest peradventure he die also, as his brethren *did*. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house.

12 ¶ And [†] in process of time the daughter of Shuah Judah's wife died; and Judah was comforted, and went up unto his sheepshearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite.

[†] Heb. *the days were multiplied.*

13 And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold thy father in law goeth up to Timnath to shear his sheep.

14 And she put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in [†] an open place, which *is* by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.

[†] Heb. *the door of eyes*, or, *of Enaim.*

15 When Judah saw her, he thought her *to be* an harlot; because she had covered her face.

16 And he turned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee; (for he knew not that she *was* his daughter in law.) And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me?

17 And he said, I will send *thee* [†] a kid from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give *me* a pledge, till thou send *it*?

[†] Heb. *a kid of the goats.*

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6. *Tamar*] *i.e.* "a palm-tree."

8. *raise up seed to thy brother*] As this was before the law of Moses, it would appear probable that this *lex leviratus*, law of marriage with a brother's widow, rested on some traditional custom, very probably among the Chaldees. The law of Moses did not abolish it, but gave rules concerning it (Deut. xxv. 5), as was the case as regards many other ancient practices. This law of levirate marriage prevailed among Indian, Persian, African, and some Italian races (Diod. Sic. XII. 18).

11. *Then said Judah to Tamar*] Judah perhaps superstitiously seems to have thought Tamar in some way the cause of his son's death (cp. Tobit iii. 7); or he may have thought Shelah too young to marry.

12. *Timnath*] Probably not the border town of Dan and Judah, between Ekron and Beth Shemesh (Josh. xv. 10), but Timnah in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 57).

his friend] The LXX., and Vulg. have "his shepherd," but Onkelos, Syr., Arab. and most modern interpreters, render as the Authorised Version, which is probably right.

14. *in an open place*] In the gate of Enaim. So the LXX., Jerome (in 'Loc. Heb.'), Gesen., Winer and most modern interpreters. Enaim is probably the same as Enam, Josh. xv. 34. Enam is a place in the plain which lay on the road from Judah's dwelling-place to Timnath (Knobel). Other possible renderings are "at the opening of the eyes," *i.e.* in a public place, such as "the crossing of two roads," (so Vulg., Syr., and many Jewish interpreters); and "at the breaking forth of two fountains" (so Abenezra, Rosenm. and others): but the first is pretty certainly the true.

15. *an harlot; because she had covered her face*] Probably Judah thought her to be a woman having a vow. In v. 21, he calls her by a title translated "harlot," meaning literally "consecrated," *i.e.* to the impure worship of Astarte, as was the custom of Babylon in the worship of Mylitta (Herod. I. 199). This abominable worship was very early introduced into Canaan and Egypt. So *Kedeshah*, "a consecrated woman," appears to have come into use as a kind of euphemism. The veil probably led Judah to think her thus under a vow: for there is no reason to suppose that mere profligates so covered their faces (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1197). The worship of the *Dea Syra* at Byblos is recorded at a very early age. In the time of Rameses II. it was already very ancient.

18 And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy bracelets, and thy staff that *is* in thine hand. And he gave *it* her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him.

19 And she arose, and went away, and laid by her vail from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood.

20 And Judah sent the kid by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive *his* pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not.

21 Then he asked the men of that place, saying, Where *is* the harlot, that *was* [1]openly by the way side? And they said, There was no harlot in this *place*.

[1] Or, *in Enajim.*

22 And he returned to Judah, and said, I cannot find her; and also the men of the place said, *that* there was no harlot in this *place*.

23 And Judah said, Let her take *it* to her, lest we [1]be shamed: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her.

[1] Heb. *become a contempt.*

24 ¶ And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and also, behold, she *is* with child by whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.

25 When she *was* brought forth, she sent to her father in law, saying, By the man, whose these *are*, *am* I with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose *are* these, the signet, and bracelets, and staff.

26 And Judah acknowledged *them*, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; because that I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he knew her again no more.

27 ¶ And it came to pass in the time of her travail, that, behold, twins *were* in her womb.

28 And it came to pass, when she travailed, that *the one* put out *his* hand: and the midwife took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first.

29 And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and she said, [1]How hast thou broken forth? *this* breach *be* upon thee: therefore his name was called [1a]Pharez.

[1] Or, *Wherefore hast thou made this breach against thee?*
[1] That is, *a breach.*
[a] 1 Chron. 2. 4. Matt. 1. 3.

30 And afterward came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zarah.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *Joseph advanced in Potiphar's house.* 7 *He resisteth his mistress's temptation.* 13 *He is falsely accused.* 20 *He is cast in prison.* 21 *God is with him there.*

AND Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands

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18. *Thy signet*] A seal or signet-ring. The ancients wore it sometimes, not as a ring on the finger, but hanging round the neck by a cord or chain (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 534).

thy bracelets] **Thy cord:** the cord or string by which the seal was suspended (so Ges., Rosenm., Schum., Lee).

staff] It was probably of considerable value, as among the Babylonians, and on Egyptian monuments.

21. *openly*] **At Enaim.** See on v. 14.

26. *She has been more righteous than I*] Judah acknowledges that he had done wrong to Tamar in not giving her his son Shelah, according to the *lex leviratus*, that the brother should raise up seed to his brother. It appears further from Ruth ch. iii. iv. that, according to the patriarchal custom, the nearest of kin was to take the widow to wife, hence when Shelah does not take her, she considers Judah the right person with whom to form such an alliance.

29. *How hast thou broken forth? this breach be upon thee*] Or, "why hast thou made a rent for thyself?" or "hast rent a rent for thyself?"

Pharez] *i.e.* "breach" or "breaking forth."

30. *Zarah*] *i.e.* "rising."

CHAP. XXXIX. 1. *And Joseph was brought down to Egypt*, &c.] A recapitulation of the narrative in ch. xxxvii. 36, which had been interrupted by the history of Judah's family in ch. xxxviii.

Ishmeelites] See on ch. xxxvii. 25.

of the Ishmeelites, which had brought him down thither.

2 And the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian.

3 And his master saw that the LORD *was* with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand.

4 And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he served him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all *that* he had he put into his hand.

5 And it came to pass from the time *that* he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had in the house, and in the field.

6 And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and he knew not ought he had, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph was *a* goodly *person*, and well favoured.

7 ¶ And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me.

8 But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master wotteth not what *is* with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand;

9 *There is* none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou *art* his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?

10 And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, *or* to be with her.

11 And it came to pass about this time, that *Joseph* went into the house to do his business; and *there was* none of the men of the house there within.

12 And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out.

13 And it came to pass, when she

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2. *the LORD was with Joseph*] The variety in the use of the Divine names in the history of Joseph is very observable. The name JEHOVAH occurs only where the narrator is speaking in his own person; until we come to ch. xlix. where Jacob uses it in the midst of his blessing on Dan, ch. xlix. 18. In all other speeches in the history we have Elohim, sometimes Ha-Elohim with the article, and sometimes El, or Ha-El. The reason of this is generally apparent. The whole history, though given by an inspired writer to whom the name JEHOVAH was familiar, concerns the history of Joseph and his kindred in contact with a heathen people. It is therefore on all accounts natural that the general name Elohim, and not the specially revealed name JEHOVAH, should be used in dialogue. Even the narrative, as in ch. xlvi., is most naturally carried on in a so-called Elohistic form, the name Elohim being of common use to both Hebrews and Egyptians. The adoption of the name *El* (or Ha-El) in xlvi. 3, is probably with marked reference to the blessing on Abraham pronounced in the name of *El-Shaddai* in ch. xvii. 1.

4. *overseer*] The Egyptian sculptures represent the property of rich men as superintended by scribes or stewards, who are exhibited as carefully registering all the operations of the household, the garden, the field, &c.

6. *Joseph was a goodly person, and well favoured*] Lit. "was fair of form and fair of aspect," or "appearance."

7. *his master's wife*] The licentiousness of the Egyptian women has always been complained of (see Herod. II. 111; Diod. I. 59). The same appears from the monuments, which prove also that women did not live so retired a life in Egypt as in other ancient and especially Eastern countries (Wilkinson, Vol. II. p. 389, Hengstenb. 'Egypt.' p. 26). There is a very remarkable resemblance between this passage in the history of Joseph and a very ancient Egyptian Romance in the Papyrus d'Orbiney in the British Museum, called "The Two Brothers," in which the wife of the elder brother acts in the same manner and uses almost the same words towards the younger brother as Potiphar's wife uses towards Joseph (see Ebers, 'Ægypten,' p. 311).

9. *sin against God*] The direct sin would have been against his master; but Joseph clearly recognized that the true guilt of all sin consists in its breach of the law, and disobedience to the will of God.

saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth,

14 That she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried
† Heb. *great.* with a †loud voice:

15 And it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled, and got him out.

16 And she laid up his garment by her, until his lord came home.

17 And she spake unto him according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me:

18 And it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled out.

19 And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled.

20 And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners *were* bound: and he was there in the prison.

21 ¶ But the LORD was with Joseph, and †shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison. † Heb. *extended kindness unto him.*

22 And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that *were* in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer *of it*.

23 The keeper of the prison looked not to anything *that was* under his hand; because the LORD was with him, and *that* which he did, the LORD made *it* to prosper.

CHAPTER XL.

1 *The butler and baker of Pharaoh in prison.* 4 *Joseph hath charge of them.* 5 *He interpreteth their dreams.* 20 *They come to pass according to his interpretation.* 23 *The ingratitude of the butler.*

AND it came to pass after these things, *that* the butler of the king of Egypt and *his* baker had offended their lord the king of Egypt.

2 And Pharaoh was wroth against two *of* his officers, against the chief of the butlers, and against the chief of the bakers.

3 And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, into the prison, the place where Joseph *was* bound.

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20. *prison*] The word here used occurs only here and in ch. xl. It probably means a turret or rounded (perhaps arched) building or apartment, arched or rounded for strength, used as a prison or dungeon. It appears from ch. xl. 3, to have been a part of the house of the captain of the guard or chief of the executioners, in which the state prisoners were kept, and to have had a special jailer or keeper of the prison, an officer of the chief of the executioners, placed over it. In ch. xl. 15, Joseph speaks of it as "a dungeon" or pit, which would quite correspond with the character of an arched or vaulted room. In Ps. cv. 17, 18, the imprisonment of Joseph is represented as having been very severe, "whose feet they afflicted with the fetters, the iron entered into his soul." It is most probable that at first Joseph's treatment may have been of this character, the crime with which he was charged having been such that a slave would most likely have been instantly put to death for it. By degrees, however, he gained, under God's Providence, the confidence of the jailer (v. 22), when the rigour of his confinement was mitigated, and at length the chief of the executioners himself (either Potiphar, or, as some think, his successor) intrusts him with the care of important state prisoners. The fact that Joseph was not put to death, and by degrees treated kindly in prison, has given rise to the conjecture, that Potiphar did not wholly believe his wife's story, though he to a certain extent acted on it (Cleric in loc., Keil, &c.).

CHAP. XL. 2. *the chief of the butlers*] **The chief of the cupbearers.** The office of cupbearer to the sovereign was one of importance and high honour in the East. See Herod. III. 34.

chief of the bakers] or "confectioners." The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan adds that "they had taken counsel to throw the poison of death into his food and into his drink, to kill their master, the king of Mizraim." This is probably only a conjecture from the fact that the two offending persons were immediately concerned with the food and the drink of the king.

4 And the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he served them: and they continued a season in ward.

5 ¶ And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which *were* bound in the prison.

6 And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and looked upon them, and, behold, they *were* sad.

7 And he asked Pharaoh's officers that *were* with him in the ward of his lord's house, saying, Wherefore † look ye *so* sadly to day?

† Heb. are *your faces evil?*

8 And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and *there is* no interpreter of it. And Joseph said unto them, *Do* not interpretations *belong* to God? tell me *them*, I pray you.

9 And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine *was* before me;

10 And in the vine *were* three branches: and it *was* as though it budded, *and* her blossoms shot forth; and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes:

11 And Pharaoh's cup *was* in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.

12 And Joseph said unto him, This *is* the interpretation of it: The three branches *are* three days:

13 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh ‖lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thy place: and thou shalt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler.

‖ Or, *reckon.*

14 But † think on me when it shall be well with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house:

† Heb. *remember me with thee.*

15 For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.

16 When the chief baker saw that

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4. *they continued a season*] Lit. "days," by which the Jews very generally understand a year.

9. *a vine*] Herodotus denies the existence of vines in ancient Egypt, and says that the Egyptian wine was made of barley (II. 77). Yet Herodotus himself (II. 42, 48, 144) and Diodorus (I. 11) identify Osiris with the Greek Bacchus, the discoverer of the vine, and Diodorus (I. 15) expressly ascribes to Osiris the first cultivation of the vine. But, moreover, it now appears from the monuments that both the cultivation of grapes and the art of making wine were well known in Egypt from the time of the Pyramids. Wine was universally used by the rich throughout Egypt, and beer supplied its place at the tables of the poor, not because "they had no vines in the country, but because it was cheaper." (Sir G. Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's Herod. II. 77. See also Rosellini, Vol. II. pp. 365, 373, 377; Wilkinson, Vol. II. 143; Hengstenberg, 'Egypt,' &c. p. 16; Hävernick, 'Introd. to Pentateuch,' in h.l.; Ebers, 'Ægypten,' p. 323.)

11. *I took the grapes, and pressed them*] Some have thought that this indicates that the Egyptians did not at this time practise the fermentation of the grape, but merely drank the fresh juice, which would accord with the statement of Plutarch ('Is. et Osir.' § 6) that the Egyptians before the time of Psammetichus neither drank wine nor made libations thereof, as esteeming it to have sprung from the blood of those who made war with the gods; but the monuments represent the process of fermenting wine in very early times. See last note.

13. *shall Pharaoh lift up thine head*] Some think this expression merely means "will take count of thee," "will remember thee." Cp. Ex. xxx. 12; Num. i. 49; where the marginal reading is "reckon." More probably the meaning is, "will take thee out of prison" (see Ges. p. 914).

15. *the land of the Hebrews*] Though the patriarchs had been strangers and pilgrims, yet Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had effected something like permanent settlements in the neighbourhood of Mamre, Hebron, Shechem, &c. Probably too the visit of Abraham to Egypt and the intercourse of the Egyptians with the Hittites and other Canaanitish tribes, had made the name of Hebrew known to the Egyptians. Joseph does not say "the land of Canaan," lest he should be confounded with the Canaanites, who were odious to himself as being idolaters.

the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also *was* in my dream, and, behold, *I had* three [1]white baskets on my head:

[1] Or, *full of holes.*

17 And in the uppermost basket *there was* of all manner of [t]bakemeats for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head.

[t] Heb. *meat of Pharaoh, the work of a baker,* or, *cook.*

18 And Joseph answered and said, This *is* the interpretation thereof: The three baskets *are* three days:

19 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh [1]lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee.

[1] Or, *reckon thee,* and take thy office *from thee.*

20 ¶ And it came to pass the third day, *which was* Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he [1]lifted up the head of the chief butler and of the chief baker among his servants.

[1] Or, *reckoned.*

21 And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand:

22 But he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to them.

23 Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.

CHAPTER XLI.

1 *Pharaoh's two dreams.* 25 *Joseph interpreteth them.* 33 *He giveth Pharaoh counsel.* 38 *Joseph is advanced.* 50 *He begetteth Manasseh and Ephraim.* 54 *The famine beginneth.*

AND it came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the river.

2 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven well favoured kine and fatfleshed; and they fed in a meadow.

3 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the *other* kine upon the brink of the river.

4 And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.

5 And he slept and dreamed the second time: and, behold, seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, [t]rank and good.

[t] Heb. *fat.*

6 And, behold, seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them.

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16. *three white baskets*] Probably "baskets of white bread;" so LXX., Aq., Vulg., Syr., Onk. Some prefer "baskets full of holes," "perforated," or "wicker baskets."

on my head] See Herod. II. 35, of the men bearing burdens on their heads.

17. *bakemeats for Pharaoh*] Lit. "food for Pharaoh, the work of a baker." The Egyptians appear to have been very luxurious in the preparation of different kinds of bread and pastry. (See Rosellini, Vol. II. 264; Wilkinson, II. 384; Hengstenberg, p. 27.)

19. *shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee*] The same words as those used in v. 13, with the addition of "from off thee," making the most vital difference. The mode of punishment was probably decapitation, the most common form of execution in Egypt (Ges. p. 915); though some have thought hanging or crucifixion, as Onkelos in loc. Possibly the words may only indicate *capital* punishment, like the *capite plecti* of the Latins.

CHAP. XLI. 1. *the river*] The "yeor," an Egyptian word signifying "great river," or "canal," used in Scripture for the Nile. The Nile had a sacred and a profane name. The sacred name was *Hapi*, i.e. Apis. The profane name was *Aur*, with the epithet *aa* great. The Coptic forms ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲱ, correspond exactly to the Hebrew *yeor*.

2. *kine*] The Egyptians esteemed the cow above all other animals. It was sacred to Isis (Herod. II. 41), or rather to Athor, the Venus Genetrix of Egypt, and was looked on as "a symbol of the Earth and its cultivation and food" (Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' v. p. 671). Hence it was very natural that in Pharaoh's dream the fruitful and unfruitful years should be typified by well-favoured and ill-favoured kine (see Hengstenb. 'Egypt,' p. 28).

in a meadow] **In the reed grass.** The word (Achu) is of Egyptian origin. It is not common, but occurs in a papyrus of early date (*akh-akh*, green, verdant). Jerome (on Isai. xix. 7) says that "when he enquired of the learned what the word meant, he was told by the Egyptians that in their tongue every thing green that grows in marshes is called by this name." It probably therefore means the sedge, reed, or rank grass by the river's side.

7 And the seven thin ears devoured the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, *it was* a dream.

8 And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled; and he sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but *there was* none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh.

9 ¶ Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, saying, I do remember my faults this day:

10 Pharaoh was wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the captain of the guard's house, *both* me and the chief baker:

11 And we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream.

12 And *there was* there with us a young man, an Hebrew, servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him, and he [a] interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret.

13 And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.

14 ¶ [b] Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they [†] brought him hastily out of the dungeon: and he shaved *himself*, and changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh.

15 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I have dreamed a dream, and *there is* none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, *that* [‖] thou canst understand a dream to interpret it.

16 And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, *It is* not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.

17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, In my dream, behold, I stood upon the bank of the river:

18 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in a meadow:

[a] chap. 40. 12, &c.

[b] Psal. 105. 20.

[†] Heb. *made him run.*

[‖] Or, when *thou hearest a dream, thou canst interpret it.*

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6. *east wind*] Probably put for the S. E. wind (Chamsin), which blows from the desert of Arabia. The East wind of Egypt is not the scorching wind, and indeed seldom blows; but the South-east wind is so parching as to destroy the grass entirely, if it blows very long (see Hengstenberg, p. 10).

7. *behold, it was a dream*] The impression on Pharaoh's mind was so strong and vivid, that he could hardly believe it was not real. The particulars of the dream are all singularly appropriate. The scene is by the Nile, on which depends all the plenty of Egypt. The kine and the corn respectively denote the animal and the vegetable products of the country. The cattle feeding in the reed grass shewed that the Nile was fertilizing the land and supporting the life of the beasts. The lean cattle and the scorched-up corn foreshadowed a time when the Nile, for some reason, ceased to irrigate the land. The swallowing up of the fat by the lean signified that the produce of the seven years of plenty would be all consumed in the seven years of scarcity.

8. *magicians*] Apparently "sacred scribes;" the name, if Hebrew, being composed of two words signifying respectively *a style* and *sacred*. Some have thought the word to be of Egyptian origin, or perhaps a Hebrew compound imitating an Egyptian name (see Ges. 'Thes.' p. 521). There has, however, no Egyptian name been found like it. The magicians appear to have been a regular order of persons among the Egyptians, learned priests, who devoted themselves to magic and astrology (see Hengstenberg, p. 28, and Poole in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' art. *Magic*).

13. *me he restored*] Joseph prophesied that I should be restored, and, as he prophesied, so it came to pass.

14. *shaved himself*] The Hebrews cherished long beards, but the Egyptians cut both hair and beard close, except in mourning for relations, when they let both grow long (Herod. II. 36). On the monuments when it was "intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition or a slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard" (Wilkinson, Vol. III. p. 357; Hengstenberg, p. 30). Joseph, therefore, when about to appear before Pharaoh, was careful to adapt himself to the manners of the Egyptians.

15. *that thou canst understand a dream to interpret it*] Lit. **that thou hearest a dream to interpret it.**

18. *in a meadow*] **In the reed grass.** See on v. 2.

19 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness:

20 And the lean and the ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine:

21 And when they had [t]eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they *were* still ill favoured, as at the beginning. So I awoke.

22 And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good:

23 And, behold, seven ears, [l]withered, thin, *and* blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them:

24 And the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told *this* unto the magicians; but *there was* none that could declare *it* to me.

25 ¶ And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh *is* one: God hath shewed Pharaoh what he *is* about to do.

26 The seven good kine *are* seven years; and the seven good ears *are* seven years: the dream *is* one.

27 And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them *are* seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine.

28 This *is* the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh: What God *is* about to do he sheweth unto Pharaoh.

29 Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt:

30 And there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land;

31 And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that famine following; for it *shall be* very [t]grievous.

32 And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice; *it is* because the thing *is* [l]established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.

33 Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

34 Let Pharaoh do *this*, and let him appoint [l]officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years.

35 And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities.

36 And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land [t]perish not through the famine.

37 ¶ And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants.

38 And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find *such a one* as this *is*, a man in whom the Spirit of God *is?*

39 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, *there is* none so discreet and wise as thou *art:*

40 [c]Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be [t]ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.

[t] Heb. *come to the inward parts of them.*

[l] Or, *small.*

[t] Heb. *heavy.*

[l] Or, *prepared of God.*

[l] Or, *overseers.*

[t] Heb. *be not cut off.*

[c] Psal. 105. 21. 1 Mac. 2. 53. Acts 7. 10.

[t] Heb. *armed,* or, *kiss.*

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34. *take up the fifth part of the land*] *i. e.* Let him exact a fifth of the produce of the land. The Hebrew is literally "let him fifth the land." (Compare our phrase "to tithe the land.") It has been questioned whether the advice was to purchase a fifth of all the produce, or rather to impose a tax amounting to one fifth of the produce of the land. It has been not improbably conjectured that the Egyptian kings usually imposed a tribute of one tenth, and that in this season of unusual abundance Joseph advises Pharaoh to double the impost, with the benevolent intention of afterwards selling the corn so collected in the time of famine (Cleric. in loc.). On the large storehouses and granaries of Egypt, see Hengstenb., p. 36, Wilkinson, II. 135.

40. *according unto thy word shall all my*

41 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.

42 And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of ‖ fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck;

43 And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, ‡ Bow the knee: and he made him *ruler* over all the land of Egypt.

44 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I *am* Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.

45 And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter

‖ Or, *silk.*

‡ Or, *Tender father.* † Heb. *Abrech.*

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people be ruled] So, or nearly so, ("at thy word shall all my people arm themselves, or dispose themselves,") the Versions, Targg. and most commentators. But Kimchi, Gesenius, Knobel, &c., render "and all my people shall kiss thy mouth," as a token of reverence and obedience. The objections to the latter interpretation are that the kiss of reverence was on the hand or the foot, not on the mouth, which was the kiss of love, and that the construction here is with a preposition never used with the verb signifying "to kiss."

42. *ring*] The signet-ring was the special symbol of office and authority. The seal to this day in the East is the common mode of attestation, and therefore when Pharaoh gave Joseph his ring he delegated to him his whole authority.

fine linen] The byssus or fine linen of the Egyptians. The word used for it is *Shes*, a well-ascertained Egyptian word. It is mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. as imported into Tyre from Egypt. It was the peculiar dress of the Egyptian priests.

a gold chain] Probably "a simple gold chain in imitation of string, to which a stone scarabæus set in the same precious metal was appended." (Wilkinson, III. 376. See also Hengstenberg, p. 31.)

43. *Bow the knee*] **Abrech.** If the word be Hebrew, the rendering of the Authorised Version is probably correct. The Targums all give "father of the king" (cp. ch. xlv. 8), deriving from the Hebrew *Ab*, a father, and the Chaldee *Rech*, a king, which, however, is thought to be a corruption of the Latin *Rex*. It is generally thought to be an Egyptian word signifying "Bow the head," having some resemblance in form to the Hebrew (De Rossi, 'Etymol. Egypt.' p. 1. So Gesen. 'Thes.,' p. 19, and most of the Germans). A more probable interpretation is that which is given in the Excursus on Egyptian Words at the end of this volume, viz. "Rejoice" or "Rejoice thou!"

45. *Zaphnath-paaneah*] In the LXX. *Psonthomphanek*. The Vulg. renders *Salvator Mundi*, "Saviour of the World." Several learned in the language and antiquities of Egypt, Bernard (in Joseph, 'Ant.' II. 6); Jablonski ('Opusc.' I. 207); Rosellini ('Monuments,' I. p. 185), have so interpreted it. They are followed in the main by Gesenius (p. 1181, "the supporter or preserver of the age") and a majority of modern commentators. The true meaning appears to be "the food of life," or "of the living." (See Excursus on Egyptian Words at the end of this volume.) The Targg., Syr., Arab. and Hebrew interpp. render "a revealer of secrets," referring to a Hebrew original, which is on every account improbable. There can be no doubt that Pharaoh would have given his Grand Vizier an Egyptian name, not a Hebrew name, just as the name of Daniel was changed to Belteshazzar, and as Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, were called by Nebuchadnezzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

Asenath] either "devoted to Neith," the Egyptian Minerva (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 130), or perhaps compounded of the two names Isis and Neith, such a form of combination of two names in one being not unknown in Egypt. (See Excursus on Egyptian Words at the end of this volume.)

Poti-pherah] *i.e.* "belonging" or "devoted to Ra," *i.e.* the Sun, a most appropriate designation for a priest of On or Heliopolis, the great seat of the Sun-worship. (See Excursus on Egyptian Words at the end of this volume.)

On] Heliopolis (LXX), called, Jer. xliii. 13, Beth-shemesh, the city of the Sun. Cyril (ad. Hos. v. 8), says, "On is with them the Sun." The city stood on the Eastern bank of the Nile a few miles north of Memphis, and was famous for the worship of Ra, the Sun, as also for the learning and wisdom of its priests (Herod. II. 3). There still remains an obelisk of red granite, part of the Temple of the Sun, with a dedication sculptured by Osirtasen or Sesortasen I. It is the oldest and one of the finest in Egypt; of the 12th dynasty. (Ges. p. 52, Wilkinson, Vol. I. p. 44; also Rawlinson's Herod. II. 8, Brugsch, 'H. E.' p. 254.)

The difficulty of supposing that the daughter of a priest of On should have been married to Joseph, a worshipper of JEHOVAH, has been unduly magnified. Neither the Egyptians nor the Hebrews were at this time as exclusive as

of Poti-pherah [1]priest of On. And Joseph went out over *all* the land of Egypt.

[1] Or, *prince.*

46 ¶ And Joseph *was* thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt.

47 And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls.

48 And he gathered up all the food of the seven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field, which *was* round about every city, laid he up in the same.

49 And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for *it was* without number.

50 [d]And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah [1]priest of On bare unto him.

[d] chap. 46. 20. & 48. 5.

[1] Or, *prince.*

51 And Joseph called the name of the firstborn [1]Manasseh: For God, *said he*, hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house.

[1] That is, *Forgetting.*

52 And the name of the second called he [1]Ephraim: For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.

[1] That is, *Fruitful.*

53 ¶ And the seven years of plenteousness, that was in the land of Egypt, were ended.

54 [e]And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.

[e] Psal. 105. 16.

55 And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.

56 And the famine was over all the face of the earth: And Joseph opened [†]all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.

[†] Heb. *all wherein* was.

57 And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy *corn;* because that the famine was *so* sore in all lands.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 *Jacob sendeth his ten sons to buy corn in Egypt.* 16 *They are imprisoned by Joseph for spies.* 18 *They are set at liberty, on condition to bring Benjamin.* 21 *They have remorse for Joseph.* 24 *Simeon is kept for a pledge.* 25 *They return with corn, and their money.* 29 *Their relation to Jacob.* 36 *Jacob refuseth to send Benjamin.*

NOW when [a]Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?

[a] Acts 7. 12.

2 And he said, Behold, I have

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they became afterwards. The Semitic races were treated with respect in Egypt. Joseph had become thoroughly naturalized (see v. 51 and ch. xliii. 32), with an Egyptian name and the rank of Viceroy or Grand Vizier. Abraham had before this taken Hagar, an Egyptian, to wife, which would make such an alliance less strange to Joseph. Whether Asenath adopted Joseph's faith we are not told, but, in the end at least, she probably did. (See also Excursus on Egyptian Words, on "Asenath wife of Joseph," at the end of this volume.)

46. *thirty years old*] He must therefore have been thirteen years in Egypt, either in Potiphar's house or in prison. (See ch. xxxvii. 2.)

51. *Manasseh*] *i.e.* "causing to forget." He was comforted by all his prosperity, so that he no longer mourned over his exile. It does not follow that he was ungratefully forgetful of his home.

52. *Ephraim*] *i.e.* "doubly fruitful," a dual form.

54. *the dearth*] Notwithstanding the fertility generally produced in Egypt by the overflowing of the Nile, yet the swelling of the Nile a few feet above or below what is necessary, has in many instances produced destructive and protracted famines, such that the people have been reduced to the horrible necessity of eating human flesh, and have been almost swept away by death. (See Hengstenberg, 'Egypt,' &c., pp. 37, 38; Hävernick, Int. to Pentateuch, p. 218; also Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' art. *Famine.*)

in all lands] The drought which affected Egypt reached the neighbouring countries also. Ethiopia, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, would be especially affected by it; and the Egyptians, and Hebrews also, would look on these lands as comprehending the whole known world.

heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die.

3 ¶ And Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt.

4 But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure mischief befall him.

5 And the sons of Israel came to buy *corn* among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan.

6 And Joseph *was* the governor over the land, *and* he *it was* that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him *with* their faces to the earth.

7 And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them, and spake † roughly unto them; and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food.

† Heb. *hard things with them.*

8 And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him.

9 And Joseph [b] remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye *are* spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.

[b] chap. 37. 5.

10 And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy servants come.

11 We *are* all one man's sons; we *are* true *men*, thy servants are no spies.

12 And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.

13 And they said, Thy servants *are* twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest *is* this day with our father, and one *is* not.

14 And Joseph said unto them, That *is it* that I spake unto you, saying, Ye *are* spies:

15 Hereby ye shall be proved: By the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither.

16 Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be † kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether *there be any* truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye *are* spies.

† Heb. *bound.*

17 And he † put them all together into ward three days.

† Heb. *gathered.*

18 And Joseph said unto them the third day, This do, and live; *for* I fear God:

19 If ye *be* true *men*, let one of your brethren be bound in the house of your prison: go ye, carry corn for the famine of your houses:

CHAP. XLII. 6. *he it was that sold to all the people of the land*] We are not to suppose that Joseph personally sold the corn to all buyers, but that he ordered the selling of it, and set the price upon it; and very probably, when a company of foreigners came to purchase in large quantities, they were introduced personally to Joseph, that he might enquire concerning them and give directions as to the sale of corn to them.

7. *spake roughly unto them*] Lit. "spake hard things with them," as the margin. This did not arise from a vindictive spirit. It was partly that he might not be recognized by them, and partly that he might prove them and see whether they were penitent for what they had done to him.

8. *they knew not him*] He was only 17 when they sold him; he was now at least 37, and had adopted all the habits and manners of the Egyptians; probably even his complexion had been much darkened by living so long in a southern climate.

9. *the nakedness of the land*] *i.e.* the defenceless and assailable points of the country; like the Latin phrases, *nuda urbs præsidio, nudata castra, nudi defensoribus muri* (Ros.; Cp. Hom. 'Il.' XII. 399, τεῖχος ἐγυμνώθη). The Egyptians were always most liable to be assailed from the East and North-east. (See Herod. III. 5.) The various Arab and Canaanitish tribes seem to have constantly made incursions into the more settled and civilized land of Egypt. Particularly the Hittites were at constant feud with the Egyptians. Moreover the famous Hycsos invasion and domination may have been very nearly impending at this period.

15. *By the life of Pharaoh*] Cp. similar phrases (1 S. i. 26; xvii. 55; 2 S. xiv. 19; 2 K. ii. 2, 4, 6). Not distinctly an oath, but a strong asseveration.

[c] chap. 43. 5. 20 But [c] bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so.

21 ¶ And they said one to another, We *are* verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.

[d] chap. 37. 21. 22 And Reuben answered them, saying, [d] Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required.

[†] Heb. *an interpreter was between them.* 23 And they knew not that Joseph understood *them;* for [†] he spake unto them by an interpreter.

24 And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes.

25 ¶ Then Joseph commanded to fill their sacks with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way: and thus did he unto them.

26 And they laded their asses with the corn, and departed thence.

27 And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money; for, behold, it *was* in his sack's mouth.

28 And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, *it is* even in my sack: and their heart [†] failed *them*, and they were afraid, saying one to another, What *is* this *that* God hath done unto us? [†] Heb. *went forth.*

29 ¶ And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that befell unto them; saying,

30 The man, *who is* the lord of the land, spake [†] roughly to us, and took us for spies of the country. [†] Heb. *with us hard things.*

31 And we said unto him, We *are* true *men;* we are no spies:

32 We *be* twelve brethren, sons of our father; one *is* not, and the youngest *is* this day with our father in the land of Canaan.

33 And the man, the lord of the country, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye *are* true *men;* leave one of your brethren *here* with me, and take *food for* the famine of your households, and be gone:

34 And bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye *are* no spies, but *that* ye *are* true *men: so* will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick in the land.

35 ¶ And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money *was* in

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20. *bring your youngest brother unto me*] There seems some needless severity here on the part of Joseph in causing so much anxiety to his father. We may account for it perhaps in the following ways. 1st, Joseph felt that it was necessary to test the repentance of his brethren and to subject them to that kind of discipline which makes repentance sound and lasting. 2ndly, He may have thought that the best mode of persuading his father to go down to him in Egypt was first of all to bring Benjamin thither. 3rdly, He was manifestly following a Divine impulse and guiding, that so his dreams should be fulfilled, and his race brought into their house of bondage and education.

24. *Simeon*] It has been thought that he took Simeon, either because he was the next in age to Reuben, whom he would not bind as having been the brother that sought to save him, or perhaps because Simeon had been one of the most unfeeling and cruel towards himself, according to the savage temper which he shewed in the case of the Shechemites. See ch. xxxiv, xlix. 5.

25. *their sacks*] Rather, **their vessels**; the word is different from that elsewhere used for sacks, and apparently indicates that they had some kind of vessel for corn which they carried within their sacks.

27. *in the inn*] The khan, or caravanserai, in the East was, and is still, a place, where men and cattle can find room to rest, but which provides neither food for man nor fodder for cattle. It is doubtful, however, whether anything of this kind existed so early as the time of Joseph. The word means only "a resting place for the night," and very probably was only a station, at which caravans were wont to rest, near to a well, to trees, and to pasture, where the tents were pitched and the cattle were tethered.

his sack: and when *both* they and their father saw the bundles of money, they were afraid.

36 And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye bereaved *of my children:* Joseph *is* not, and Simeon *is* not, and ye will take Benjamin *away:* all these things are against me.

37 And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to thee again.

38 And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1 *Jacob is hardly persuaded to send Benjamin.* 15 *Joseph entertaineth his brethren.* 31 *He maketh them a feast.*

AND the famine *was* sore in the land.

2 And it came to pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a little food.

3 And Judah spake unto him, saying, The man † did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except your [a] brother *be* with you.

4 If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food:

5 But if thou wilt not send *him*, we will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother *be* with you.

6 And Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye *so* ill with me, *as* to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother?

7 And they said, The man † asked us straitly of our state, and of our kindred, saying, *Is* your father yet alive? have ye *another* brother? and we told him according to the † tenor of these words: † could we certainly know that he would say, Bring your brother down?

8 And Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, *and* also our little ones.

9 I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: [b] if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever:

10 For except we had lingered, surely now we had returned † this second time.

11 And their father Israel said unto them, If *it must be* so now, do this; take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts, and almonds:

† Heb. *protesting he protested.*
[a] chap. 42. 20.
† Heb. *asking he asked us.*
† Heb. *mouth.*
† Heb. *knowing could we know.*
[b] chap. 44. 32.
† Or, *twice by this.*

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36. *Me have ye bereaved*] Jacob suspects that they had been in some way the cause of Joseph's supposed death and of Simeon's captivity.

against me] Lit. "upon me," *i.e.* upon me as a burden too heavy for me to bear.

38. *the grave*] **Sheol.**

CHAP. XLIII. 11. *of the best fruits in the land*] Lit. "of the song of the land," *i.e.* the most praised produce, the fruits celebrated in song.

balm] See xxxvii. 25.

honey] So rendered in all the Versions, though some think that it was composed of the juice of grapes boiled down to a syrup of the consistency of honey, called in Arabic *Dibs;* which even in modern times has been imported into Egypt annually from the neighbourhood of Hebron (see Ros. and Ges. p. 319).

spices] Probably *Storax.* See on xxxvii. 25.

myrrh] **Ladanum.** See on xxxvii. 25.

nuts] **Pistachio nuts.** So Bochart ('Hieroz.' II. iv. 12); Cels. ('Hierobot.' Tom. I. p. 24); Ges. (p. 202). The LXX., followed by Onk., Syr., Arab., renders *terebinth*, probably because the pistachio nut tree was considered as a species of terebinth. All these fruits may have grown in the land of Canaan, though the corn-harvest may have utterly failed. Thus also may we account for the fact, that the small supply, which could be carried from Egypt by ten asses, sufficed for a time to sup-

12 And take double money in your hand; and the money that was brought again in the mouth of your sacks, carry *it* again in your hand; peradventure it *was* an oversight:

13 Take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man:

14 And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. [1]If I be bereaved *of my children*, I am bereaved.

[1] Or, *And I, as I have been, &c.*

15 ¶ And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.

16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring *these* men home, and [†]slay, and make ready; for *these* men shall [†]dine with me at noon.

[†] Heb. *kill a killing.*
[†] Heb. *eat.*

17 And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house.

18 And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in; that he may [†]seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses.

[†] Heb. *roll himself upon us.*

19 And they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they communed with him at the door of the house,

[c] chap. 42. 3.
[†] Heb. *coming down we came down.*

20 And said, O sir, [c†]we came indeed down at the first time to buy food:

21 And it came to pass, when we came to the inn, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, *every* man's money *was* in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight: and we have brought it again in our hand.

22 And other money have we brought down in our hands to buy food: we cannot tell who put our money in our sacks.

23 And he said, Peace *be* to you, fear not: your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks: [†]I had your money. And he brought Simeon out unto them.

[†] Heb. *your money came to me.*

24 And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and [d]gave *them* water, and they washed their feet; and he gave their asses provender.

[d] chap. 18. 4. & 24. 32.

25 And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there.

26 ¶ And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which *was* in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth.

27 And he asked them of *their* [†]welfare, and said, [†]*Is* your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? *Is* he yet alive?

[†] Heb. *peace.*
[†] Heb. Is there *peace to your father.*

28 And they answered, Thy servant our father *is* in good health, he *is* yet alive. And they bowed down their heads, and made obeisance.

29 And he lifted up his eyes, and

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ply Jacob's household. There was a grievous famine, but still all the fruits of the earth had not failed. Corn was needed; but life can be supported, especially in a warm climate, with but a moderate amount of the more solid kinds of food.

14. *God Almighty*] *El Shaddai.* Jacob here uses that name of the Most High, by which He made Himself known to Abraham, and afterwards renewed His covenant with Jacob himself (ch. xvii. 1; xxxv. 11; where see note). Hereby he calls to mind the promise of protection to himself and his house, as well as the power of Him who had promised.

If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.] Cp. Esth. iv. 16; 2 K. vii. 4. The expression seems partly of sorrow and partly of submission and resignation.

18. *that he may seek occasion against us*] Lit. "that he may roll himself upon us," that is, probably, "that he may rush out upon us."

20. *O Sir*] "Pray, my lord," or "Hear, my lord," the word translated *O* is a particle of earnest entreaty.

26. *and bowed themselves*] Joseph's first dream is now fulfilled. The eleven sheaves make obeisance to Joseph's sheaf. It is observable, that Joseph's dream, like Pharaoh's, had reference to sheaves of corn, evidently pointing to the supply of food sought by the brethren.

saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, *Is* this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son.

30 And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought *where* to weep; and he entered into *his* chamber, and wept there.

31 And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.

32 And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that *is* an abomination unto the Egyptians.

33 And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one at another.

34 And he took *and sent* messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and [†] were merry with him.

[†] Heb. *they drank largely.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

1 *Joseph's policy to stay his brethren.* 14 *Judah's humble supplication to Joseph.*

AND he commanded [†] the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's sacks *with* food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth.

[†] Heb. him *that* was *over his house.*

2 And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken.

3 As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses.

4 *And* when they were gone out of the city, *and* not *yet* far off, Joseph said unto his steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good?

5 *Is* not this *it* in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he [‖] divineth? ye have done evil in so doing.

[‖] Or *maketh trial!*

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29. *my son*] Joseph addresses Benjamin his younger brother with this paternal salutation, not only from the difference in their ages, but as being a governor he speaks with the authority and dignity of his position.

32. *the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews*] The Egyptians feared to eat with foreigners, chiefly because they dreaded pollution from such as killed and ate cows, which animals were held in the highest veneration in Egypt. Hence Herodotus says, that an Egyptian would not kiss a Greek, nor use a knife or a spit belonging to a Greek, nor eat any meat that had been cut with a Greek knife (Her. II. 45). Joseph probably dined alone from his high rank, the distinctions of rank and caste being carefully observed; but, as he was naturalized in Egypt, and had, no doubt, conformed to their domestic customs, he would probably not have needed to separate himself at meals from the native Egyptians, as would his brethren from the land of the Hebrews.

33. *they sat before him*] The Egyptians sat at their meals, though most of the ancients, and, in later times at least, the Hebrews, reclined.

the men marvelled one at another] They marvelled that strangers should have seated them exactly according to their ages.

34. *sent messes unto them*] The custom is met with elsewhere, as a mark of respect to distinguished guests (see 1 S. ix. 23, 24).

five times so much] Herodotus mentions the custom of giving double portions as a mark of honour. The Spartan kings "are given the first seat at the banquet, they are served before the other guests, and have a double portion of everything" (VI. 57; cp. also Hom. 'Il.' VII. 321, VIII. 162).

were merry] Drank freely. The word is chiefly used of drinking to excess, but not always; see for instance Hagg. i. 6.

CHAP. XLIV. 2. *my cup*] or rather bowl. In Jer. xxxv. 5 the word is rendered "pots." In Ex. xxv. 31, xxxvii. 17, it is used of the "bowl" or calix of the sculptured flowers. It was evidently a larger vessel, flagon or bowl, from which the wine was poured into the smaller cups.

5. *divineth*] Divination by cups was frequent in ancient times. Jamblichus ('De Myst.' III. 14) mentions it, so Varro (ap. August. 'Civ. Dei,' VII. 35), Pliny ('H. N.' XXXVII. 73, &c.). The latter says that "in

6 ¶ And he overtook them, and he spake unto them these same words.

7 And they said unto him, Wherefore saith my lord these words? God forbid that thy servants should do according to this thing:

8 Behold, the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold?

9 With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.

10 And he said, Now also *let* it *be* according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my servant; and ye shall be blameless.

11 Then they speedily took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack.

12 And he searched, *and* began at the eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.

13 Then they rent their clothes, and laded every man his ass, and returned to the city.

14 ¶ And Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; for he *was* yet there: and they fell before him on the ground.

15 And Joseph said unto them, What deed *is* this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly [1]divine?

16 And Judah said, What shall we say unto my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we *are* my lord's servants, both we, and *he* also with whom the cup is found.

17 And he said, God forbid that I should do so: *but* the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my servant; and as for you, get you up in peace unto your father.

18 ¶ Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my lord, let thy

[1] Or, *make trial?*

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this hydromantia images of the gods were called up." It was practised either by dropping gold, silver, or jewels, into the water, and then examining their appearance; or simply by looking into the water as into a mirror, somewhat probably as the famous Egyptian magician did into the mirror of ink, as mentioned by the duke of Northumberland and others in the present day. (See Lane, 'Mod. Egypt.' II. 362.)

The sacred cup is a symbol of the Nile, into whose waters a golden and silver patera were annually thrown. The Nile itself, both the source and the river, was called "the cup of Egypt" (Plin. 'H. N.' VIII. 71). This cup of Joseph was of silver, while in ordinary cases the Egyptians drank from vessels of brass (Hecatæus in 'Athen.' XI. 6; Herod. II. 37; see Hävernick, 'Introd. to Pentateuch,' ad h. l.).

15. *wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?*] Joseph here adapts himself and his language to his character as it would naturally appear in the eyes of his brethren. We are not to assume that he actually used magical arts. This would be quite inconsistent with what he said to Pharaoh, ch. xli. 16, disclaiming all knowledge of the future, save as revealed by God. It has been questioned how far Joseph was justified in the kind of dissimulation which he thus used to his brethren. That he was perfectly justified in not declaring himself to them until he had tested their repentance and had brought his schemes concerning his father to a point, there can be little doubt. He was never tempted to deny that he was Joseph, for no one suspected that he was. In fact he simply preserved his disguise. But in the present passage he seems to have used words which, though not affirming that he could divine, yet nearly implied as much. It is to be observed, however, that whatever may be thought on this head, Joseph is not held up to us as absolutely perfect. As it was in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the history is simply told of the events as they occurred. Joseph was a man of singular piety, purity, and integrity, in high favour with Heaven, and even at times inspired to declare the will of God. It does not follow that he was perfect. If inspired apostles were sometimes to be blamed (Gal. ii. 11, 13), the holiest patriarchs are not likely to have been incapable of error. If the act was wrong, we must not consider it as the result of Divine guidance, but as the error of a good but fallible man, whilst in the main carrying out the designs of Providence. Making the worst that can be made of it, it is difficult to say that any character in Scripture, save One, (of which at least we have any detailed account) comes out more purely and brightly in the whole course of its history than the character of Joseph.

servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy servant: for thou *art* even as Pharaoh.

19 My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother?

20 And we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him.

21 And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him.

22 And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for *if* he should leave his father, *his father* would die.

23 And thou saidst unto thy servants, [a] Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more.

[a] chap. 43. 3.

24 And it came to pass when we came up unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord.

25 And our father said, Go again, *and* buy us a little food.

26 And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother *be* with us.

27 And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two *sons:*

28 And the one went out from me, and I said, [b] Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since:

[b] chap. 37. 33.

29 And if ye take this also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

30 Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad *be* not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life;

31 It shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad *is* not *with us*, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to the grave.

32 For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, [c] If I bring him not unto thee, then I shall bear the blame to my father for ever.

[c] chap. 43. 9.

33 Now therefore, I pray thee, let thy servant abide instead of the lad a bondman to my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren.

34 For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad *be* not with me? lest peradventure I see the evil that shall [†] come on my father.

[†] Heb. *find my father.*

CHAPTER XLV.

1 *Joseph maketh himself known to his brethren.* 5 *He comforteth them in God's providence.* 9 *He sendeth for his father.* 16 *Pharaoh confirmeth it.* 21 *Joseph furnisheth them for their journey, and exhorteth them to concord.* 25 *Jacob is revived with the news.*

THEN Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren.

2 And he [†] wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.

[†] Heb. *gave forth his voice in weeping.*

3 And Joseph said unto his brethren, [a] I *am* Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were [‡] troubled at his presence.

[a] Acts 7. 13.

[‡] Or, *terrified.*

4 And Joseph said unto his bre-

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28. *Surely he is torn in pieces*] From these words probably for the first time Joseph learns what had been Jacob's belief as to his son's fate.

34. *how should I go up to my father*] The character of Judah comes out most favourably in this speech. He had, in the first instance, saved Joseph from death, but yet he had proposed the alternative of selling him as a slave. He is evidently now much softened; has witnessed Jacob's affliction with deep sympathy and sorrow, and so has been brought to contrition and repentance. The sight of his repentance finally moves Joseph at once to make himself known to his brethren.

CHAP. XLV. 2. *wept aloud*] Lit., as the margin, "gave forth his voice in weeping."

thren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I *am* Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt.

5 Now therefore be not grieved, [†] nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: [b] for God did send me before you to preserve life.

6 For these two years *hath* the famine *been* in the land: and yet *there are* five years, in the which *there shall* neither *be* earing nor harvest.

7 And God sent me before you [†] to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance.

8 So now *it was* not you *that* sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt.

9 Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not:

10 And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast:

11 And there will I nourish thee; for yet *there are* five years of famine; lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty.

12 And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that *it is* my mouth that speaketh unto you.

13 And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.

14 And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.

15 Moreover he kissed all his bre-

[†] Heb. *neither let there be anger in your eyes.*
[b] chap. 50. 20.
[†] Heb. *to put for you a remnant.*

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6. *earing*] *i. e.* "ploughing." To "ear" is an old English word from the Anglo-Saxon root *erian*, "to plough," cognate with the Latin *arare*. (See Bosworth, 'Anglo-Saxon Dict.' 25 k.) It occurs in the Authorised Version; Ex. xxxiv. 21; Deut. xxi. 4; 1 S. viii. 12; Isa. xxx. 24.

to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance] **To make you a remnant in the earth** (that is, to secure you from utter destruction), **and to preserve your lives to a great deliverance** (*i.e.* to preserve life to you, so that your deliverance should be great and signal).

8. *but God*] Lit. "The God." That great Personal God, who had led and guarded Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and who still watched over the house of Israel.

a father to Pharaoh] *i.e.* a wise and confidential friend and counsellor. The Caliphs and the Sultan of Turkey appear to have given the same title to their Grand Viziers. (See Burder, 'Oriental Customs,' ad h. l.; Gesen. p. 7; Ros. in loc.).

10. *the land of Goshen*] The land of Goshen was evidently a region lying to the north-east of lower Egypt, bounded apparently by the Mediterranean on the north, by the desert on the east, by the Tanitic branch of the Nile on the west (hence called "the field of Zoan" or Tanis, Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43), and probably extending south as far as to the head of the Red Sea, and nearly to Memphis. It appears, in Gen. xlvii. 11, to be called the land of Rameses, and the Israelites, before the Exodus, are said to have built in it the cities of Raamses and Pithom (Exod. i. 11). It was probably, though under the dominion of the Pharaohs, only on the confines of Egypt. Hence the LXX. here renders "Gesen of Arabia." In ch. xlvi. 28, where Goshen occurs twice, the LXX. call it "the city of Heroopolis in the land of Ramasses." Joseph placed his brethren naturally on the confines of Egypt, nearest to Palestine, and yet near himself. It is probable, that either Memphis or Tanis was then the metropolis of Egypt, both of which are in the immediate neighbourhood of the region thus marked out. (See Ges. p. 307; Poole, in Smith, 'Dict. of Bible' Art. *Goshen;* Hengstenb. 'Egypt,' &c. p. 42 sq.).

11. *and thy household*] The household of Abraham and of Isaac consisted of many servants and dependents, besides their own families. So Jacob, when he came from Padan-aram, had become "two bands." It is probable that some hundreds of dependents accompanied Jacob in his descent into Egypt, and settled with him in Goshen. So again in v. 18, Joseph's brethren are bidden to take their "father and their *households*."

thren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him.

16 ¶ And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it † pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants.

† Heb. *was good in the eyes of Pharaoh.*

17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan;

18 And take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.

19 Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come.

† Heb. *let not your eye spare, &c.*

20 Also † regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt *is* yours.

21 And the children of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons, according to the † commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way.

† Heb. *mouth.*

22 To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred *pieces* of silver, and five changes of raiment.

23 And to his father he sent after this *manner;* ten asses † laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.

† Heb. *carrying.*

24 So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out by the way.

25 ¶ And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father,

26 And told him, saying, Joseph *is* yet alive, and he *is* governor over all the land of Egypt. And † Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.

† Heb. *his.*

27 And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived:

28 And Israel said, *It is* enough; Joseph my son *is* yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1 *Jacob is comforted by God at Beer-sheba:* 5 *Thence he with his company goeth into Egypt.* 8 *The number of his family that went into Egypt.* 29 *Joseph meeteth Jacob.* 31 *He instructeth his brethren how to answer to Pharaoh.*

AND Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.

2 And God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said,

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24. *See that ye fall not out by the way*] So all the Versions; but as the word rendered "fall out" expresses any violent emotion as of fear or anger, some prefer to render, "Be not afraid in the journey;" so Tuch, Baumg., Gesen., and many moderns. The ancient interpretation is more probable. They had already travelled on that journey several times without meeting with any evil accident; but there was some danger that they might quarrel among themselves, now that they were reconciled to Joseph, perhaps each one being ready to throw the blame of former misconduct on the others (Calvin).

27. *wagons*] Carts and wagons were known early in Egypt, which was a flat country and highly cultivated; but they were probably unknown at this time in Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian carts, as depicted on the monuments, are of two wheels only, when used for carrying agricultural produce. The four-wheeled car, mentioned by Herodotus, was used for carrying the shrine and image of a deity. (See Sir G. Wilkinson's note to Rawlinson's Herodotus, II. 63, and the engraving there.) When Jacob saw the wagons, he knew that they had come from Egypt, and so he believed his sons' report, and was comforted.

CHAP. XLVI. 1. *to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices,* &c.] Here Abraham and Isaac, built altars (ch. xxi. 33, xxvi. 25), and worshipped. Jacob naturally felt it to be a place hallowed by sacred memories, and being anxious as to the propriety of leaving the land of promise and going down into Egypt, he here sacrificed to the God of his fathers, and no doubt sought guidance from Him. Beer-sheba was South of Hebron on the road by which Jacob would naturally travel into Egypt.

Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here *am* I.

3 And he said, I *am* God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation:

4 I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up *again:* and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes.

5 And Jacob rose up from Beersheba: and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.

6 And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, [a] Jacob, and all his seed with him:

[a] Josh. 24. 4. Psal. 105. 23. Is. 52. 4.

7 His sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.

8 ¶ And [b] these *are* the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: [c] Reuben, Jacob's firstborn.

[b] Exod. 1. 1. & 6. 14.

[c] Numb. 26. 5. 1 Chron. 5. 1.

9 And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch, and Phallu, and Hezron, and Carmi.

10 ¶ [d] And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman.

[d] Exod. 6. 15. 1 Chron. 4. 24.

11 ¶ And the sons of [e] Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

[e] 1 Chron. 6. 1.

12 ¶ And the sons of [f] Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in

[f] 1 Chron. 2. 3. & 4. 21. chap. 38. 3.

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3. *I am God, the God of thy father*] "I am *El*"—a reference again to the name "El-Shaddai," by which the Most High so specially made covenant with the patriarchs. See on ch. xliii. 14.

fear not to go down into Egypt] Abraham had gone down there and been in great danger. Isaac had been forbidden to go thither (ch. xxvi. 2). Abraham, Isaac, Jacob had all been placed and settled in Canaan with a promise that they should in future possess the land. Moreover, Egypt was, not only a heathen land, but one in which heathenism was specially developed and systematized. Jacob might therefore naturally fear to find in it dangers both worldly and spiritual. Hence the promise of God's presence and protection was signally needed.

4. *Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes*] The ancients, Gentiles as well as Jews, desired that their dearest relatives should close their eyes in death (Hom. 'Il.' xi. 453; 'Od.' xxiv. 296; Eurip. 'Hec.' 430; 'Phœn.' 1465; Virg. 'Æn.' ix. 487; Ov. 'Heroid.' i. 162).

5. *the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father*] The scene depicted on the tomb of Chnoumhotep at Beni Hassan cannot be the Egyptian version of the arrival of the Israelites in Egypt; but it is strikingly illustrative of the history of that event. The date of the inscription is that of the 12th dynasty, which was probably the dynasty under which Joseph lived; a number of strangers, with beards (which the Egyptians never wore, but which in the sculptures indicate uncivilized foreigners), and with dress and physical characteristics belonging to the Semitic nomads, appear before the governor offering him gifts. They carry their goods with them on asses, have women and children with them, and are armed with bows and clubs. They are described as Absha and his family, and the number 37 is written over in hieroglyphics. The signs, which accompany the picture, indicate that they were either captives or tributaries. Sir G. Wilkinson, however, has suggested that possibly this indication may result from the contemptuous way in which the Egyptians spoke of all foreigners, and the superiority which they claimed over them. Moreover, they are armed, one of them is playing on a lyre, and others bring presents; which things point rather to an immigration than to a captivity. (See Wilkinson, Vol. II. p. 296, and plate. Brugsch, 'H. E.' p. 63, where the scene is well engraved, and a good description annexed.)

7. *his daughters*] Only one daughter is named and one granddaughter. This verse implies that there were more. Married women would not be mentioned in a Hebrew genealogy; hence Jacob's sons' wives are not recounted among the seventy souls that came into Egypt. See v. 26. Dinah remained unmarried. Hence she only of Jacob's daughters is named.

10. *Jemuel*] Called Nemuel, Num. xxvi. 12; 1 Chron. iv. 24.

Ohad] Not named in Num. xxvi. 12; 1 Chr. iv. 24.

Jachin] "Jarib," 1 Chr. iv. 24.

Zohar] "Zerah," Num. xxvi. 13; 1 Chr. iv. 24.

11. *Gershon*] 'Gershom,' 1 Chr. vi. 16.

12. *And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul*] The difficulties in the chro-

the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.

[g] 1 Chron. 7. 1. 13 ¶ [g] And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Phuvah, and Job, and Shimron.

14 ¶ And the sons of Zebulun; Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel.

15 These *be* the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in Padan-aram, with his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his daughters *were* thirty and three.

16 ¶ And the sons of Gad; Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi, and Areli.

[h] 1 Chron. 7. 30. 17 ¶ [h] And the sons of Asher; Jimnah, and Ishuah, and Isui, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel.

18 These *are* the sons of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, *even* sixteen souls.

19 The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph, and Benjamin.

20 ¶ [i] And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah [l] priest of On bare unto him.

[i] chap. 41. 50.

[l] Or, *prince.*

[k] 1 Chron. 7. 6. & 8. 1. 21 ¶ [k] And the sons of Benjamin *were* Belah, and Becher, and Ashbel,

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nology of this catalogue have suggested the thought that it did not form a part of the original history of Genesis. The difficulties are really no greater than we might expect to find in a document so ancient, and where names and numbers are concerned, which of all things are most likely to puzzle us. In this verse it appears that Er and Onan having died in Canaan, two of Judah's grandchildren are substituted for them. It has been said that Hezron and Hamul could not have been born before the descent into Egypt, as the events related in ch. xxxviii. took place after the selling of Joseph, and that, therefore, Pharez could not have been old enough to have two sons at the time of that descent. Moreover, it is argued, that Judah himself could not have been more than 42 at this time, which is inconsistent with the apparent statement that his third son, Pharez, not born till after the marriage and death of his two elder brothers, Er and Onan, should himself have had two sons. To this it may be replied, (1), that we must not assume that the events in chap. xxxviii. necessarily took place after those in ch. xxxvii. It is most likely that ch. xxxviii. was introduced episodically at a convenient point in the history, to avoid breaking the continuity of the story. (See note on xxxviii. 1.) (2) Again, if the chronology of the life of Jacob proposed in the note at the end of ch. xxxi. be correct, Judah was, not 42, but 62, at the descent into Egypt, in which case the two sons of Pharez may easily have been born then. (3) Moreover, it is quite possible that the names in this catalogue may have comprised, not only those that were actually of the company, which went down into Egypt, but also all the grandchildren or great grandchildren of Jacob born before Jacob's death. This would not be inconsistent with the common usage of Scripture language, and it would allow 17 years more for the birth of those two grandsons of Judah and for the ten sons of Benjamin. Now Judah was probably 79 at Jacob's death, at which age his son Pharez may easily have had two sons. Indeed, the statement immediately coupled with the names of Hezron and Hamul, viz. that Er and Onan had died in Canaan, seems introduced on purpose to account for the reckoning of these grandchildren of Judah, born in Egypt, with others who had been born in Canaan.

13. *Job*] Called 'Jashub' Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 1.

15. *thirty and three*] that is, including Jacob himself, but not Er, or Onan, who were dead, nor perhaps Leah.

16. *Ziphion*] 'Zephon' in Num. xxvi. 15.

Ezbon] 'Ozni,' Num. xxvi. 16.

Arodi] 'Arod,' Num. xxvi. 17.

17. *Ishuah*] Not mentioned in Numbers. Probably he had not left descendants and founded families.

20. *And unto Joseph*, &c.] At the end of this verse the LXX. insert the names of Machir the son of Manasseh, and Galaad the son of Machir, and Sutalaam and Taam the sons of Ephraim, and Edem the son of Sutalaam. (See Numb. xxvi. 28—37; 1 Chr. vii. 14.) Thus the whole number of persons becomes 75. The passage however is not in the Samaritan, with which the LXX. mostly agrees.

21. *the sons of Benjamin*] These are ten in number. According to Numb. xxvi. 40 two of them, Naaman and Ard, were grandsons of Benjamin. According to the common chronology Benjamin was only 23 at the coming into Egypt; an age at which he could hardly have had ten sons, or eight sons and two grandsons, even if he had two wives and some of the children had been twins. The considerations alluded to at v. 12, however, will allow us to calculate that Benjamin was 32 at

Gera, and Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard.

22 These *are* the sons of Rachel, which were born to Jacob: all the souls *were* fourteen.

23 ¶ And the sons of Dan; Hushim.

24 ¶ And the sons of Naphtali; Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem.

25 These *are* the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and she bare these unto Jacob: all the souls *were* seven.

[l] Deut. 10. 22.

26 [l] All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his [t] loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls *were* threescore and six;

[t] Heb. *thigh.*

27 And the sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, *were* two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, *were* threescore and ten.

28 ¶ And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen.

29 And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.

30 And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou *art* yet alive.

31 And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his father's house, I will go up, and shew Pharaoh, and say unto him, My brethren, and my father's house, which *were* in the land of Canaan, are come unto me;

32 And the men *are* shepherds, for [t] their trade hath been to feed cattle; and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have.

[t] Heb. *they are men of cattle.*

33 And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What *is* your occupation?

34 That ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, *and* also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd *is* an abomination unto the Egyptians.

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the going down to Egypt (see note at the end of ch. xxxi.), and therefore forty-nine at the death of Jacob, by which age he might easily have been the father of ten sons.

Three of Benjamin's sons, Becher, Gera and Rosh, are wanting in the table given in Num. xxvi., probably because they had not left children enough to form independent families.

Ehi, Muppim, and Huppim] Called 'Shupham, Hupham, and Ahiram,' in Num. xxvi. 38, 39.

27. *all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten*] The number is made up of the 66 mentioned in the last verse, Jacob himself, Joseph, and the two sons of Joseph. The LXX. reads here "The sons of Joseph, which were born to him in Egypt, were nine souls. All the souls of the house of Jacob, who came with Jacob into Egypt, were seventy-five." See above note on verse 20. St Stephen (Acts vii. 14) adopts the number 75, probably because he, or St Luke, quotes the LXX. version, as all Greek-speaking Jews would naturally have done; and it may be fairly said, that both numbers were equally correct, and that the variation depends on the different mode of reckoning. The genealogical tables of the Jews were drawn up on principles unlike those of modern calculation. And there would be no impropriety, on these principles, in reckoning the children of Joseph only, or in adding to them his grandchildren also, especially if the latter became founders of important families in Israel.

28. *he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen*] *i.e.* He sent Judah before himself (Jacob) to Joseph, that Joseph might direct him to Goshen.

34. *every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians*] Herodotus speaks of the aversion of the Egyptians for swineherds (II. 47). The monuments indicate their contempt for shepherds and goatherds by the mean appearance always given to them. Neither mutton nor the flesh of goats was ever eaten or offered. Even woollen garments, though sometimes worn over linen, were esteemed unclean. No priest would wear them. They were never worn in temples, nor were the dead buried in them. To this day, sheep-feeding is esteemed the office of women and slaves. The fact that the Egyptians themselves were great agriculturists, tillers of land, and

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 Joseph presenteth five of his brethren, 7 and his father, before Pharaoh. 11 He giveth them habitation and maintenance. 13 He getteth all the Egyptians' money, 16 their cattle, 18 their lands to Pharaoh. 22 The priests' land was not bought. 23 He letteth the land to them for a fifth part. 28 Jacob's age. 29 He sweareth Joseph to bury him with his fathers.

THEN Joseph came and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan; and, behold, they *are* in the land of Goshen.

2 And he took some of his brethren, *even* five men, and presented them unto Pharaoh.

3 And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What *is* your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants *are* shepherds, both we, *and* also our fathers.

4 They said moreover unto Pharaoh, For to sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine *is* sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen.

5 And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee:

6 The land of Egypt *is* before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest *any* men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.

7 And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh.

8 And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, [†] How old *art* thou?

9 And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, [a] The days of the years of my pilgrimage *are* an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have

† Heb. *How many are the days of the years of thy life?*
a Heb. 11. 9, 13.

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that their neighbours the Arab tribes of the desert, with whom they were continually at feud, were nomads only, may have been sufficient to cause this feeling. The Egyptians looked on all the people of Egypt as of noble race (Diod. v. 58), and on all foreigners as low-born. Hence they would naturally esteem a nomadic people in close proximity to themselves, and with a much lower civilization than their own, as barbarous and despicable. Whatever be the historical foundation for the existence of three dynasties of Hycsos or Shepherd-kings extending over a period of from 500 to 1000 years, there can be little doubt that the Egyptians were frequently harassed by incursions from the nomadic tribes in their neighbourhood. Some of these tribes appear to have subdued portions of Lower Egypt and to have fixed their seat of government at Tanis (Zoan), or even at Memphis. The great Hycsos invasion was after the time of Joseph, who probably lived under a Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty (see Excursus); but the hostility between the Egyptians and the nomad tribes of Asia had no doubt been of long duration.

CHAP. XLVII. 6. *in the best of the land*] The modern province of Es-Shurkiyeh, which appears nearly to correspond with the land of Goshen, is said to "bear the highest valuation and to yield the largest revenue" of any in Egypt. (Robinson, 'B. R.' I. p. 78, 79; Kurtz, Vol. II. p. 15.) M. Chabas has collected notices of great interest showing the riches and beauty of the district under the 19th dynasty ('Mél. Egypt.' II.)

7. *and Jacob blessed Pharaoh*] Some here render "Jacob saluted Pharaoh," a possible translation, as the Eastern salutation is often with words of blessing: but the natural sense of the word is "to bless;" and if Jacob had bowed himself to the ground before Pharaoh according to a familiar Eastern custom, it would probably have been so related in the history. More probably the aged patriarch, with the conscious dignity of a prophet and the heir of the promises, prayed for blessings upon Pharaoh.

8. *How old art thou?*] **How many are the days of the years of thy life?**

9. *my pilgrimage*] Lit. "my sojournings." Pharaoh asked of the days of the years of his life, he replies by speaking of the days of the years of his pilgrimage. Some have thought that he called his life a pilgrimage, because he was a nomad, a wanderer in lands not his own: but in reality the patriarchs spoke of life as a pilgrimage or sojourning, because they sought another country, that is a heavenly (Heb. xi. 9, 13). Earth was not their home, but their journey homewards.

few and evil] The Jews speak of Jacob's

not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.

10 And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh.

11 ¶ And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.

12 And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, ‖ † according to *their* families.

‖ Or, *as a little child is nourished.* † Heb. *according to the little ones.*

13 ¶ And *there was* no bread in all the land; for the famine *was* very sore, so that the land of Egypt and *all* the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine.

14 And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.

15 And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth.

16 And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail.

17 And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread *in exchange* for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he † fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year.

† Heb. *led them.*

18 When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not hide *it* from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies, and our lands:

19 Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give *us* seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate.

20 And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's.

21 And as for the people, he re-

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seven afflictions: (1) the persecution of Esau; (2) the injustice of Laban; (3) the result of his wrestling with the Angel; (4) the violation of Dinah; (5) the loss of Joseph; (6) the imprisonment of Simeon; (7) the departure of Benjamin for Egypt. They might well have added the death of Rachel and the incest of Reuben (Schumann).

11. *the land of Rameses*] In Ex. i. 11, the Israelites are said to have built treasure cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses. It is possible that Goshen is here called the land of Rameses by anticipation, as it may have become familiarly known to the Israelites by the name "land of Rameses" after they had built the city Rameses in it. Very probably, however, the Israelites in the captivity only fortified and strengthened the city of Rameses then already existing, and so fitted it to be a strong treasure-city. The name Rameses became famous in after times from the exploits of Rameses II., a king of the 19th dynasty: but he was of too late a date to have given name to a city, either in the time of Joseph, or even at the time of the Exodus. Rameses, according to the LXX. corresponded with the Heroopolis of after times. (See on this city Hengstenberg, 'Egypt,' p. 51, and Excursus at the end of the volume.)

12. *according to their families*] Lit. "to the mouth of their children;" meaning very probably, "even to the food for their children."

20. *Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh*] All the main points in the statements of this chapter are confirmed by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and the monuments. Herodotus (II. 109) says that Sesostris divided the soil among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of land of equal size to all, and obtained his revenue from a rent paid annually by the holders. Diodorus (I. 54) says that Sesoösis divided the whole country into 36 nomes and set nomarchs over each to take care of the royal revenue and administer their respective provinces. Strabo (XVII. p. 787) tells us that the occupiers of land held it subject to a rent. Again, Diodorus (I. 73, 74) represents the land as possessed only by the priests, the king, and the warriors, which

moved them to cities from *one* end of the borders of Egypt even to the *other* end thereof.

22 Only the land of the ‖ priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion *assigned them* of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands.

‖ Or, *princes.*

23 Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: lo, *here is* seed for you, and ye shall sow the land.

24 And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth *part* unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones.

25 And they said, Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.

26 And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, *that* Pharaoh should have the fifth *part;*

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testimony is confirmed by the sculptures (Wilkinson, I. p. 263). The discrepancy of this from the account in Genesis is apparent in the silence of the latter concerning the lands assigned to the warrior caste. The reservation of their lands to the priests is expressly mentioned in v. 22; but nothing is said of the warriors. There was, however, a marked difference in the tenure of land by the warriors from that by the priests. Herodotus (II. 168) says that each warrior had assigned to him twelve *aruræ* of land (each *arura* being a square of 100 Egyptian cubits); that is to say, there were no landed possessions vested in the caste, but certain fixed portions assigned to each person: and these, as given by the sovereign's will, so apparently were liable to be withheld or taken away by the same will; for we find that Sethos, the contemporary of Sennacherib and therefore of Hezekiah and Isaiah, actually deprived the warriors of these lands, which former kings had conceded to them (Herod. II. 141). It is therefore, as Knobel remarks, highly probable that the original reservation of their lands was only to the priests, and that the warrior caste did not come into possession of their twelve *aruræ* each, till after the time of Joseph. In the other important particulars the sacred and profane accounts entirely tally, viz. that, by royal appointment, the original proprietors of the land became crown tenants, holding their land by payment of a rent or tribute; whilst the priests only were left in full possession of their former lands and revenues. As to the particular king to whom this is attributed by Herodotus and Diodorus, Lepsius ('Chronol. Egypt.' I. p. 304) supposes that this was not the Sesostris of Manetho's 12th dynasty (Osirtasen of the Monuments), but a Sethos or Sethosis of the 19th dynasty, whom he considers to be the Pharaoh of Joseph. The 19th dynasty is, however, certainly much too late a date for Joseph. It may be a question whether the division of the land into 36 nomes and into square plots of equal size by Sesostris be the same transaction as the purchasing and restoring of the land by Joseph. The people were already in possession of their property when Joseph bought it, and they received it again on condition of paying a fifth of the produce as a rent. But whether or not this act of Sesostris be identified with that of Joseph (or the Pharaoh of Joseph), the profane historians and the monuments completely bear out the testimony of the author of Genesis as to the condition of land tenure and its origin in an exercise of the sovereign's authority.

21. *he removed them to cities*] He had collected all the corn, which he had stored up for the famine, into the various cities of Egypt, and so he removed the people into the cities and their neighbourhood, that he might the better provide them with food (Schum.).

22. *Only the land of the priests bought he not*] See on v. 20.

the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them] This does not mean that the priests were Pharaoh's stipendiaries, which would be inconsistent with the immediately preceding words, as well as with the statement of profane authors as to the landed possessions of the priests. On the contrary, it means, that Pharaoh had such respect for the ministers of religion, that, instead of suffering Joseph to sell corn to them and so to buy up their land, he ordered a portion of corn to be regularly distributed to them during the famine, and so they were not reduced to the necessity of selling their lands. This regard for the priests is expressly assigned to Pharaoh, not to Joseph, and so there can be no need to apologize for Joseph's respect to an idolatrous priesthood.

26. *Joseph made it a law*] The final result of Joseph's policy was that the land was restored to the Egyptians, with an obligation to pay one fifth of it to Pharaoh for the

except the land of the [1] priests only, *which* became not Pharaoh's.

[1] Or, *princes.*

27 ¶ And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly.

28 And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: so [1] the whole age of Jacob was an hundred forty and seven years.

[1] Heb. *the days of the years of his life.*

29 And the time drew nigh that Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, [b] put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt:

[b] chap. 24. 2.

30 But I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their buryingplace. And he said, I will do as thou hast said.

31 And he said, Swear unto me. And he sware unto him. And [c] Israel bowed himself upon the bed's [21] head.

[c] Heb. 11. [21.]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 *Joseph with his sons visiteth his sick father.* 2 *Jacob strengtheneth himself to bless them.* 3 *He repeateth the promise.* 5 *He taketh Ephraim and Manasseh as his own.* 7 *He telleth Joseph of his mother's grave.* 9 *He blesseth Ephraim and Manasseh.* 17 *He preferreth the younger before the elder.* 21 *He prophesieth their return to Canaan.*

AND it came to pass after these things, that *one* told Joseph, Behold, thy father *is* sick: and he

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purpose of maintaining the revenues of the state. Much has been written in condemnation, and again in vindication of these proceedings. Was Joseph a mere creature of Pharaoh's, desirous only of his master's aggrandizement? or was he bent on establishing a tyrannical absolutism in violation of the rights and liberties of the subject? The brevity of the narrative and our imperfect acquaintance with the condition of the people and the state of agriculture in ancient Egypt make it impossible fully to judge of the wisdom and equity of Joseph's laws. This much, however, is quite evident. The land in favourable years was very productive. In the plenteous years it brought forth by handfuls (ch. xli. 47). Even the fifth part of the revenue of corn (v. 34) was so abundant that it is described as like "the sand of the sea," and "without number" (v. 49). Yet there was a liability to great depression, as shewn by the seven years of famine: the monuments too indicate the frequent occurrence of scarcity, and there was evidently no provision against this in the habits of the people or the management of the tillage. If Pharaoh had not been moved to store up corn against the famine years, the population would most probably have perished. The peculiar nature of the land, its dependence on the overflow of the Nile, and the unthrifty habits of the cultivators, made it desirable to establish a system of centralization, perhaps to introduce some general principle of irrigation, in modern phraseology, to promote the prosperity of the country by great government works, in preference to leaving all to the uncertainty of individual enterprize. If this was so, then the saying, "Thou hast saved our lives," was no language of Eastern adulation, but the verdict of a grateful people.

The "fifth part" which was paid to Pharaoh for the revenues of the state, and perhaps for public works of all kinds, agricultural and others, was not an exorbitant impost. The Egyptians appear to have made no difficulty in paying one-fifth of the produce of their land to Pharaoh during the years of plenty; and hence we may infer that it would not have been a burdensome rent when the system of agriculture was put on a better footing.

28. *the whole age of Jacob*] Lit. **the days of Jacob, even the years of his life.**

29. *bury me not...in Egypt*] Jacob had a firm faith that his descendants should inherit the land of Canaan, and therefore desired to be buried there. Moreover, he very probably wished to direct the minds of his children to that as their future home, that they might be kept from setting up their rest in Egypt.

31. *bowed himself upon the bed's head*] So the Masorites point it. So the Targg., Symm., Aquila, Vulg., but the LXX., Syr., and Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 21), read "on the top of his staff." The Hebrew word without the vowel points means either "bed" or "staff." The only distinction is in the vowel points, which do not exist in the more ancient MSS. It is therefore impossible to decide with certainty which was the original sense of the word. It is quite possible that the meaning is, as the Apostle quotes the passage, that after Joseph had sworn to bury him in Canaan, Jacob bowed himself upon the staff which had gone with him through all his wanderings (Gen. xxxii. 10), and so worshipped God. And this seems the more likely from the fact that it is not till after these things that one told Joseph, "Behold, thy father is

took with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

2 And *one* told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat upon the bed.

3 And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at [a] Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me,

[a] chap. 28. 13. & 35. 6.

4 And said unto me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and will give this land to thy seed after thee *for* an everlasting possession.

5 ¶ And now thy [b] two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, *are* mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine.

[b] chap. 41. 50. Josh. 13. 7.

6 And thy issue, which thou begettest after them, shall be thine, *and* shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance.

7 And as for me, when I came from Padan, [c] Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet *there was* but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same *is* Beth-lehem.

[c] chap. 35. 19.

8 And Israel beheld Joseph's sons, and said, Who *are* these?

9 And Joseph said unto his father, They *are* my sons, whom God hath given me in this *place*. And he said, Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them.

10 Now the eyes of Israel were [†] dim for age, *so that* he could not see. And he brought them near unto him; and he kissed them, and embraced them.

[†] Heb. *heavy.*

11 And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath shewed me also thy seed.

12 And Joseph brought them out from between his knees, and he bowed himself with his face to the earth.

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sick" (ch. xlviii. 1), so that Jacob probably had not as yet taken to his bed. At the same time we must not always press the quotations in the New Testament as proof of the true sense of the Hebrew original, for it is natural for the Apostles to quote the LXX. as being the Authorised Version, just as modern divines quote modern versions in the vernacular languages without suggesting a correction of their language, when such correction is unnecessary for their argument.

CHAP. XLVIII. 3. *God Almighty*] "El-Shaddai." See on ch. xliii. 14.

at Luz] *i. e.* Bethel. See ch. xxviii. 17, 19, xxxv. 6, 7.

5. *as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine*] Thy two sons shall be as much counted to be my sons, as Reuben and Simeon, my own two eldest sons, are counted to be mine; accordingly Ephraim and Manasseh became patriarchs, *eponymi*, heads of tribes. Some think that, as Reuben was deprived of his birthright, so here the birthright is given to Ephraim, the elder son of the firstborn of Rachel. But the birthright seems rather to have been transferred to Judah, his three elder brothers being disinherited, the first for incest, the other two for cruelty (see ch. xlix. 8-10). Accordingly, Judah became the royal tribe, from whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever. There was, however, a kind of secondary birthright given to Ephraim (see xlix. 22 sq.), who became ancestor of the royal tribe among the ten tribes of Israel.

6. *shall be called after the name of their brethren*] Shall not give names to separate tribes, but shall be numbered with the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. We hear nothing of any younger sons of Joseph, and do not know for certain that any were born to him; but it has been thought that they may be mentioned in Num. xxvi. 28—37, 1 Chr. vii. 14—29.

7. *Rachel died by me*] When adopting the sons of Joseph, Jacob turns his thoughts back to his beloved Rachel, for whose sake especially he had so dearly loved Joseph. Rosenm., Gesenius and some others propose to translate here "Rachel died to my sorrow," lit. "upon me," and therefore as a heavy burden to me; but the received translation is supported by the Versions, and by the frequent use of the preposition in the sense of "near me," "by my side."

12. *Joseph brought them out from between his knees*] Joseph brought them out from between Jacob's knees, where they had gone that he might embrace them, and probably placed them in a reverent attitude to receive the patriarch's blessing.

13 And Joseph took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and brought *them* near unto him.

14 And Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid *it* upon Ephraim's head, who *was* the younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh *was* the firstborn.

[a] Heb. 11. 21.

15 ¶ And [a]he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day,

16 The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them [†]grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth.

[†] Heb. *as fishes do increase.*

17 And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him: and he held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head.

18 And Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father: for this *is* the firstborn; put thy right hand upon his head.

19 And his father refused, and said, I know *it*, my son, I know *it:* he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a [†]multitude of nations.

[†] Heb. *fulness.*

20 And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh.

21 And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers.

22 Moreover I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

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and he bowed himself with his face to the earth] *i.e.* Joseph bowed down respectfully and solemnly before his father. The LXX. has "They bowed themselves," which differs but by the repetition of one letter from the received reading.

14. *guiding his hands wittingly*] So Gesen., Rosenm., and most modern interpreters; but the LXX. Vulg. &c. "putting his hands crosswise." This has been defended by some, comparing an Arabic root, which has the sense "to bind, to twist," but it cannot be shewn ever to have had the sense "to cross."

16. *The Angel which redeemed me from all evil*] There is here a triple blessing:

"The God, before whom my fathers walked,
"The God, which fed me like a shepherd, all my life long,
"The Angel, which redeemed (or redeemeth me) from all evil."

It is impossible that the Angel thus identified with God can be a created Angel. Jacob, no doubt, alludes to the Angel who wrestled with him and whom he called God (ch. xxxii. 24—30), the same as the Angel of the Covenant, Mal. iii. 1. Luther observes that the verb "bless," which thus refers to the God of his fathers, to the God who had been his Shepherd, and to the Angel who redeemed him, is in the singular, not in the plural, showing that these three are but one God, and that the Angel is one with the fathers' God and with the God who fed Jacob like a sheep.

22. *Moreover I have given to thee one portion*] There is little doubt but that this rendering is correct. The past tense is used by prophetic anticipation, and the meaning is, "I have assigned to thee one portion of that land, which my descendants are destined to take out of the hands of the Amorites." The word rendered portion is *Shechem*, meaning literally "a shoulder," thence probably a ridge or neck of land, hence here rendered by most versions and commentators "portion." Shechem, the city of Samaria, was probably named from the fact of its standing thus on a ridge or shoulder of ground. (See on Gen. xii. 6.) Accordingly here the LXX., Targ. of Pseudo-Jonath., as also Calvin, Rosenm., and some moderns, have rendered not "portion," but "Shechem," a proper name. The history of Shechem is doubtless much mixed up with the history of the Patriarchs, and was intimately connected with all their blessings. It was Abraham's first settlement in Palestine, and there he first built an altar (ch. xii. 6). There too Jacob purchased a piece of ground from Hamor the father of Shechem, and built an altar (xxxiii. 18—20). This was, however, not "taken out of the hand of the Amorite with sword and bow," but obtained peaceably

CHAPTER XLIX.

1 *Jacob calleth his sons to bless them.* 3 *Their blessing in particular.* 29 *He chargeth them about his burial.* 33 *He dieth.*

AND Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you *that* which shall befall you in the last days.

2 Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father.

3 ¶ Reuben, thou *art* my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power:

4 Unstable as water, [t]thou shalt not excel; because thou [a]wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou *it:* [u]he went up to my couch.

5 ¶ Simeon and Levi *are* brethren; [v]instruments of cruelty *are in* their habitations.

[t] Heb. *do not thou excel.*
[a] chap. 35. 22.
[u] 1 Chron. 5. 1.
[u] Or, *my couch is gone.*
[v] Or, *their swords* are *weapons of violence.*

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by purchase. Some have thought therefore that the allusion is to the victory over the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi related in ch. xxxiv., the Shechemites being here called Amorites, though there Hivites, because Amorite was a generic name, like Canaanite: but it is hardly likely that Jacob should boast of a conquest by his sons, as though it were his own, when he strongly reprobated their action in it, and even "cursed their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel" (ch. xlix. 7). Though, therefore, it is undoubtedly told us, that Jacob gave Shechem to Joseph, and that Joseph was therefore buried there (Josh. xxiv. 32; John iv. 5. See also Jerome, 'Qu. in Gen.' xlix.); and though there may be some allusion to this gift in the words here made use of, by a paronomasia so common in Hebrew, it is most likely that the rendering of the Authorised Version is correct. The addition of "one" to "portion" seems to decide for this interpretation. "I have given thee one Shechem," would be very hard to interpret.

CHAP. XLIX. 1. *in the last days*] The future generally, but with special reference to the times of Messiah. The Rabbi Nachmanides says, "According to the words of all, the last days denote the days of Messiah." The passages in which it occurs are mostly Messianic predictions (see Num. xxiv. 14; Isa. ii. 2; Jer. xxx. 24; Ezek. xxxviii. 16; Dan. x. 14; Hos. iii. 5; Mic. iv. 1). The exact words of the LXX. are used in Heb. i. 1, and virtually the same in Acts ii. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Pet. i. 20; 2 Pet. iii. 3, where the reference is to the times of Christ. (See Heidegger, Vol. II. XXIII. 6; Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 73.) The prophecy of Jacob does not refer exclusively to the days of Messiah, but rather sketches generally the fortunes of his family; but all is leading up to that which was to be the great consummation, when the promised Seed should come and extend the blessings of the Spiritual Israel throughout all the world. It is to be carefully noted, that the occupation of Canaan by the twelve tribes under Joshua was not the point to which his expectations pointed as an end, but rather that from which his predictions took their beginning. It was not the *terminus ad quem*, but the *terminus a quo*. The return to Canaan was a fact established in the decrees of Providence, the certainty of which rested on promises given and repeated to the Patriarchs. Jacob therefore does not repeat this, farther than by the injunction, in the last chapter, and again at the end of this, that he should be buried, not in Egypt, but at Machpelah, the buryingplace of his fathers.

3. *the beginning of my strength*] Some important Versions (Aquila, Symm., Vulg.) render "the beginning of my sorrow," a possible translation, but not suited to the parallelisms. For the expression, as applied to firstborn sons, comp. Deut. xxi. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 51, cv. 36.

4. *Unstable as water*] or "boiling over like water." The meaning of the word is uncertain. The same root in Syriac expresses "wantonness;" in Arabic, "pride," "swelling arrogance." In this passage it is clearly connected with water. The Vulgate translates, "Thou art poured out like water." Symmachus renders "Thou hast boiled over like water." The translation of the LXX. is peculiar, but it also seems to point to boiling as well as to the insolence of pride (ἐξύβρισας ὡς ὕδωρ, μὴ ἐκζέσῃς). Modern lexicographers (as Gesen., Lee, &c.) generally give "boiling over."

thou shalt not excel] Perhaps, though, through thy swelling wantonness, thou risest up like water when it boils, yet it shall not be so as to excel and surpass thy brethren. Not one great action, not one judge, prophet, or leader from the tribe of Reuben is ever mentioned in history.

then defiledst thou it] "Thou hast polluted" or "desecrated it."

5. *instruments of cruelty are in their habitations*] Probably, "Their swords are weapons of violence;" so the Vulg., several Rabbins, and the most eminent moderns. The word occurs only here, is very variously rendered by the Versions, and is of doubtful derivation.

6 O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their selfwill they [1]digged down a wall.

7 Cursed *be* their anger, for *it was* fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

8 ¶ Judah, thou *art he* whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand *shall be* in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

9 Judah *is* a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?

10 The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from be-

[1] Or, *houghed oxen.*

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6. *mine honour*] Probably a synonym for "my soul" in the first clause of the parallelism. The soul as being the noblest part of man is called his glory. See Ps. viii. 5 (6 Heb.), xvi. 9, xxx. 12 (13 Heb.), lvii. 8 (9 Heb.), cviii. 1 (2 Heb.); (Ges. 'Thes.' p. 655).

digged down a wall] **Hamstrung an ox.** So the margin "houghed oxen." The singular "an ox" must be used to retain the parallelism with "a man" in the former clause, both have a collective intention. This is the rendering of the LXX. and gives the commoner sense of the verb. It is therefore adopted by most recent commentators. The same Hebrew word, with a distinction only in the vowel point, means "ox" and "wall."

7. *I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel*] This was most literally fulfilled, for when Canaan was conquered, on the second numbering under Moses, the tribe of Simeon had become the weakest of all the tribes (Numb. xxvi. 14); in Moses' blessing (Deut. xxxiii.) it is entirely passed over; and in the assignment of territory it was merely mingled or scattered among the tribe of Judah, having certain cities assigned it within the limits of Judah's possession (Josh. xix. 1—9); whilst the Levites had no separate inheritance, but merely a number of cities to dwell in, scattered throughout the possessions of their brethren (Josh. xxi. 1—40). With regard to the latter, though by being made dependent on the tithes and also on the liberality of their fellow countrymen, they were punished, yet in process of time the curse was turned into a blessing. (See Mede, 'Works,' Bk. i. Disc. xxxv.) Of this transformation of the curse into a blessing there is not the slightest intimation in Jacob's address: and in this we have a strong proof of its genuineness. After this honourable change in the time of Moses (due in great part to the faithfulness of Moses himself and of the Levites with him), it would never have occurred to the forger of a prophecy to cast such a reproach, and to foretell such a judgment on the forefather of the Levites. In fact, how different is the blessing pronounced by Moses himself upon the tribe of Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 8 sqq. (See Keil.)

8. *Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise*] **Judah, thou, thy brethren shall praise thee.** The word "thou" is emphatic, probably, like "Judah," in the vocative; not, as some would render it, "Thou art Judah," which is far tamer. The reference is to the meaning of the name. Leah said, "Now will I *praise* the Lord, therefore she called his name *Judah*" (ch. xxix. 35). Judah, notwithstanding the sad history of him and his house in ch. xxxviii., shewed on the whole more nobleness than any of the elder sons of Jacob. He and Reuben were the only two who desired to save the life of Joseph (ch. xxxvii. 22, 26); and his conduct before Joseph in Egypt is truly noble and touching (see ch. xliv. 18—34). Hence, when Reuben is deprived of his birthright for incest, Simeon and Levi for manslaughter, Judah, who is next in age, naturally and rightly succeeds to it.

thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee] He was to be victorious in war, and the leading tribe in Israel; the former promise being signally fulfilled in the victories of David and Solomon, the latter in the elevation of Judah to be the royal tribe; but both most fully in the victory and royalty of David's Son and David's Lord.

9. *Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up*] Judah is compared to the most royal and the most powerful of beasts. The image is from the lion retiring to the mountains after having devoured his prey: not probably, as Gesenius and others, "thou hast grown up from feeding upon the prey."

as an old lion] **As a lioness** (Bochart, 'Hieroz.' i. p. 719; Ges. 'Thes.' p. 738). The standard of Judah was a lion, very probably derived from these words of Jacob.

10. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah*, &c.] Render

A sceptre shall not depart from Judah
Nor a lawgiver from between his feet,
Until that Shiloh come,
And to him shall be the obedience of the peoples.

tween his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him *shall* the gathering of the people *be*.

11 Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes:

12 His eyes *shall be* red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.

13 ¶ Zebulun shall dwell at the

A remarkable prophecy of the Messiah, and so acknowledged by all Jewish, as well as Christian, antiquity. The meaning of the verse appears to be "The Sceptre (either of royal, or perhaps only of tribal, authority) shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver (senator or scribe) from before him, until Shiloh (*i.e.* either 'the Prince of peace,' or 'he whose right it is') shall come, and to him shall the nations be obedient." There are some obscure expressions, but we may confidently hold that the above paraphrase conveys the true sense of the passage.

1. The word *sceptre*, originally denoting a staff of wood, a strong rod taken from a tree and peeled as a wand, is used (1) for "the rod of correction, (2) for "the staff of a shepherd," (3) for "the sceptre of royalty" (as Ps. xlv. 7; cp. Hom. 'Il.' II. 46, 101), (4) for "a tribe," which may be because the sceptre denoted tribal as well as regal authority, or because tribes were considered as twigs or branches from a central stem. (See Ges. p. 1353.) It is probable that the sceptre in Balaam's prophecy (Num. xxiv. 17) has a reference to these words of Jacob.

2. "A lawgiver," so, more or less, all the Ancient Versions. The LXX. and Vulg. render "a leader," the Targums paraphrasing by "scribe or interpreter of the law." The word certainly means "a lawgiver" in Deut. xxxiii. 21; Isa. xxxiii. 22; and all ancient interpretation was in favour of understanding it of a person. The R. Lipmann, however, proposed the sense of "a rod or staff" answering to "the sceptre" in the former clause, in which he has been followed by eminent critics, such as Gesenius, Tuch, Knobel, who think that this sense is more pertinent here, and in Num. xxi. 18; Ps. lx. 7 (see Heidegger, Vol. II. p. 738; Ges. p. 514); but it requires proof that the word, naturally signifying "lawgiver," sometimes undoubtedly meaning "lawgiver," and always so rendered in the Versions, can mean lawgiver's staff or sceptre.

3. "From between his feet" is rendered by the Versions, and generally by commentators "from among his posterity. (See Ges. p. 204.)

4. "Until Shiloh come." For fuller consideration of the name "Shiloh," see Note A at the end of the Chapter. The only two admissible interpretations are that the word is (1) a proper name, meaning "the Peace-maker," "the Prince of peace," or, (2) according to the almost unanimous consent of the Versions and Targums, "He, whose right it is." All the Targums add the name of Messiah, and all the more ancient Jews held it to be an undoubted prophecy of Messiah.

5. "Unto him shall the gathering of the people be." Rather, "Unto him shall be the obedience of the nations." The word for obedience occurs only once besides, in Prov. xxx. 17; but, if the reading be correct, there is little doubt of its significance. (See Ges. pp. 620, 1200; Heidegger, Tom. II. p. 748.)

As regards the fulfilment of this prophecy, it is undoubted that the tribal authority and the highest place in the nation continued with Judah until the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true that after the Babylonish Captivity the royalty was not in the house of Judah; but the prophecy is not express as to the possession of absolute royalty. Israel never ceased to be a nation, Judah never ceased to be a tribe with at least a tribal sceptre and lawgivers, or expositors of the law, Sanhedrim or Senators, and with a general pre-eminence in the land, nor was there a foreign ruler of the people, till at least the time of Herod the Great, just before the birth of the Saviour; and even the Herods, though of Idumæan extraction, were considered as exercising a native sovereignty in Judah, which did not quite pass away till a Roman procurator was sent thither after the reign of Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great: and at that very time the Shiloh came, the Prince of peace, to whom of right the kingdom belonged. (On the meaning of the name *Shiloh*, see Note A at the end of the Chapter.)

11. *Binding his foal unto the vine*, &c.] Many think that the patriarch, having spoken of the endurance of the reign of Judah till the coming of Christ, returns to speak of Judah's temporal prosperity during all that period; but the Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan refer this verse to the Messiah. So also several Christian fathers (*e.g.* Chrysostom, in loc., Theodoret, 'Qu. in Gen.'); interpreting the vine of the Jewish people, and the wild ass of the gentile converts brought into the vineyard of the Church. The washing of the garments in wine they consider an allusion to Christ as the true vine (John xv. 1), to His treading "the winepress alone" (Isa. lxiii. 1—3), and empurpling His garments with His own Blood. (See Heidegger, II. pp. 752, sqq.)

12. *His eyes shall be red with wine*,] &c. Or perhaps (as the LXX., Vulg., Targg. Jerus., and Pseudo-Jon.), "His eyes shall be

haven of the sea; and he *shall be* for an haven of ships; and his border *shall be* unto Zidon.

14 ¶ Issachar *is* a strong ass couching down between two burdens:

15 And he saw that rest *was* good, and the land that *it was* pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.

16 ¶ Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.

17 Dan shall be a serpent by the way, [†] an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

[†] Heb. *an arrow-snake.*

18 I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.

19 ¶ Gad, a troop shall overcome,

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redder than wine, and His teeth whiter than milk." This is generally supposed to refer to the land flowing with milk and honey, and abounding in vineyards; but the fathers applied it to the Messiah's kingdom in the same manner with the last verse, *e.g.* "That His eyes shine as with wine know all those members of His Body mystical, to whom it is given with a sort of sacred inebriation of mind, alienated from the fleeting things of time, to behold the eternal brightness of wisdom." (Augustin. 'C. Faust.' XII. 42, Tom. VIII. p. 24).

13. *Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea*] "Zebulun shall dwell on the shore of the sea, and he shall be for a shore of ships," (*i.e.* suited for ships to land on), "and his border" (or farthest extremity) "shall be by Zidon." As far as we know of the limits of Zebulun, after the occupation of Canaan, it reached from the sea of Gennesareth to Mount Carmel, and so nearly to the Mediterranean. It did not reach to the city of Zidon, but its most western point reaching to Mount Carmel brought it into close proximity to Zidonia, or the territory of Tyre and Sidon. The language here used, though in all material points fulfilled in the subsequent history, is just what would not have been written by a forger in after times. Zebulun had not properly a maritime territory; yet its possessions reached very nearly to both seas. It was far from the city of Zidon; and yet, as approximating very closely to the land of the Syrians, might well be said to have its border by or towards Zidon. Tyre probably was not built at this time, and therefore is not named in the prophecy.

14. *Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens*] Probably "Issachar is a strong-boned ass, couching down between the cattle pens," or "sheepfolds." The last word occurs only here and in Judg. v. 16, where it is rendered sheepfolds (see Rœdiger in Ges. 'Thes.' p. 1470). The prediction all points to the habits of an indolent agricultural people, and to what is likely to accompany such habits, an endurance of oppression in preference to a war of independence.

16. *Dan shall judge his people*, &c.] A paronomasia on *Dan* (*i.e.* a judge). The words may mean that, though he was only a son of Bilhah, he shall yet have tribal authority in his own people. The word translated "tribe" is the same as that translated "sceptre" in v. 10. Onkelos and others after him suppose the allusion to be to the judgeship of Samson, who was of the tribe of Dan (Judg. xv. 20).

17. *Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path*] The word for adder, *Shephiphon*, is translated by the Vulg. *cerastes* the horned snake, the *coluber cerastes* of Linnæus, a small snake about 14 inches long and one inch thick, lurking in the sand and by the way side, very poisonous and dangerous. (Bochart, 'Hieroz.' Pt. ii. Lib. III. c. 12.) The people of Dan in Judges xviii. 27, shewed the kind of subtlety here ascribed to them. Perhaps the local position of the tribe is alluded to. It was placed originally on the outskirts of the royal tribe of Judah, and might in times of war have to watch stealthily for the enemy and fall on him by subtlety as he was approaching. The comparison of Dan to a serpent lying in wait and biting the heel seems to imply some condemnation. It is certainly observable that the first introduction of Idolatry in Israel is ascribed to the tribe of Dan (Judg. xviii.), and that in the numbering of the tribes in Rev. vii., the name of Dan is omitted. From these or other causes many of the fathers were led to believe that antichrist should spring from the tribe of Dan (Iren. v. 30, 32; Ambros. 'De Benedict. Patriarch.' c. 7; Augustin. 'In Josuam, Quæst. 22; Theodoret, 'In Genes.' Quæst. 109; Prosper, 'De Promiss. et Prædict.' p. 4; Gregorius, 'Moral.' c. 18, &c.).

18. *I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD*] This ejaculation immediately following the blessing on Dan is very remarkable, but not easy to interpret. The Targg. Jerus. and Pseudo-Jonath. (and according to the Complutensian Polyglot Onkelos also, though the passage is probably spurious) paraphrase the words by saying that Jacob looked not for temporal redemption, such as that wrought by Gideon or Samson, but for the eternal redemption promised by Messiah. 'Is it not possible, that Jacob, having been moved

him: but he shall overcome at the last.

20 ¶ *Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties.*

21 ¶ *Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words.*

22 ¶ *Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, whose* [Heb. daughters] branches run over the wall:

23 The archers have sorely grieved *him, and shot at him,* and hated him:

24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty *God of Jacob;* (from thence *is* the shepherd, the stone of Israel:)

25 *Even* by the God of thy father,

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by the Spirit of God to speak of the serpent biting the heel, may have had his thoughts called back to the primal promise made to Eve, the Protevangelium, where the sentence that the serpent should bruise the heel was succeeded by the promise that the serpent's head should be crushed by the coming Seed? This combination of thoughts may easily have elicited the exclamation of this verse.

19. *Gad, a troop shall overcome him: but he shall overcome at the last*] Perhaps "Gad, troops shall press on him, but he shall press upon their rear" (so Gesen. p. 271; Ros., Schum.); the allusion being to the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood of Gad, who would invade him, and then retire, Gad following them and harassing their retreat. Every word but two in the verse is some form of the same root, there being a play of words on the name *Gad* and *Gedud, i.e.* a troop; we might express it, "Gad, troops shall troop against him, but he shall troop on their retreat." (See on ch. xxx. 11.)

20. *Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties*] The translation may be a little doubtful; but the sense is probably that expressed by the Authorised Version. The allusion is to the fertility of the territory of Asher extending from Mount Carmel along the coast of Sidonia nearly to Mount Lebanon. It was specially rich in corn, wine and oil (Heidegger), containing some of the most fertile land in Palestine (Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 265).

21. *Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words*] The Targg. Pseudo-Jon. and Jerus. explain this that "Naphtali is a swift messenger, like a hind that runneth on the mountains, bringing good tidings." So virtually the Syr. and Sam. Versions. The allusion is obscure, as we know so little of the history of Naphtali. The Targums above cited say that Naphtali first declared to Jacob that Joseph was yet alive. As the tribe of Naphtali occupied part of that region which afterwards became Galilee, some have supposed that there was contained in these words a prophecy of the Apostles (in Hebrew *Sheluchim*, the same word with *Shelucha* here rendered "let loose"), who were Galileans and of whom it was said, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings."

Bochart, after whom Michaelis, Schulz, Dathe, Ewald and others, follow the LXX. altering the vowel points, and render, "Naphtali is a spreading tree, which puts forth goodly branches."

22. *Joseph is a fruitful bough*] Perhaps "Joseph is the son," or branch, "of a fruitful tree, the son of a fruitful tree by a well, as for the branches" (lit. the daughters) "each one of them runneth over the wall" (see Ges. 218, 220). The construction is difficult and the difference of translations very considerable; but so, or nearly so, Gesen., Tuch, Knobel, Delitzsch, &c. The prophecy probably refers to the general prosperity of the house of Joseph. The fruitful tree is by some supposed to be Rachel. The luxuriance of the tendrils running over the wall may point to Joseph's growing into two tribes, whilst none of his brethren formed more than one: so Onkelos.

23. *The archers have sorely grieved him*] Though the Targums and others have referred this to Joseph's trials in Egypt, the prophetic character of the whole chapter shows that they point rather to the future wars of his tribes and the strength which he received from the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

24. *from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel*] "From thence," referring to "the mighty one of Jacob" in the last clause. Some understand here that Joseph, having been defended from the malice of his enemies, was raised up by God to be a Shepherd or Guardian both to the Egyptians and to his own family, and a stone or rock of support to the house of Israel. Others see in this a prophecy of Joshua, the great captain of his people, who came of the tribe of Ephraim, and led the Israelites to the promised land. Others again have thought that, when Jacob was speaking of the sufferings and subsequent exaltation of his son Joseph, his visions were directed forward to that greater Son, of whom Joseph was a type, whom the archers vexed, but who was victorious over all enemies, and that of Him he says "From GOD cometh the Shepherd, the

who shall help thee; and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb:

26 The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills: they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.

27 ¶ Benjamin shall ravin *as* a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.

28 ¶ All these *are* the twelve tribes of Israel: and this *is it* that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.

29 And he charged them; and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people: [b] bury me with my fathers in the cave that *is* in the field of Ephron the Hittite, [b] chap. 47. 30.

30 In the cave that *is* in the field of Machpelah, which *is* before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, [c] which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a buryingplace. [c] chap. 23. 16.

31 There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.

32 The purchase of the field and of the cave that *is* therein *was* from the children of Heth.

33 And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

Rock of Israel." As both Joseph and Joshua were eminent shadows and forerunners of the Saviour, it is quite possible that all these senses, more or less, belong to the words, though perhaps with special reference to the last. The translation advocated by many recent commentators, "From thence—from the Shepherd—the Rock of Israel" is against the original and the Versions.

25. *Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee*, &c.] Rather "From the God of thy father and He shall help thee, and with (the aid of) the Almighty, even He shall bless thee."

26. *The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills*] If this be the right rendering of a very obscure passage in the original, the meaning obviously is, that the blessings of Jacob on the head of Joseph and his offspring are greater than those which Abraham had pronounced on Isaac and Isaac on Jacob, and that they should last as long as the everlasting hills. This is more or less the interpretation of all the Jewish commentators following the Targums and the Vulg. The LXX (with which agrees the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch) has a rendering which is adopted by Michaelis, Dathe, Vater, Tuch, Winer, Maurer, Schumann, Knobel, and Gesen. (see Ges. pp. 38, 391), "The blessings of thy father prevail over the blessings of the eternal mountains, even the glory of the everlasting hills." By this the parallelism of the two clauses is preserved, and the violence done to the two words translated in Authorised Version "progenitors" and "utmost bounds" is avoided.

separate from his brethren] So Onkelos. The Vulg. and Saad. have "the Nazarite among his brethren." Either of these translations would allude to the separation of Joseph from his family, first by his captivity and afterwards by his elevation. The word for "separate" means "one set apart," "consecrated," especially used of a Nazarite like Samson (Judg. xiii., xvi. 17), and of the Nazarite under the law (Num. vi. 2). It is possible that this consecration may apply also to princes who are separated to higher rank in dignity, just as the word *nezer*, "consecration," signifies a royal or high-priestly diadem. Accordingly, the LXX., Syr., Targg. Jerus., Pseudo-Jon. and many recent interpreters, render "a prince or leader of his brethren" (see Ges. p. 871).

27. *Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf*, &c.] The reference is, no doubt, to the warlike character of the tribe of Benjamin. Examples of this may be seen Judg. v. 14, xx. 16; 1 Chron. vii. 7, xii. 17; 2 Chron. xiv. 8; xvii. 17. Also Ehud the Judge (Judg. iii. 15) and Saul the king, with his son Jonathan, were Benjamites. The fathers (Tertul., Ambrose, August., Jerom.) think that there is a reference also to St Paul, who before his conversion devastated the Church and in later life brought home the spoils of the Gentiles.

NOTE A on CHAP. XLIX. V. 10. SHILOH.

i. Different renderings of word. 1. "He who shall be sent." 2. "His son." 3. "Until he come to Shiloh." 4. "The Peace-Maker." 5. "He, whose right it is." ii. Choice of renderings, either 4 or 5. iii. Messianic, by consent of Jewish and Christian antiquity. iv. Answer to objections.

Shiloh. A word of acknowledged difficulty.

1. The Vulgate renders "He, who shall be sent" (comp. *Shiloah*, Isai. viii. 6; John ix. 7—11). This would correspond with a title of the Messiah, "He that should come" (Matt. xi. 3). Such a translation is unsupported from other sources and rests on a different reading of the original, the letter ח (cheth) being substituted for ה (he) of the received text.

2. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan and some rabbins render "his son." So Kimchi, Pagninus, Calvin and others: but it requires proof that the word *shil*, "a son," has any existence in Hebrew.

3. The Rabbi Lipmann, in his book called "Nizzachon," suggests that it was the name of the city Shiloh, and that we should render "until he (Judah) shall come to Shiloh." A similar construction occurs 1 S. iv. 12 (he "came to Shiloh"), and it is said that Judah, in the march to the encampments in the wilderness, always took the first place (Num. ii. 3—9, x. 14), but that, when the Israelites came to Shiloh, they pitched the tabernacle there (Josh. xviii. 1—10), and, the other tribes departing from Judah, his principality closed.

It seems fatal to this theory, that every ancient Version, paraphrase and commentator make Shiloh, not the objective case after the verb, but the subject or nominative case before the verb. Moreover, whether it were a prophecy by Jacob, or, as many who adopt this theory will have it, a forgery of after date, nothing could be less pertinent than the sense to be elicited from the words, "till he come to Shiloh." Probably the town of Shiloh did not exist in Jacob's time, and Judah neither lost nor acquired the pre-eminence at Shiloh. He was not markedly the leader in the wilderness, for the people were led by Moses and Aaron; nor did he cease to have whatever pre-eminence he may have had when they came to Shiloh. This has induced some to vary the words, by translating, "*when* he comes to Shiloh," a translation utterly inadmissible; but it will give no help to the solution of the passage, for Judah did not acquire any fresh authority at Shiloh. It was the place of the rest of the tabernacle and therefore perhaps was named Shiloh, "Rest:" but it was no turning point in the history of Judah. Notwithstanding therefore the authority of Teller, Eichhorn, Bleek, Hitzig, Tuch, Ewald, Delitzsch, Kalisch, &c., we may pronounce with Hofmann, that the rendering is utterly impossible.

4. Far more probable is the rendering which makes Shiloh a proper name, and the subject of the verb, signifying "Peace," or rather, "the Peace-maker," the "Prince of peace." So, with slight variations, Luther, Vater, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Knobel, Keil and others of the highest authority. The title is one most appropriate to Messiah (see Isai. ix. 6). The word is legitimately formed from the verb *Shalah*, to rest, to be at peace; and if the received reading be the true reading, there need be little doubt that this is its meaning. It has been thought by some that Solomon received his name *Shelomo*, the "peaceful," with an express reference to this prophecy of Shiloh, and it may be said that in Solomon was a partial fulfilment of the promise. Solomon was very markedly a type of the Messiah, himself the son of David, whose dominion was from sea to sea, who established a reign of peace in the land and who built the temple of the Lord; but Solomon was not the true Shiloh, any more than he was the true "Son of David."

5. The authority of the Ancient Versions is all but overwhelming in favour of the sense, "He, to whom it belongs," or "He, whose right it is." So, more or less, LXX., Aq., Symm., Syr., Saad., Onk., Targ. Jer., all, in fact, except Vulg. and Pseudo-Jonathan.

The objections to this are:

(1) That if the letter *yod* (expressed by the *i* in Shiloh) be genuine, the translation is inadmissible: but it is replied that very many Hebrew MSS. and all Samaritan MSS. are without the *yod*, and that the evidence is much in favour of the belief that the *yod* did not appear till the 10th century (see Prof. Lee, 'Lex.' in voc.). It may be added that, as the reading without the *yod* is the harder and apparently the less probable, the copyists were more likely to have inserted it by mistake than to have omitted it by mistake.

(2) It is said, that by this reading so interpreted, a form is introduced unknown to the Pentateuch, Aramæan and of later date. To this it is replied, that the form occurs in the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 7), which is very ancient; that Aramæan forms were either very ancient or decidedly modern, to be met with in Hebrew when the patriarchs were in contact with the Chaldæans (and Jacob had been forty years in Mesopotamia), or not again till the Jews were in captivity at Babylon. An Aramaism or Chaldaism therefore was na-

tural in the mouth of Jacob, though not in the mouth of David or Solomon.

This rendering of the Vss. is supported by the early Christian writers, as Justin M. ('Dial.' § 120) and many others. It is thought that Ezekiel (xxi. 27) actually quotes the words, "Until he come whose right it is," expanding them a little, and St Paul (in Gal. iii. 19) is supposed to refer to them.

On the whole, rejecting confidently the senses 1, 2, 3, we may safely adopt either 4 or 5; 4, if the reading be correct; 5, if the reading without the *yod* be accepted.

All Jewish antiquity referred the prophecy to Messiah. Thus the Targum of Onkelos has "until the Messiah come, whose is the kingdom;" the Jerusalem Targum, "until the time that the king Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom." The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, "till the king the Messiah shall come, the youngest of his sons." So the Babylonian Talmud ('Sanhedrim,' cap. II. fol. 98*2*), "What is Messiah's name? His name is Shiloh, for it is written, Until Shiloh come." So likewise the Bereshith Rabba, Kimchi, Aben-ezra, Rashi, and other ancient Rabbins. The more modern Jews, pressed by the argument, that the time appointed must have passed, refer to David, Saul, Nebuchadnezzar and others (see Schœttgen, 'Hor. Heb.' p. 1264). There can be no doubt that this prophecy was one important link in the long chain of predictions which produced that general expectation of a Messiah universally prevalent in Judæa at the period of the Christian era, and which Suetonius, in the well-known passage in his life of Vespasian, tells us had long and constantly pervaded the whole of the East. With the Jewish interpreters agreed the whole body of Christian fathers, *e.g.* Justin M. 'Apol.' I. §§ 32, 54; 'Dial.' §§ 52, 20; Iren. IV. 23; Origen, 'C. Cels.' I. p. 41, 'Hom.' in Gen. 17; Cyprian, 'C. Jud.' I. 20; Cyril. Hieros. 'Cat.' XII.; Euseb. 'H. E.' I. 6; Chrys. 'Hom. 67, in Gen.'; Augustine, 'De Civ. D.' XVI. 41; Theodoret, 'Quæst. in Gen.' 110; Hieron. 'Quæst. in Gen.', &c.

The only arguments of any weight against the Messianic character of the prophecy, except of course a denial that prophecy is possible at all, seem to be the following.

1. The patriarchal age had no anticipation of a personal Messiah, though there may have been some dim hope of a future deliverance. This is simply a gratuitous assertion. Admitting even that the promise to Adam may have been vaguely understood, we cannot tell how much the rite of sacrifice, the prophecies of men like Enoch and Noah, and the promises to Abraham and Isaac, had taught the faith of the fathers. There is the highest of all authority for saying that "Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ; he saw it, and was glad" (Joh. viii. 56). It was not indeed to be expected, that much beyond general intimations should be given in very early times, the light gradually increasing as the Sun-rise was drawing near: but there seems no more likely time for a special teaching on this vital point than the time of Jacob's death. He was the last of the three patriarchs to whom the promises were given. He was leaving his family in a foreign land, where they were to pass some generations surrounded by idolatry and error. He was foretelling their future fortunes on their promised return to Canaan. What more natural than that he should be moved to point their hopes yet farther forward to that, of which the deliverance from Egypt was to be an emblem and type?

2. The New Testament does not cite this as a prediction of Christ.

Bishop Patrick has well observed, that the fulfilment of the prophecy was not till the destruction of Jerusalem, when not only the Sceptre of Royalty, but even the tribal authority, and the Sanhedrim or council of elders ("the lawgiver") wholly passed from Judah. Then, and not till then, had the foretold fortunes of Judah's house been worked out. The sceptre and the lawgiver had departed, and "He, whose right it was," had taken the kingdom. The "Prince of peace" had come, and nations were coming into His obedience. But it would have been no argument to the Jew to cite this prophecy, whilst the Jewish nation was still standing and still struggling for its freedom, still possessing at least a shadow of royal authority and judicial power. There is therefore abundant reason why the New Testament should not refer to it.

CHAPTER L.

1 *The mourning for Jacob.* 4 *Joseph getteth leave of Pharaoh to go to bury him.* 7 *The funeral.* 15 *Joseph comforteth his brethren, who craved his pardon.* 22 *His age.* 23 *He seeth the third generation of his sons.* 24 *He prophesieth unto his brethren of their return.* 25 *He taketh an oath of them for his bones.* 26 *He dieth, and is chested.*

AND Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him.

2 And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his

CHAP. L. 2. *his servants the physicians*] Herod. (II. 84) tells us, that in Egypt all places were crowded with physicians for every different kind of disease. The physi-

father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

3 And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the
† Heb. *wept.* Egyptians †mourned for him three-score and ten days.

4 And when the days of his mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying,

[a] chap. 47. 29. 5 [a]My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again.

6 And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.

7 ¶ And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt,

8 And all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen.

9 And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great company.

10 And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which *is* beyond Jordan, and there they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation: and he made a mourning for his father seven days.

11 And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This *is* a grievous mourning to the Egyptians: wherefore the name

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cians of Egypt were famous in other lands also (Herod. III. 1, 129). It is not wonderful therefore that Joseph, with all his state, should have had several physicians attached to his establishment. Physicians, however, were not ordinarily employed to embalm, which was the work of a special class of persons (Herod. II. 85; Diodor. I. 91); and the custom of embalming and the occupation of the embalmer were probably anterior to Moses and to Joseph. Very probably the physicians embalmed Jacob because he was not an Egyptian, and so could not be subjected to the ordinary treatment of the Egyptians, or embalmed by their embalmers.

3. *And forty days were fulfilled for him*] The account given by Diodorus (I. 91) is that the embalming lasted more than 30 days, and that when a king died they mourned for him 72 days. This very nearly corresponds with the number in this verse. The mourning of 70 days probably included the 40 days of embalming. Herodotus (II. 86), who describes at length three processes of embalming, seems to speak of a subsequent steeping in natron (*i.e.* subcarbonate of soda) for 70 days. He probably expresses himself with some inaccuracy, as both the account in Genesis, which is very much earlier, and the account in Diodorus which is later, give a much shorter time for the whole embalming, *i.e.* either 30 or 40 days, and seem to make the whole mourning last but 70 days. It is possible, however, to understand Herodotus as meaning the same as the Scriptural account and that of Diodorus. His words are, "Having done this they embalm in natron, covering it up for 70 days. Longer than this it is not lawful to embalm." (See Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson, 'Herod.' II. 86; Hengstenb. 'Egypt,' &c. p. 68.)

4. *Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh*] He probably did not go himself to Pharaoh, because in mourning for his father he had let his hair and beard grow long, which was the custom in Egypt at the death of relations (Herod. II. 36): and it would have been disrespectful to go into the presence of Pharaoh without cutting the hair and shaving the beard. (See on ch. xli. 14, and Hengstenb. 'Egypt,' p. 71.)

7. *with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh*] Such large funeral processions are often seen on the Egyptian monuments (Rosellini, II. p. 395; Hengstenb. p. 71; Wilkinson, 'A. E.' Vol. V. ch. XVI. and plates there).

10. *threshingfloor of Atad*] Or "Goren-Atad," or "the threshingfloor of thorns."

beyond Jordan] *i.e.* to the West of Jordan. Moses wrote before the Israelites had taken possession of the land of Israel, and therefore whilst they were on the East of Jordan. This accords with what we hear of the site of Goren-Atad and Abel-Mizraim; for Jerome ('Onom.' s. v. *Area-Atad*) identi-

of it was called [1] Abel-mizraim, which *is* beyond Jordan.

12 And his sons did unto him according as he commanded them:

13 For [b] his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham [c] bought with the field for a possession of a buryingplace of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

14 ¶ And Joseph returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.

15 ¶ And when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they said, Joseph will peradventure hate us, and will certainly requite us all the evil which we did unto him.

16 And they [t] sent a messenger unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did command before he died, saying,

17 So shall ye say unto Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee now, the trespass of thy brethren, and their sin; for they did unto thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the trespass of the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept when they spake unto him.

18 And his brethren also went and fell down before his face; and they said, Behold, we *be* thy servants.

19 And Joseph said unto them, [d] Fear not: for *am* I in the place of God?

20 But as for you, ye thought evil against me; *but* God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as *it is* this day, to save much people alive.

21 Now therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake [t] kindly unto them.

22 ¶ And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years.

23 And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third *generation:* [e] the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were [t] brought up upon Joseph's knees.

24 And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and [f] God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

25 And [g] Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.

[1] That is, *the mourning of the Egyptians.*

[b] Acts 7. 16.

[c] chap. 23. 16.

[t] Heb. *charged.*

[d] chap. 45. 5.

[t] Heb. *to their hearts.*

[e] Numb. 32. 39. [t] Heb. *borne.*

[f] Heb. 11. 22.

[g] Exod. 13. 19.

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fies it with Beth-Hoglah, which lay between the Jordan and Jericho, the ruins of which are probably still to be seen (Rob. I. 544; see Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' I. p. 200.)

11. *Abel-mizraim*] Means either "the field of Egypt," or "the mourning of Egypt," according to the vowel-points. The violence of the Egyptian lamentations is described by Herodotus (II. 85). See also Wilkinson, 'A. E.' ch. XVI.

19. *Am I in the place of God?*] *i.e.* it is God's place to avenge, not mine. See Rom. xii. 19.

23. *Were brought up upon Joseph's knees*] Lit. "were born on Joseph's knees." Comp. the phrase ch. xxx. 3. It seems as if they were adopted by Joseph as his own children from the time of their birth.

26. *They embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin*] The word for coffin is literally "ark" or "chest;" a word used always of a wooden chest, elsewhere almost exclusively of "the ark of the covenant." Herodotus, after describing the embalming, says, "The relatives inclose the body in a wooden image which they have made in the shape of a man. Then fastening the case, they place it in a sepulchral chamber, upright against the wall. This is the most costly way of embalming the dead" (II. 86). The description is of that which we commonly call a mummy-case. Such coffins, made of wood, chiefly of sycamore wood, were the commonest in Egypt; and though some very rich people were buried in basaltic coffins, yet, both from Herodotus' description above and from other sources, we know that wooden coffins were frequent, for great men, even for kings. The coffin of king Mycerinus, discovered A.D. 1837 in the third Pyramid of Memphis, is of sycamore wood. The command of Joseph and the promise of the Israelites, that his bones should be carried back into Canaan, were reason enough for preferring a wooden to a stone coffin. (See Hengstenb. 'Egypt,' pp. 71, 72. Various coffins of wood, stone, and

26 So Joseph died, *being* an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

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earthenware are described and engraved in. Wilkinson's 'A. E.' Vol. v. p. 479.) The coffin was, no doubt, deposited in some sepulchral building (see Herod. above) and guarded by his own immediate descendants till the time of the Exodus, when it was carried up out of Egypt and finally deposited in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 32). The faith of Joseph (Heb. xi. 22) must have been a constant remembrance to his children and his people, that Egypt was not to be their home. His coffin laid up by them, ready to be carried away according to his dying request whenever God should restore them to the promised land, would have taught them to keep apart from Egypt and its idolatries, looking for a better country, which God had promised to their fathers.

EXODUS.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. THE Book of Exodus consists of two distinct portions. The former (cc. i—xix) gives a detailed account of the circumstances under which the deliverance of the Israelites was accomplished. The second (cc. xx—xl) describes the giving of the law, and the institutions which completed the organization of the people as "a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation," c. xix. 6.

These two portions are unlike in style and structure, as might be expected from the difference of their subject-matter: but their mutual bearings and interdependence are evident, and leave no doubt as to the substantial unity of the book. The historical portion owes all its significance and interest to the promulgation of God's will in the law. The institutions of the law could not, humanly speaking, have been established or permanently maintained but for the deliverance which the historical portion records.

The name Exodus, *i. e.* "the going forth," applies rather to the former portion than to the whole book. It was very naturally assigned to it by the Alexandrian Jews, by whom the most ancient translation was written. Like their forefathers they were exiles in Egypt, and looked forward to their departure from that land as the first condition of the accomplishment of their hopes. The Hebrews of Palestine simply designated the book by its first words Elleh Shemoth, *i. e.* "these are the names," regarding it not as a separate work, but as a section of the Pentateuch.

The narrative, indeed, is so closely connected with that of Genesis as to shew not only that it was written by the same author, but that it formed part of one general plan. Still it is a distinct section; the first events which it relates are separated from the last chapter in Genesis by a considerable interval, and it presents the people of Israel under totally different circumstances. Its termination is marked with equal distinctness, winding up with the completion of the tabernacle.

The book is divided into many smaller sections; each of which has the marks which throughout the Pentateuch indicate a subdivision. They are of different lengths, and were probably written on separate parchments or papyri, the longest not exceeding the dimensions of contemporary documents in Egypt[1]. They

[1] A single page of Egyptian papyrus contains very frequently as much subject-matter as is found in any section of the Pentateuch. Thus, for instance, the 17th chapter of the Ritual in a papyrus, of which a facsimile has been published by M. de Rougé, occupies one page of 49 lines: each line is equivalent to three lines of Hebrew, as may be proved by transcription of the two languages in Egyptian and Phœnician

were apparently so arranged for the convenience of public reading. This is a point of importance, accounting to a great extent for apparent breaks in the narrative, and for repetitions, which have been attributed to the carelessness of the compiler, who is supposed to have brought separate and unconnected fragments into a semblance of order.

The first seven verses are introductory to the whole book. In accordance with the almost invariable custom of the writer, we find a brief recapitulation of preceding events, and a statement of the actual condition of affairs. The names of the Patriarchs and the number of distinct families at the time of the immigration into Egypt are stated in six verses: a single paragraph then records the rapid and continuous increase of the Israelites after the death of Joseph and his contemporaries.

The narrative begins with the 8th verse, c. i. The subdivision which includes the first two chapters relates very briefly the events which prepared the way for the Exodus: the accession of a new king, followed by a change of policy and measures of extreme cruelty towards the Israelites; and the birth and early history of Moses, destined to be their deliverer. The second division, from c. iii. 1 to vi. 1, opens after an interval of some forty years. From this point the narrative is full and circumstantial. It describes the call of Moses; the revelation of God's will and purpose; the return of Moses to Egypt, and his first application to Pharaoh, of which the immediate result was a treatment of the Israelites, which materially advanced the work, on the one hand preparing them for departure from their homes, and on the other attaching them more closely to their native officers by the bonds of common suffering.

c. vi. 2—27 forms a distinct portion. Moses is instructed to explain the bearings of the Divine name (of which the meaning had been previously intimated, see iii. 14) upon the relations of God to the people. He then receives a renewal of his mission to the Israelites and to Pharaoh, Aaron being formally appointed as his coadjutor: the genealogy of both is then introduced, marking their position as leaders of the people.

This portion stands in its right place. It is necessary to the full understanding of the following, and is closely connected with the preceding section; but it stands apart from both, it begins with a solemn declaration and ends with a distinct announcement.

c. vi. 28 to the end of c. xi. In this division the narrative makes a fresh start. It begins, as usual in a new section, with a brief statement to remind the reader of the relative position of Moses and Aaron and of the work appointed to them. Then follows in unbroken order the history of nine plagues, in three groups, each increasing in severity. At the close of this division the tenth and most terrible plague is denounced, and the failure of the other nine, in turning Pharaoh, is declared in the often recurring form, "the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land" (xi. 10).

The next section, xii. 1—42, gives an account of the institution of the Passover, and the departure of the Israelites from Rameses: the close of the section is distinctly marked by the chronological statement. This important section is closely connected with the preceding narrative, but it was evidently intended to be read as a separate lesson, and may

letters. The longest section in the Pentateuch scarcely exceeds 150 lines in Van der Hooght's edition. Several papyri of the 18th dynasty are of considerable length. Thus, the papyrus called Anastasi I., in the British Museum, contains 28 pages, each page of 9 lines, equal to three lines of ancient Hebrew characters. This exceeds the length of any one division of the Pentateuch. The papyrus in question is undoubtedly of the age in which the generality of modern critics hold the Exodus to have occurred. The assertion that Moses probably used parchment rests on the fact that it was commonly employed at an early time, and more especially, as it would seem, for sacred compositions. Thus, in an inscription of Tothmosis III., either contemporary with Moses, or much older, we read that an account of his campaigns was written on parchment, and hung up in the temple of Ammon. See Brugsch, 'Dictionnaire Hieroglyphique,' p. 208. A far more ancient instance of the use of parchment in sacred writings is given by M. Chabas and Mr Goodwin in the 'Egyptische Zeitschrift' for Nov. 1865 and June 1867.

possibly have been rewritten or revised for that purpose towards the close of the life of Moses. From xii. 43 to xiii. 16 special injunctions touching the Passover are recorded; they may have been inserted here as the most appropriate place when the separate documents were put together.

The narrative begins again c. xiii. 17. After a brief introduction, stating the general direction of the journey, comes the history of the march towards the Red Sea, the passage across it, and the destruction of Pharaoh's host. This subdivision extends to the end of the xivth chapter.

The Song of Moses[1] is inserted here: it does not interrupt the narrative, which proceeds without a break until, in the third month after the Exodus, Israel came to the Wilderness of Sinai and camped before the Mount: c. xix. In this chapter and the next the promulgation of the law is described. The remainder of the book gives the directions received by Moses touching the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, and the institution of the Aaronic priesthood. It then relates the sin of the Israelites, and their forgiveness at the intercession of Moses: and concludes with an account of the making of the tabernacle, and a description of the symbolical manifestation of God's Presence with His people.

This general view of the structure of the book meets several questions which have been raised as to its integrity. That the several portions are distinct, forming complete subdivisions, may not only be admitted without misgiving, but this fact is best accounted for by the circumstances under which the work must have been composed, if Moses was its author. It was the form in which a man engaged in such an undertaking would naturally present at intervals an account of each series of transactions, and in which such an account would be best adapted for the instruction of the people. The combination of all the documents into a complete treatise might naturally occupy the period of comparative leisure towards the end of his life, and, while it involved some few additions and explanations, would be effected without any substantial change.

§ 2. The principal arguments for the Mosaic authorship have been stated in the Introduction to the Pentateuch: but many objections apply especially to this book; and some of the most convincing evidences are supplied by its contents. This might be expected. On the one hand the question of authorship is inseparably bound up with that of the miraculous character of many transactions which are recorded. Critics who reject miracles as simply incredible under any circumstances, have ever felt that the narrative before us could scarcely have been written by a man in the position and with the character of Moses, and could not certainly have been addressed to eye-witnesses or contemporaries of the events which it relates. It is a foregone conclusion with writers of this school. On the other hand a narrative of the personal history of Moses, of the circumstances under which the greatest work in the world's annals was accomplished, if it be authentic and veracious, must abound in internal coincidences and evidences sufficient to convince any inquirer not shut up to the opposite theory. In fact no critic of any weight, either in France or Germany, who admits the supernatural character of the transactions, rejects the authorship of Moses.

[1] The length and structure of this great hymn have been represented as proofs of a later origin. A comparison with Egyptian poems of the age of Moses, or much earlier, gives these results. The hymn to the Nile, in the 'Pap. Sallier,' II., was written at the time when the Exodus is fixed by most Egyptologers. It is more than twice the length of the Song of Moses. The structure is elaborate and the cadences resemble the Hebrew. It begins thus, "Hail, O Nile, thou comest forth over this land, thou comest in peace, giving life to Egypt, O hidden God." Again, a poem inscribed on the walls of a temple built by Tothmosis III. is about twice as long as the Song. Its style is artificial and the cadences even more strongly marked. It is some two centuries older than the hymn to the Nile. We have also exact information as to the time which it would take to write out such a hymn. An Egyptian scribe writing, with the greatest care, with rubrical headings, &c. would have done it in half a day: a few hours would suffice in the simpler characters used by the Semitic races. This comparison leaves no doubt as to the possibility of such a hymn being written by Moses, who was trained in the schools of Egypt; and no one denies his genius.

One argument is drawn from the representation of the personal character and qualifications of Moses. In its most important features it is such as could never have been produced by a writer collecting the traditional reminiscences or legends of a later age: not such even as might have been drawn by a younger contemporary. To posterity, to Israelites of his own time, Moses was simply the greatest of men: but it is evident that the writer of this book was unconscious of the personal greatness of the chief actor. He was indeed thoroughly aware of the greatness of his mission, and consequently of the greatness of the position, which was recognized at last by the Egyptians, see ch. xi. 3; but as to his personal qualifications, the points which strike him most forcibly are the deficiencies of natural gifts and powers, and the defects of character, which he is scrupulously careful to record, together with the rebukes and penalties which they brought upon him, and the obstacles which they opposed to his work. His first attempt to deliver the people is described as a complete failure; an act which, however it might be palliated by the provocation, is evidently felt by the writer to have been wrongful, punished by a long exile extending over the best years of his life. When he receives the Divine call he is full of hesitation, and even when his unbelief is overcome by miracles he still recoils from the work, dwelling with almost irreverent pertinacity upon his personal disqualifications, ch. iii. 10—13. On his homeward journey he is severely chastised for neglect of a religious duty, ch. iv. 24—26. When his first application to Pharaoh brings increased suffering to his people, he bursts out into passionate remonstrance. The courage and magnanimity of his conduct to Pharaoh are never the subject of direct commendation. No act is attributed to his personal character. Even in the passage over the Red Sea and in the journeying through the wilderness, nothing recalls his individuality. Each step is under Divine guidance: no intimation is given of wisdom, skill, or foresight in the direction of the march. The first conflict with assailants is conducted by Joshua. The only important act in the organization of the nation, which is not distinctly assigned to a Divine revelation, is attributed to the wisdom, not of Moses, but of his kinsman Jethro. The few notices of personal character in the other books accord with this portraiture: the repugnance to all self-assertion in the controversy with Aaron and Miriam; the hasty and impetuous temper which, manifested on one important occasion, brought upon him the lasting displeasure of God, and ultimately transferred the execution of his great work to the hands of his successor Joshua.

Such a representation is perfectly intelligible, as proceeding from Moses himself: but what in him was humility would have been obtuseness in an annalist: such as never is found in the accounts of other great men, nor in the notices of Moses in later books[1]. What other men have seen in Moses is the chief agent in the greatest work ever intrusted to man, an agent whose peculiar and unparalleled qualifications are admitted alike by those who accept and by those who deny the Divine interposition[2]: what the writer himself sees in Moses is a man whose only qualification is an involuntary and reluctant surrender to the will of God. The only rational account of the matter is, that we have Moses' own history of himself and of his work.

The next argument is even less open to objection, since it rests not on subjective impressions, but on external facts. The book of Exodus could not have been written by any man who had not passed many years in Egypt, and who had not also a thorough knowledge, such as could only be acquired by personal observation, of the Sinaitic Peninsula. But it is improbable that any Israelite between the time of Moses and Jeremiah could have possessed either of these qualifications; it is not credible, or even possible, that any should have

[1] See especially the three last verses of Deuteronomy, added either by a younger contemporary of Moses, or at a later time by a reviser.

[2] The two writers by whom the greatness of Moses is best appreciated are Ewald, 'G. I.' vol. II., and Salvador, 'Histoire des I. de M.' See too Ewald's last work, 'Die Lehre der B. von Gott,' 1871, p. 105. "A prophet to whom no other in Israel or in the history of the whole world can be compared."

combined both. Israelites may have been, and probably were, brought into Egypt as captives by the Pharaohs in their not unfrequent invasions of Syria, but in that position they were not likely to become acquainted with the institutions of Egypt: still less likely is it that any should have returned to their native land. Again, no Israelite, for centuries after the occupation of Palestine, is likely to have penetrated into the Sinaitic Peninsula, occupied as it was by hostile tribes, while it is certain that none could have had any motive, or opportunity, for traversing the route from Egypt to Horeb, with which no one doubts the writer of the Pentateuch was personally familiar. The notices are too numerous, and interwoven with the narrative too intimately, to be accounted for as mere traditional reminiscences, or even as derived from scanty records in the possession of the Israelites at a later period. We have no probable alternative but to admit that the narrative in its substance came from Moses, or from a contemporary. Either alternative might suffice so far as regards the accuracy and trustworthiness of the narrative, and consequently the miraculous character of the transactions which it records; but we can have little hesitation as to our choice between these alternatives, when we consider that none of the contemporaries of Moses had equal opportunities of observation, and that none were likely to have received the education and training[1] which would have enabled them to record the events.

§ 3. A weighty argument is drawn from the accounts of the miracles, by which Moses was expressly bidden to attest his mission, and by which he was enabled to accomplish the deliverance of his people. One characteristic, common to all scriptural miracles, but in none more conspicuous than in those recorded in the book of Exodus, is their strongly marked, and indeed unmistakeable, local colouring. They are such as no later writer living in Palestine could have invented for Egypt. From beginning to end no miracle is recorded which does not strike the mind by its peculiar suitableness to the place, time, and circumstances under which it was wrought. The plagues are each and all Egyptian; and the modes by which the people's wants are supplied in the Sinaitic Peninsula recall to our minds the natural conditions of such a journey in such a country. We find nature everywhere, but nature in its master's hand

Detailed accounts of the plagues and of the natural phenomena in Egypt with which they were severally connected will be found in the notes; but it may be well to bring together a few points which shew the effects produced both by the miracles, and by the apparent failure of all but the last in determining the immediate deliverance of the people. The direct and indirect effects were in fact equally necessary, humanly speaking, for the accomplishment of that event.

In the first place it must be remarked, that the delay occasioned by Pharaoh's repeated refusals to listen to the commands afforded ample time for preparation. Two full months elapsed between the first and second interview of Moses with the king; see notes on v. 7 and vii. 17. During that time the people, uprooted for the first time from the district in which they had been settled for centuries, were dispersed throughout Egypt, subjected to severe suffering, and impelled to exertions of a kind differing altogether from their ordinary habits, whether as herdsmen or bondsmen. This was the first and a most important step in their training for a migratory life in the desert.

Towards the end of June, at the beginning of the rise of the annual inundation, the first series of plagues began. The Nile was stricken. Egypt was visited in the centre both of its physical existence, and of its national superstitions. Pharaoh did not give way, and no intimation as yet was made to the people that permission for their departure would be extorted; but the intervention of their Lord was now certain; the people, on their return wearied and exhausted from the search for stubble, had an interval of suspense. Three

[1] On the education of Moses see note at the end of ch. ii.

months appear to have intervened between this and the next plague. There must have been a movement among all the families of Israel; as they recapitulated their wrongs and hardships, the sufferings of their officers, and their own position of hopeless antagonism to their oppressors, it is impossible that they should not have looked about them, calculated their numbers and resources, and meditated upon the measures which, under the guidance of a leader of ability and experience, might enable them to effect their escape from Egypt. Five months might not be too much, but were certainly sufficient, to bring the people so far into a state of preparation for departure.

The plague of frogs followed. It will be shewn in the notes that it coincided in time with the greatest extension of the inundation in September. Pharaoh then gave the first indication of yielding; the permission extorted from him, though soon recalled, was not therefore ineffectual. On the one hand native worship in one of its oldest and strangest forms was attacked[1]; on the other hand Moses was not likely to lose any time in transmitting instructions to the people. The first steps may have been then taken towards an orderly marshalling of the people.

The third plague differed from the preceding in one important point. There was no previous warning[2]. It must have followed soon after that of frogs, early in October. It marks the close of the first series of inflictions, none of them causing great suffering, but quite sufficient on the one hand to make the Egyptians conscious of danger, and to confirm in the Israelites a hope of no remote deliverance.

[1] This has been shewn by Lepsius; see note in loc. There is a curious vignette in Mariette's work, 'Fouilles d'Abydos,' Part II. Vol. I. p. 30, No. CVIII. It represents Seti, the father of Rameses II., offering two vases of wine to a frog inshrined in a small chapel, with the legend, 'The Sovereign Lady of both worlds.' Mariette's work has been withdrawn from circulation.

[2] This peculiarity, which applies to the third plague in each group, was pointed out by Maimonides.

The second series of plagues was far more severe; it began with swarms of poisonous insects, probably immediately after the subsidence of the inundation. It is a season of great importance to Egypt; from that season to the following June the land is uncovered; cultivation begins; a great festival (called Chabsta) marks the period for ploughing. At that time there was the first separation between Goshen and the rest of Egypt. The impression upon Pharaoh was far deeper than before, and then, in November, the people once more received instructions for departure; there was occasion for a rehearsal, so to speak, of the measures requisite for the proper organization of the tribes and families of Israel.

The cattle plague broke out in December, or at the latest in January. It was thoroughly Egyptian both in season[3] and in character. The exemption of the Israelites was probably attributed by Pharaoh to natural causes; but the care then bestowed by the Israelites upon their cattle, the separation from all sources of contagion, must have materially advanced their preparation for departure.

Then came the plagues of boils, severe but ineffectual, serving however to make the Egyptians understand that continuance in opposition would be visited on their persons. With this plague the second series ended. It appears to have lasted about three months.

The hailstorms followed, just when they now occur in Egypt, from the middle of February to the early weeks of March. The time was now drawing near. The Egyptians for the first time shew that they are seriously impressed. There was a division among them, many feared the word of the Lord, and took the precautions, which, also for the first time, Moses then indicated. This plague

[3] In an Egyptian calendar, written in the reign of Rameses II., and lately translated by M. Chabas, the 22nd of Tobi, corresponding to January, has this notice, "Il y a des ouragans dans le ciel ce jour-là, la contagion annuelle s'y mêle abondamment." 'Pap. Sallier,' IV. pp. 14, 15. This applies even more specially to the following plague.

drew from Pharaoh the first confession of guilt; and now for the third time, between one and two months before the Exodus, the Israelites receive permission to depart, when formal instructions for preparation were of course given by Moses. The people now felt also for the first time that they might look for support or sympathy among the very servants of Pharaoh.

The plague of locusts, when the leaves were green, towards the middle of March, was preceded by another warning, the last but one. The conquest over the spirit of Egypt was now complete. All but the king gave way; see x. 7. Though not so common in Egypt as in adjoining countries, the plague occurs there at intervals, and is peculiarly dreaded. Pharaoh once more gives permission to depart; once more the people are put in an attitude of expectation.

The ninth plague concludes the third series. Like the third and the sixth, each closing a series, it was preceded by no warning. It was peculiarly Egyptian. Though causing comparatively but little suffering, it was felt most deeply as a menace and precursor of destruction. It took place most probably a very few days before the last and crowning plague, a plague distinct in character from all others, the first and the only one which brought death home to the Egyptians, and accomplished the deliverance of Israel.

We have thus throughout the characteristics of local colouring, of adaptation to the circumstances of the Israelites, and of repeated announcements followed by repeated postponements, which enabled and indeed compelled the Israelites to complete that organization of their nation, without which their departure might have been, as it has been often represented, a mere disorderly flight.

There are some who fear to compromise the miraculous character of events by admitting any operation of natural causes to a share of them. Yet the inspired writer does not fail to record that it was by the east wind that the Lord brought the locusts (Exod. x. 12) and sent back the sea (xiv. 21), and by the mighty strong west wind (x. 19) took back the plague that he had sent. Nor is the miracle at all lessened, because the winds of heaven were made God's messengers and instruments in the doing it. In order to guard against misapprehensions from such readers, let us state with some precision the view we take of the miracles in Egypt. They were supernatural in their greatness, in their concentration upon one period, in their coming and going according to the phases of the conflict between the tyrant and the captive race, in their measured gradation from weak to strong, as each weaker wonder failed to break the stubborn heart. And king and people so regarded them; they were accustomed perhaps to frogs and lice and locusts; but to such plagues, so intense, so threatened, and accomplished, and withdrawn, as it were so disciplined to a will, they were not accustomed; and they rightly saw them as miraculous and divinely sent. This being clearly laid down it is most desirable to notice that the phenomena that are put to this use are such as mark the country where this great history is laid. No Jewish writer, who had lived in Palestine alone, could have imagined a narrative so Egyptian in its marks. Much evidence will appear in the course of the Commentary tending this way; that the history was written by some one well conversant with Egypt; and we shall look in vain for any one, other than Moses himself, who possessed this qualification for writing under divine guidance the history of the emancipation of the Israelites.

A point of subordinate, but in the present state of biblical criticism of practical importance, is suggested by the view here presented. The two facts that between all the miracles there is an intimate connection, and that each and all are shewn to be nearly allied to analogous phenomena recorded in ancient and modern accounts of Egypt, leave no place for interpolations of any considerable extent, none certainly for the introduction of any single visitation. In the commentaries of some scholars, to whose learning and ability the student of Holy Scripture is deeply indebted, some of the accounts are at-

tributed to the Elohistic, others to the Jehovistic writer. The arguments based upon language are considered in their proper places[1]; those resting on merely subjective impressions, varying to a most remarkable extent in writers of the same school, are too vague and indefinite to be capable of disproof, as they are incapable of demonstration, and will probably leave no trace in biblical literature; but the characteristics here pointed out are common to all the plagues, and they are conclusive. In fact no one plague could be omitted without dislocating the whole narrative, and breaking the order distinctly intimated, though nowhere formally stated, by the writer. The results were brought about by the combined operation of all the plagues; they could never have been produced by a merely fortuitous concurrence of natural events, and the narrative which records them, remarkable as it is for artlessness and simplicity, is certainly not one which could have been concocted from documents of different ages, constructed on different principles, and full of internal discrepancies and contradictions. It is the production of one mind, written by one man, and by one who had alone witnessed all the events which it records, who alone was at that time likely to possess the knowledge or ability required to write the account.

§ 4. The portion of the book, which follows the account of the departure from Egypt, has characteristics marked with equal distinctness, and bearing with no less force upon the question of authorship. It has never occurred to any traveller who has traversed the route from Suez to Sinai, or from Sinai to Palestine, to doubt that the chapters of Exodus which touch that ground were written by one to whom the localities were known from personal observation. It is not merely that the length of each division of the journey, the numerous halting places are distinctly marked; for although such notices could not possibly have been invented, or procured at any later period by a dweller in Palestine, the fact might be accounted for by the supposition, gratuitously made, but hard to be rebutted, that some ancient records of the journey had been preserved by written or oral tradition; but the chapters which belong either to the early sojourn of Moses, or to the wanderings of the Israelites, are pervaded by a peculiar tone, a local colouring, an atmosphere so to speak of the desert, which has made itself felt by all those who have explored the country, to whatever school of religious thought they may have belonged. And this fact is the more striking when we bear in mind that, although the great general features of the Peninsula, the grouping of its arid heights and the direction of its innumerable wadys are permanent, still changes of vast, and scarcely calculable importance in matters which personally affect the traveller and modify his impressions, have taken place since the time of Moses; changes to which, for obvious reasons, it is necessary to call special attention.

At present one great difficulty felt by all travellers is the insufficiency of the resources of the Peninsula to support such a host as that which is described in

[1] The attention of scholars is specially called to the following list of words. Most of them occur only in this book: some once only, marked ἁ. λ., others are found in the Pentateuch and later Psalms taken directly from it; some occur in other books, for the most part however in passages specially referring to Egypt. All marked E. have Egyptian equivalents, and are derived from roots either common to Egyptian and Hebrew, or found only in Egyptian.

Ch. i. 7, were fruitful, E., increased exceedingly, E., once in Ezek. xlvii. 9. *v.* 11, taskmasters, ἁ. λ., E. Pithom and Rameses, E. *v.* 16, the stools, in this sense ἁ. λ., ii. 3, ark, E. bulrushes, E. pitch, E. flags, E. river's brink, E. *v.* 5, wash, E. *v.* 10, drew out, E. *v.* 16, troughs, once in Cant. iii. 2, a bush, E. v. 12, stubble and straw, E. vii. 11, magicians, sorcerers, E. *v.* 22, enchantments, ἁ. λ., E. *v.* 27, frogs, E. viii. 13, lice, ἁ. λ., *i.e.* here and Ps. cv. 31, E. *v.* 17, swarms of flies, ἁ. λ., E. ix. 8, ashes, ἁ. λ., E. furnace, E. *v.* 9, a boil, E. breaking forth, E., blains, ἁ. λ., E. x. 31, flax, E. bolled, ἁ. λ., E. *v.* 32, spelt, E. not grown up, ἁ. λ., E. xii. 4, number, ἁ. λ. *v.* 6, two evenings, ἁ. λ. *v.* 7, lintel, ἁ. λ. *vv.* 8, 11, passover, E. *v.* 15, leaven, E. xiii. 16, frontlets. xiv. horse, E. xv. 1, hath triumphed gloriously, E. *v.* 2, I will prepare him an habitation? ἁ. λ. *v.* 7, heaped up, ἁ. λ. *v.* 8, congealed: in this sense, ἁ. λ., E. *v.* 20, timbrel, E. xvi. 3, flesh-pots, E. *v.* 15, manna, E. *v.* 16, omer, E. *v.* 33, pot, E.

These words occur indiscriminately in the so-called Jehovistic and Elohistic passages.

the narrative; a difficulty not wholly removed by the acceptance of the accounts of providential interventions, which appear to have been not permanent, but limited to special occasions. But facts can be adduced which confirm, and indeed go far beyond, the conjectures of travellers, who have pointed out that the supply of water, and the general fertility of the district, must have been very different before the process of denudation, which has been going on for ages, and is now in active progress, had commenced. We have now proofs from inscriptions coeval with the pyramids, both in Egypt and in the Peninsula, that under the Pharaohs of the third to the eighteenth dynasty, ages before Moses, and up to his time, the whole district was occupied by a population, whose resources and numbers must have been considerable, since they were able to resist the forces of the Egyptians, who sent large armies in repeated, but unsuccessful, attempts to subjugate the Peninsula. Their principal object however was effected, since they established permanent settlements at Sarbet el Khadim, and at Mughara, to work the copper-mines[1]. These settlements were under the command of officers of high rank, and are proved by monuments and inscriptions to have been of an extent, which implies the existence of considerable resources in the immediate neighbourhood. It is well known that the early Egyptian kings were careful to provide for the security and sustentation of the caravans and bodies of troops, by which the communications with settlements under such circumstances were carried on: and every spot where the modern traveller still finds water on the route was doubtless then the object of special attention[2]. The vegetation which even now protects the wells of Moses, from which the dwellers at Sŭez obtain a supply of brackish water, must have been then far more luxuriant; and the seventy palm-trees, which Moses found at Elim, doubtless sheltered fountains, from which streams far more copious than those which now water the wady, flowed over the adjoining district. See note, ch. xv. 27. Where the superficial water was insufficient, it was customary in that early age to dig wells of whatever depth might be needed[3]; and every tree, now recklessly destroyed, was the object of special care, and even superstitious reverence. During the long ages which have elapsed since the Egyptian power passed away, the Peninsula has never been subjected to an Empire which has had a sufficient motive, or sufficient wisdom and resources, to arrest the process of deterioration: and every horde of Arabs, who have since been virtually its masters, bent only on supplying their own limited wants, cut down without remorse the shrubs and trees, on which the water supply, and consequently the general fertility of the district, mainly depend. The aspect of the whole country when

[1] Brugsch differs from all Egyptian scholars in a point of secondary importance, holding that the mines were worked chiefly for the sake of turquoises (see Gensler, 'Eg. Zeitschrift,' 1870, p. 141), but his treatise, entitled 'Wanderung nach den Türkis Minen,' gives a good account of the inscriptions. They are very numerous in the Wady Mughara; the earliest dates from Snefru, of the third dynasty; 8 Pharaohs of the three following dynasties have left many inscriptions; a considerable number belong to Amenemha III., dating from his 2nd to his 42nd year; and one of great importance describes an expedition under Ramaaka, *i.e.* Hatasu, the widow of Tothmosis II. These inscriptions repeatedly speak of victories over native tribes: the very earliest inscription in existence, earlier than any in Egypt, records a victory achieved by Snefru over the Mentu, the general designation of the mountaineers of the Peninsula. The mines were lately worked by an Englishman, Major Macdonald, of whom Brugsch gives a full and very interesting account.

[2] In one of the most ancient papyri we find a notice of a place called She-Snefru, that is, the reservoir of Snefru, named after Snefru, the earliest Pharaoh who is known to have established an Egyptian settlement in the Peninsula of Sinai. M. Chabas remarks "She-Snefru était sans doute l'une des stations qu'il avait disposées au desert d'Arabie, sur la route de la Mer-Rouge." 'Les Papyrus Hiératiques de Berlin,' p. 39.

[3] See, for instance, the inscription relating to the gold mines near Dakkeh, explained by Mr Birch. It mentions a well 180 feet deep, and another still deeper, on a route where water could not be procured, dug by the order of Seti I. and Rameses II. The works of preceding Pharaohs, especially under the 12th dynasty, were equally remarkable for forethought.

it was first visited by Christian pilgrims who have left us accounts of their journeyings, must have differed greatly from that which it presented to the Israelites, when, under the guidance of Moses, they found pasturage for their flocks and herds. But far greater is the difference at present. Under Turkish misrule the Arabs carry on the work of desolation with no effective interference; no plantations are made, no wells are dug, the fountains are unprotected; and as though natural causes were insufficient, the annual tribute demanded by the Pasha consists in charcoal, each contribution laying waste a whole district. The devastation which began ages ago has in fact continued without cessation, and if it goes on at the present rate of increase, will ere long reduce the whole district to a state of utter aridity and barrenness. When Niebuhr visited the country, at the beginning of the last century, large supplies of vegetable produce were exported regularly to Egypt, shewing that the original fertility was not even then exhausted. Those supplies have ceased; and the only wonder is that so much remains to satisfy a careful inquirer of the possibility of the events recorded in Exodus.

Taking summarily the points in this part of the argument, we find the following coincidences between the narrative and accounts of travellers. Absence of water where no sources now exist, abundance of water where fountains are still found, and indications of a far more copious supply in former ages; tracts, occupying the same time in the journey, in which food would not be found; and in some districts a natural production similar to manna, most abundant in rainy seasons (such as several notices shew the season of the Exodus to have been), but not sufficient for nourishment, nor fit for large consumption, without such modifications in character and quantity as are attributed in the narrative to a divine intervention. We have the presence of Nomad hordes, and an attack made by them precisely in the district, and under the circumstances when their presence and attack might be expected. We have a route which the late exploration of the Peninsula, of which an account will be found at the end of the notes on this book, will shew to have been probably determined by conditions agreeing with incidental notices in the history; and when we come to the chapters in which the central event in the history of Israel, the delivery of God's law, is recorded, we find localities and scenery which travellers concur in declaring to be such as fully correspond to the exigencies of the narrative, and which in some accounts (remarkable at once for scientific accuracy and graphic power) are described in terms which shew they correspond, so far as mere outward accessories can correspond, to the grandeur of the manifestation.

Throughout this portion it will be observed that the notices on which the argument mainly rests are interwoven with the narrative and inseparable from it. It is easy to assert that any single notice may have been retained by oral tradition, or preserved for ages in scanty documents, such as were formerly supposed to be alone likely or possible to have been produced in the time of Moses; and such is the course generally adopted when any coincidence is pointed out too clear to be explained away; a course which, were it applied to any secular history, would be condemned as disingenuous or uncritical, making it in fact impossible to establish the authenticity of any ancient writing. But in addition to the positive arguments thus adduced, a negative argument at least equally conclusive demands attention. No history or composition in existence, which is known to have been written long after the events which it describes, is without internal indications which conclusively prove its later origin; contemporary documents may be interwoven with it, and great pains taken in ages of literary refinement and artifice to disguise its character, but even when anachronisms and errors of detail are avoided, which is seldom, if ever, effectually done, the genuine touch of antiquity, the *χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπρεπής*, is invariably and inevitably absent. Whether we look at the general tone of this narrative, the style

equally remarkable for artlessness and power, or at the innumerable points of contact with external facts capable of exact determination, we are impressed by the weight of this internal evidence, supported as it has been shewn to be by the unbroken and unvarying tradition of the nation to whom the narrative was addressed, and by whom it was held too sacred not to be preserved from wilful mutilation or interpolation.

§ 5. An argument which many readers may feel to be even less open to objection is drawn from the account of the Tabernacle. In the notes on this part of the work the following facts are demonstrated.

In form, structure, and materials, the tabernacle belongs altogether to the wilderness. The wood used in the structure is found there in abundance. It appears not to have been used by the Israelites in Palestine; when the temple was rebuilt it was replaced by cedar. (See note on xxv. 10.) The whole was a tent, not a fixed structure, such as would naturally have been set up, and in point of fact was very soon set up, in Palestine; where wooden doors and probably a surrounding wall existed under the Judges of Israel. The skins and other native materials belong equally to the locality. One material which entered largely into the construction, the skin of the Tachash, was in all probability derived from the Red Sea; with the exception of one reference in Ezekiel xvi. 10, no traces of its use are found at a later period, or in any other district. The metals, bronze, silver and gold, were those which the Israelites knew, and doubtless brought with them from Egypt; nor is it probable that they possessed equal resources for a long time after their settlement in Palestine. The names of many of the materials and implements which they used, and the furniture and accessories of the tabernacle, the dress and ornaments of the priests, are shewn to have been Egyptian. It is also certain that the arts required for the construction of the tabernacle, and for all its accessories, were precisely those for which the Egyptians had been remarkable for ages; such as artizans who had lived under the influence of Egyptian civilization would naturally have learned. The rich embroidery of the hangings, the carving of the cherubic forms, the ornamentation of the capitals, the naturalistic character of the embellishments, were all things with which the Israelites had been familiar in Egypt; but which for ages after their settlement in Palestine, in which the traces of Canaanitish culture had been destroyed as savouring of idolatry, and where the people were carefully separated from the contagious influences of other nations on a par with Egypt, must have died out, if not from their remembrance, yet from all practical application. There are exceedingly few indications of any such arts among the Israelites during the period from the occupation of Palestine to the accession of Solomon; the ephod of Micah, and the teraphim in David's bed, being scarcely noticeable exceptions. It is improbable that any portion of the decorations of the tabernacle could have been produced, even had the rich materials been forthcoming; and it is to be noted as a fact of very special importance in this inquiry, that when Solomon, in the height of his prosperity, with the resources of a vast empire at his disposal, erected the temple which was to replace the tabernacle, he was compelled to seek the aid of foreigners, and to bring Tyrian artists to accomplish the work which Bezaleel had produced, when his native genius, trained in the school of Egypt, was developed by the Spirit of God.

The peculiar way in which the history of the erection of the Tabernacle is recorded suggests another argument, which has not hitherto received due attention. Two separate accounts are given. In the first Moses relates the instructions which he received, in the second he describes the accomplishment of the work. Nothing would be less in accordance with the natural order of a history written at a later period than this double account. It has been represented as an argument for a double authorship, as though two sets of documents had been carelessly or superstitiously adopted by a compiler. It is

however fully accounted for, by the obvious hypothesis, adopted throughout this part of the commentary, that each part of the narrative was written at the time, and on the occasion, to which it immediately refers. When Moses received these instructions he wrote a full account of them for the information of the people. This was on all accounts probable and necessary: among other obvious reasons it was necessary in order that the people might learn exactly what amount of materials and what amount of work would be required of them. When again he had executed his task, it was equally proper, and doubtless also in accordance with the habits of a people keen and jealous in the management of their affairs, and at no time free from tendencies to suspicion, that he should give a formal account of every detail in its execution[1]: a proof, to such as might call for proof, that all their precious offerings had been devoted to the purpose; and what was of far more importance, that the divine instructions had been completely and literally obeyed. It is a curious fact, that in the two accounts the order of the narrative is systematically reversed. In the instructions given to Moses and recorded for the information of the people, the most important objects stand first. The ark, the mercy-seat, the cherubs, the table of shew-bread, the golden candlestick, the whole series of symbolic forms by which the national mind was framed to comprehend the character of the divine revelation, are presented at once to the worshippers. Then come instructions for the tabernacle, its equipments and accessories; and when all else is completed, the dress and ornaments of the officiating priests. But when the work of Bezaleel and his assistants is described, the structure of the tabernacle comes first, as it naturally would do when the work was commenced; the place was first prepared, and then the ark and all the sacred vessels, according to all that the Lord commanded Moses.

§ 6. The Chronology of Exodus involves two questions, the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and the date of their departure. So far as regards the direct statements in the Hebrew text, the answers to both questions are positive and unambiguous. Exodus xii. 40 gives 430 years for the sojourn, Genesis xv. 13 gives 400 years for the whole, or the greater portion of the same period. Again, the 1st book of Kings, c. vi. 1, fixes the Exodus at 480 years before the building of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign. This would settle the date within a few years, about 1490 B.C. See note on c. xii. 40.

Both statements are taken in their obvious and literal meaning by critics of different schools in Germany and England. The latter statement presents some difficulties. On the one hand it involves a longer period than appears to be consistent with the genealogies, especially with the genealogy of David. This objection loses its weight if the omission of several links in the genealogies be admitted as probable: in some cases of the highest importance it is certain, *e.g.* in that of Ezra and of our Lord. On the other hand it involves a shorter period than is deduced from notices in the book of Judges; an objection met by the probable hypothesis that many transactions in that book may have taken place at the same period in different parts of Palestine. Egyptian chronology is too uncertain to determine the question, as is shewn in the Appendix. The date appears on the whole to be reconcileable with the facts of history, and to rest on higher authority than any other which has been proposed.

The grounds on which the duration of the sojourn is determined are considered in the note at the end of c. xii. It is especially important with reference to the number of the Israelites, which amounted to 600,000 males at the time of the Exodus. Such an increase of a patriarchal family within 215 years, the

[1] It is also to be observed that a very large portion of the papyri, written at nearly the same period in Egypt, consist of minute accounts of the work done, and the sums expended under the superintendence of the writers. In an inscription on the statue of an Egyptian architect, Bokenchons, who lived under Sethos I. and Rameses II., special note is made of his accuracy in accounting for expensive buildings.

period deduced by the Rabbins from genealogical computations, and adopted by many theologians, presents great, if not insuperable difficulties, which are removed if we accept the statement of Moses in the sense attached to it by most commentators. It needs no elaborate calculation to shew that in a period extending over more than four centuries, a family which counted 70 males with their households, probably amounting to many hundreds, occupying the most fertile district in Egypt, under circumstances most favourable to rapid and continuous increase specially recorded in this book, should become a mighty nation, such as they are represented in the narrative, and as critics admit they must have been to effect the conquest of Canaan and to retain their national integrity in the midst of a hostile population.

The commentary on this book was originally assigned to the Rev. R. C. Pascoe, Principal of the Theological college at Exeter. His death in June 1868 was preceded by a long illness, which prevented him from preparing notes which could be used for this work. In consequence of this very serious loss the first 19 chapters, together with the Introduction and appendices on Egyptian subjects, were undertaken by the Editor, and the remainder by the Rev. S. Clarke.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

EXODUS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The children of Israel, after Joseph's death, do multiply.* 8 *The more they are oppressed by a new king, the more they multiply.* 15 *The godliness of the midwives, in saving the men children alive.* 22 *Pharaoh commandeth the male children to be cast into the river.*

NOW these *are* the names of the [a] children of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came with Jacob.

[a] Gen. 46. 8. chap. 6. 14.

2 Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah,
3 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin,
4 Dan, and Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

5 And all the souls that came out of the [†] loins of Jacob were [b] seventy souls: for Joseph was in Egypt *already*.

[†] Heb. *thigh.* [b] Gen. 46 27. Deut. 10. 22.

6 And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation.

7 ¶ [c] And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

[c] Acts 7. 17.

8 Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.

CHAP. I. 1. *Now*] Literally "and." This conjunction is omitted by the LXX. but it is commonly used at the beginning of the historical books after Genesis, and here indicates a close connection with the preceding narrative. This chapter in fact contains a fulfilment of the predictions recorded in Gen. xlvi. 3, that God would make of Jacob "a great nation" in Egypt: and in Gen. xv. 13, that the people of that land would "afflict them four hundred years."

every man and his household] It may be inferred from various notices that the total number of dependents was considerable, a point of importance in its bearings upon the history of the Exodus. See Gen. xiii. 6, xiv. 14, from which we learn that Abram had 318 trained servants born in his house. The daughters are not mentioned, nor are the names of their husbands given; it is more likely that they were married to their near relations, or to dependents than to heathens; and in that case they with their families would form part of the patriarchal households.

5. *seventy*] This number includes Joseph, his two sons, and by a mode of reckoning not uncommon, Jacob himself; see Gen. xlv. 11, xlvi. 27; Deut. x. 22. The object of the writer in this introductory statement is to give a complete list of the heads of separate families at the time of their settlement in Egypt. See note on Num. xxvi. 5. The LXX. place the last clause, "Joseph was in Egypt," at the beginning of the verse, an arrangement which seems preferable, and is defended by Egli; see 'Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,' 1870, p. 326.

7. The narrative begins, properly speaking, with this paragraph. This is clearly shewn by the construction of the Hebrew, which does not connect the word "was fruitful" with the preceding verse. Egypt was always celebrated for its fruitfulness, and in no province does the population increase so rapidly as in that occupied by the Israelites. See notes on Gen. xlvii 6. At present it has more flocks and herds than any province in Egypt, and more fishermen, though many villages are deserted; it is calculated that another million might be sustained in it. (See Robinson, Vol. I. p. 55.) Until the accession of the new king, the relations between the Egyptians and the Israelites were undoubtedly friendly. The expressions used in this verse imply the lapse of a considerable period after the death of Joseph.

the land was filled with them] *i.e.* the district allotted to them, extending probably from the Eastern branch of the Nile to the borders of the desert. It appears from other passages (see iii. 22) that they did not occupy this land exclusively, but were intermingled with the native Egyptians.

8. The expressions in this verse are peculiar, and emphatic. "A new king" is a phrase not found elsewhere. It is understood by most commentators to imply that he did not succeed his predecessor in natural order of descent and inheritance. He "arose up over Egypt," occupying the land, as it would seem, on different terms from the king whose place he took, either by usurpation or conquest. The fact that he knew not Joseph implies a complete separation from the tradi-

9 And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel *are* more and mightier than we:

10 Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and *so* get them up out of the land.

11 Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.

12 † But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel.

† Heb. *And as they afflicted them, so they multiplied, &c.*

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tions of Lower Egypt. At present the generality of Egyptian scholars identify this Pharaoh with Rameses II. The question is discussed in the Appendix, where it is shewn that all the conditions of the narrative are fulfilled in the person of Amosis I., the head of the 18th Dynasty. He was the descendant of the old Theban sovereigns, but his family resided for many years at Eileithyia, (El Kab, south of Thebes,) and was tributary to the Dynasty of the Shepherds, the Hyksos of Manetho, then ruling in the North of Egypt. Amosis married an Ethiopian princess, Nephertari, and in the third year of his reign captured Avaris, or Zoan, the capital of the Hyksos, and completed the expulsion of that race.

9. *unto his people*] This expression has a peculiar fitness as addressed by the representative of the old Egyptian kings to his countrymen immediately after their emancipation from the dominion of aliens.

more and mightier] This may have been literally true, if, as was natural, the king compared the Israelites of Goshen with the population of the North Eastern district after the expulsion of the shepherds. The first impression made upon his mind would be the insecurity of a frontier occupied by a foreign race.

10. *any war*] The king had good cause to anticipate war. The North Eastern frontier was infested by the neighbouring tribes, the Shasous of Egyptian monuments, and war was waged with Egypt by the confederated nations of Western Asia under the reigns of his successors. These incursions were repulsed with extreme difficulty. In language, features, costume, and partly also in habits, the Israelites probably resembled those enemies of Egypt, and were regarded by the Egyptians as their natural allies.

out of the land] This is important as the first indication of a motive which determined the policy of the Pharaohs in dealing with the Israelites: they apprehended the loss of revenue and power, which would result from the withdrawal of a peaceful and industrious race.

11. *taskmasters*] The writer uses the proper Egyptian designation for these officers, viz. Chiefs of tributes (see Note at the end of the Chapter). They were men of rank, superintendents of the public works (LXX. ἐπιστάται τῶν ἔργων), such as are often represented on Egyptian monuments, and carefully distinguished from the subordinate overseers. The Israelites were employed in forced labours, probably in detachments, each under an Egyptian "taskmaster:" but they were not reduced to slavery, properly speaking, nor treated as captives of war. They continued to occupy and cultivate their own district, and they retained possession of their houses, flocks, herds, and other property until they emigrated from Egypt. Amosis had special need of such labourers. He restored the temples and other buildings destroyed by the shepherds, employing foreigners, either as subjects or mercenaries, for the transport of materials. This is proved by an inscription, dated in his 22nd year, see 'Æg. Zeitschrift,' November 1867.

treasure cities] The Hebrew word corresponds very closely both in form and meaning with "magazines," depots of ammunition and provisions: the same word is used 1 Kings ix. 19; 2 Chron. viii. 4 and xxxii. 28. Captives were employed in great numbers for building and enlarging such depots under the Egyptian kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

Pithom and Raamses] Both cities were situate on the canal, which had been dug or enlarged long before, under Osertasen of the 12th dynasty. The names of both cities are found on Egyptian monuments: the former is known to have existed under the 18th dynasty: both were in existence in the beginning of the reign of Rameses II., by whom they were fortified and enlarged. The name "Pithom" means "House or temple of Tum," the Sun God of Heliopolis. The name of Raamses, or Rameses is generally assumed to have been derived from Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, but it was previously known as the name of the district. See Genesis xlvii. 11, and Appendix. The LXX. add "On, which is Heliopolis:" a reading commended by Egli, l.c. but On existed long before that age.

12. *they were grieved*] The Hebrew expresses a mixture of loathing and alarm. For "they" the LXX. read "the Egyptians."

13 And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour:
14 And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in morter, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, *was* with rigour.
15 ¶ And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, of which the name of the one *was* Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah:
16 And he said, When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see *them* upon the stools; if it *be* a son, then ye shall kill him: but if it *be* a daughter, then she shall live.
17 But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.
18 And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and have saved the men children alive?
19 And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women *are* not as the Egyptian women; for they *are* lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them.
20 Therefore God dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty.
21 And it came to pass, because

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13. *with rigour*] The word is repeated *v.* 14; it occurs but once in any later book, Ez. xxxiv. 4.

14. *morter and brick*] The use of brick, at all times common in Egypt, was especially so under the 18th dynasty. An exact representation of the whole process of brickmaking is given in a small temple at Thebes, erected by Tothmosis III., the fourth in descent from Amosis. The persons there employed are captives, taken by that Pharaoh in his Asiatic campaigns. They are under a general superintendent, or "taskmaster," and are driven to work by overseers, armed with heavy lashes, who cry out "work without fainting." A report from a scribe at a later date, under the 19th dynasty, shews the rigour with which the labour, generally assigned to captives or to slaves, was enforced. See Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Egypte,' p. 174, and Chabas, 'Mélanges égyptologiques,' II. p. 121. Immense masses of brick are found at Belbeis, the modern capital of Sharkiya, *i. e.* Goshen, and in the adjoining district. There is no intimation that the Israelites were employed in building pyramids, which were erected by kings of Lower Egypt, with few exceptions, long before this period.

all manner of service in the field] Not merely agricultural labours to which the Israelites were accustomed, but probably the digging of canals and processes of irrigation which are peculiarly onerous and unhealthy, and on both accounts likely to have been imposed upon the Israelites. The word used throughout by the Targumist (see Note at the end of the Chapter) is interesting; the designation Fellahs, forced workers, is derived from it.

15. *Hebrew midwives*] Or "midwives of the Hebrew women." This measure at once attested the inefficacy of the former measures, and was the direct cause of the event which issued in the deliverance of Israel, viz. the exposure of Moses. Two midwives only are named. They may have been the two chief midwives, but it is not improbable that they were the only ones in Goshen. At present all travellers state that midwives are very seldom employed by Egyptian women, never by the common people, and by women of station only in cases of peculiar difficulty. Two might therefore have sufficed for the Israelites. It may perhaps be inferred from this statement that the object of the king was not to destroy all the male infants, a course obviously contrary to his interests, but those of the chiefs, whose wives were alone likely to call in the midwives. Both midwives bear names which are supposed by some to be of Hebrew origin, signifying personal beauty. They were however probably Egyptians, as would seem to be implied in the expressions in *vv.* 17 and 19: an Egyptian etymology of each name may be suggested: Puah from a word which means "child bearing," and Shiphrah, "prolific." See Note below.

16. *upon the stools*] The Hebrew means literally "two stones." The word does not occur elsewhere in reference to midwives, but it probably denotes a peculiar seat, such as is represented on monuments of the 18th dynasty, and according to Lane is still used by Egyptian midwives. So it is understood by our translators, by the Targumist, and the Arabian translator, Saadia, a resident in Egypt and a man of great learning, whose authority on such a point has considerable weight. Gesenius, however, takes it to mean the stone

the midwives feared God, that he made them houses.

22 And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.

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laver in which the newborn infant was washed, and he quotes a striking passage from Thevenot, stating that the Persian kings order the newborn male infants of their relatives to be killed in the stone basin in which they are washed. See Note below.

21. *made them houses*] *i.e.* they married Hebrews and became mothers in Israel. The expression is proverbial. See 2 Sam. vii. 11, 27. An old reading preserved in the Jerus. Targum gives, "and they made houses," *i.e.* preserved the families of the Israelites.

22. The command, though general, may have been understood to apply to the leading families by whom the midwives had been employed, or to be in force until the population was reduced, so as to remove all apprehensions for the security of the frontier. The extreme cruelty of the measure does not involve improbability. Hatred of strangers was always a characteristic of the Egyptians, see Gen. xliii. 32, and was likely to be stronger than ever after the expulsion of an alien race. Before Psammetichus chance visitors were taken as slaves or put to death, see Diod. Sic. I. 67. Under the 12th dynasty, in the time of Abraham, the wives and children of foreigners were the property of the king (Chabas, 'Pap. Hier.' p. 14). The Spartans were even more guilty; they systematically murdered their Helots when their increased numbers excited alarm; on one occasion they slew 2,000, who had offered themselves as volunteers at the invitation of the state. Plut. 'Lyc.' § 28, and Thuc. IV. 80.

NOTES on vv. 11, 14, 15, 16.

11. The Hebrew is שרי־מסים, Sare massim. Sar means chief, or prince in Semitic languages, in Assyrian it has lately been shewn to be the proper phonetic for king; and it is common in Hebrew: but it is an Egyptian title, found on very ancient monuments, and it is the title specially given to the head of the works in the representation of brick making under Tothmosis III., to which allusion is more than once made in these notes. The word *massim* has no satisfactory etymology in Hebrew. Gesenius supposes it to be a contracted form, Michaelis suggests an improbable derivation from Arabic. The Egyptian *mas*, gives a good and natural sense, it means to bring tribute, *mas-mas* to divide or number in portions. See the Egyptian forms in the Appendix.

14. The Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos is always meant when reference is made to the Targum in these notes; it is of great antiquity and authority. The Targum attributed to Jonathan is of late date and comparatively of little value. Saadia, who is often mentioned, was a Jew of great learning, a native of Fayoum in Egypt, towards the end of the 9th century. His Arabic translation is printed in Walton's Polyglott.

15. The Hebrew derivations of the two names are not satisfactory. Simonis makes פועה equivalent to יפועה, splendid, from יפע, a form for which there is no authority. Gesenius suggests the Arabic فوه, countenance; this would require a change of letters, and is quite improbable. The Egyptian gives a simple and very satisfactory etymology; pā=פע with one determinative or explanatory sign means "splenduit" (coinciding in sense with Simonis' conjecture); with another and equally common sign it means "parturio, accoucher d'un enfant." Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 463. Shiphra is rendered "child of Ra," by Bunsen, 'Bibelwerk.' This is inadmissible; "sefi" means "child," but the transcription of both syllables is inexact. The sense "prolific" given above is derived from one of the commonest words in Egyptian, Cheper; the transcription is very close, the ch and sh being regularly interchanged; the meaning "esse, fieri, nasci, procreare," with the additional notion of rapid increase and reproduction.

16. Professor Selwyn proposes an emendation which would entirely remove the difficulty; instead of אבנים he would read בנים, when ye look upon the children. The insertion of *them* in the Authorised Version is unauthorised. The only objection to the conjecture is that the change from so plain and intelligible a reading can scarcely be accounted for. Hirsch, chief Rabbi at Frankfort, whose commentary has appeared since these notes were printed, observes very truly that there is no authority for the interpretation most commonly received of אבנים, but the explanation which he suggests is forced and improbable. Like many other words this belongs to the age of Moses.

CHAPTER II.

1 Moses is born, 3 and in an ark cast into the flags. 5 He is found, and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter. 11 He slayeth an Egyptian. 13 He reproveth an Hebrew. 15 He fleeth into Midian. 21 He marrieth Zipporah. 22 Gershom is born. 23 God respecteth the Israelites' cry.

[a] chap. 6. 20. Numb. 26. 59. AND there went [a] a man of the house of Levi, and took *to wife* a daughter of Levi.

2 And the woman conceived, and bare a son: and when she saw him that he *was a* goodly *child*, she [b] hid him three months.

[b] Acts 7. 20. Heb. 11. 23.

3 And when she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid *it* in the flags by the river's brink.

4 And his sister stood afar off, to wit what would be done to him.

5 ¶ And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash *herself* at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river side; and when she saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it.

CHAP. II. 1. *a man of the house of Levi*] The marriage of Amram and Jochebed took place so long after the immigration of the Israelites, that it seems scarcely possible that Amram should have been the grandson, and Jochebed the daughter of Levi. The idiom which calls even a remote descendant the son or daughter is common to the Old and New Testament, and this passage may be understood to mean that both parents of Moses were of the house and lineage of Levi. Thus the Vulgate renders the verse, "and he took a wife of his own family;" the LXX. has "a wife of the daughters of Levi." See the Introduction, and note on ch. vi. 20, and on Num. xxvi. 59.

2. *bare a son*] Not her firstborn, Aaron and Miriam were older than Moses. In this part of the book the object of the writer is simply to narrate the events which led to the Exodus, and, as usual, he omits to notice what had no direct bearing upon that object. It is remarkable that any critic conversant with the style of the sacred writers should have drawn from this omission an argument against the accuracy or veracity of the writer.

a goodly child] This is the only allusion in the Pentateuch to the personal appearance of Moses, upon which much stress is laid by later tradition. Jochebed probably did not call in a midwife, see note on ch. i. 15, and she was of course cautious not to shew herself to Egyptians. The hiding of the child is spoken of as an act of faith, see Heb. xi. 23. It was done in the belief that God would watch over the child.

3. *an ark of bulrushes*] Both of these words, like the other words used in this description, are either common to Hebrew and Egyptian, or simply Egyptian. See Appendix. The ark was made of the papyrus which was commonly used by the Egyptians for light and swift boats. The species is no longer found in the Nile below Nubia. It is a strong rush, like the bamboo, about the thickness of a finger, not quite cylindrical but three cornered, and attains the height of 10 to 15 feet. It is represented with great accuracy on the most ancient monuments of Egypt; as for instance in the tomb of Tei under the 6th dynasty. An article on the Papyrus is given in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de belles lettres,' Tom. XIX. p. 156.

slime and pitch] The "slime" is understood by most critics to be asphalt, but it more probably means the mud, of which bricks were usually made in Egypt, and which in this case was used to bind the stalks of the papyrus into a compact mass, and perhaps also to make the surface smooth for the infant. The pitch or bitumen (commonly used in Egypt, bearing the name here used by Moses,) made the small vessel watertight.

in the flags] This is another species of the papyrus, called tufi, or sufi, (an exact equivalent of the Hebrew *suph*,) which was less in size and height than the rush of which the ark was made. The brink, or "lip of the river" is an expression common to Egyptian and Hebrew; both words correspond in meaning and form. That which is rendered "river," viz. *Jor* is not used in the Bible of any river out of Egypt, except once by Daniel xii. 5, on which see Ges. 'Thes.' s.v.

5. *the daughter of Pharaoh*] The traditions which give a name to this princess are probably of late origin, and merely conjectural. Josephus calls her Thermuthis; which means "the great Mother," a designation of Neith, the special deity of Lower Egypt: but it does not occur as the name of a princess. The nam[illegible] Pharia, Merris, and Bithia are also found in Syncellus, Eusebius, and the Rabbins. It is of more importance to observe that the Egyptian princesses held a very high and almost independent position under the ancient and middle empire, with a separate household and numerous officials. This was espe-

6 And when she had opened *it*, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This *is one* of the Hebrews' children.

7 Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?

8 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother.

9 And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give *thee* thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it.

10 And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name [1]Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water.

[1] That is, *Drawn out.*

11 ¶ And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren.

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cially the case with the daughters of the first sovereigns of the 18th dynasty: in two instances at least they were regents or co-regents with their brothers. See Appendix.

The facts recorded in these verses, according to M. Quatremère, suggest a satisfactory answer as to the residence of the daughter of Pharaoh and of the family of Moses. It must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nile, and therefore not at On or Heliopolis, at which place Amosis put down human sacrifices offered by the Hyksos: it must have been near a branch of the Nile not infested by crocodiles, or the child would not have been exposed, nor would the princess have bathed there: therefore not near Memphis, where Amosis rebuilt the great temple of Ptah, from which the city took its name. At present crocodiles are not often found below the cataracts, but under the ancient empire they were common as far north as Memphis. These and other indications agreeing with the traditions recorded by Eutychius (see Milman, 'H. J.' I. p. 68), point to Zoan, Tanis, now San, the ancient Avaris, on the Tanitic branch of the river, near the sea, where crocodiles are never found, which was probably the western boundary of the district occupied by the Israelites. Avaris was captured by Amosis, and was the most suitable place for the head quarters of the Pharaohs, both as commanding the districts liable to incursions from Asiatic nomads, and as well adapted for carrying out the measures for crushing the Israelites. The field of Zoan was always associated by the Hebrews with the marvels which preceded the Exodus. See Ps. lxxviii. 43.

to wash] It is not customary at present for women of rank to bathe in the river, but it was a common practice in ancient Egypt. See Wilkinson, III. p. 389. The Nile was worshipped as an emanation (ἀπορροή) of Osiris, and a peculiar power of imparting life and fertility was attributed to its waters, a superstition still prevalent in the country. (Thus Strabo, Ælian, and Pliny and Seetzen, Vol. III. p. 204. See also Brugsch, 'Zeitschrift,' 1868, p. 123, and 'D. H.' p. 413.) The habits of the princess, as well as her character, must have been well known to the mother of Moses, and probably decided her choice of the place.

6. *she had compassion on him*] A touch of natural feeling, to which throughout the narrative Moses is careful to direct attention. The Egyptians indeed regarded such tenderness as a condition of acceptance on the day of reckoning. In the presence of the Lord of truth each spirit had to answer, "I have not afflicted any man, I have not made any man weep, I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings." See the 'Funeral Ritual,' c. 125. There was special ground for mentioning the feeling, since it led the princess to save and adopt the child in spite of her father's commands.

10. *he became her son*] This expression leaves no doubt as to the formal adoption of Moses. He became a member of the royal household, where the training and education which he received would be such as St Stephen describes; he became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. (See Note at the end of the Chapter.) Such a preparation was indeed humanly speaking all but indispensable to the efficient accomplishment of his work as the predestined leader and instructor of his countrymen. Moses probably passed the early years of his life in Lower Egypt, where the princess resided; all the notices in this book indicate a thorough familiarity with that portion of the country, and scarcely refer to the Thebaid. There may however be substantial grounds for the tradition in Josephus that he was engaged in a campaign against the Ethiopians, thus shewing himself, as St Stephen says, "mighty in word and deed." See 'Excursus' I. at the end of the volume, p. 455.

Moses] The Egyptian origin of this word is generally admitted. The name itself is not uncommon in ancient documents. The exact

12 And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that *there was* no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.

13 And when he went out the second day, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?

14 And he said, Who made thee [r]a prince and a judge over us? intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely this thing is known.

[r] Heb. *a man, a prince.*

15 Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a well.

16 Now the [s]priest of Midian had

[s] Or, *prince.*

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meaning is "son," but the verbal root of the word signifies "produce," "draw forth." The whole sentence in Egyptian would exactly correspond to our version. She called his name Moses, *i.e.* "son," or "brought forth," because she brought him forth out of the water. See Appendix, p. 482.

11. Moses records no incident of his life during the following years. His object, as Ranke observes, was not to write his own biography, but to describe God's dealings with his people. Later tradition would have been full of details. At the end of 40 years, when according to St Stephen, Moses visited his brethren, the princess was probably dead, as Syncellus relates, and the events which follow took place under another Pharaoh.

went out unto his brethren] This shews that the Egyptian princess had not concealed from him the fact of his belonging to the oppressed race, nor is it likely that she had debarred him from intercourse with his foster-mother and her family, whether or not she became aware of the true relationship.

an Egyptian] This man was probably one of the overseers of the workmen, natives under the chief superintendent, who are represented in the well-known picture of brickmakers under Tothmosis III. See note on c. i. 13. They were armed with long heavy scourges, made of a tough pliant wood imported from Syria. See Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Egyptien,' pp. 119 and 136. The discipline of the Egyptian services, both military and civil, was maintained by punishments of excessive severity, even in the case of native officers. Hence the proverbial saying, "the child grows up and his bones are broken like the bones of an ass," and again, "the back of a lad is made that he may hearken to him that beats it." (Chabas, l. c. p. 136, and 'Pap. Anast.' v. 8, 6.) The "smiting" must have been unusually cruel to excite the wrath of Moses. The slaying of the Egyptian is not to be justified, or attributed to a divine inspiration, which Moses would not have omitted to mention; but it is to be judged with reference to the provocation, the impetuosity of Moses' natural character, perhaps also to the habits developed by his training at the court of Pharaoh. See the excellent remarks of St Augustine, 'c. Faust.' XXII. 70. The act involved a complete severance from the Egyptians; but far from expediting, it delayed for many years the deliverance of the Israelites. Forty years of a very different training prepared Moses for the execution of that appointed work.

13. *did the wrong*] Lit. "the wicked one," *i.e.* the aggressor.

thy fellow] **Thy neighbour**: so the word should be rendered: the reproof was that of a legislator who established moral obligations on a recognized principle. Hence in the following verse the offender is represented as feeling that the position claimed by Moses was that of a Judge. The act could only have been made known by the Hebrew on whose behalf Moses had committed it.

14. *a prince*] lit. as in the margin, a man, a prince. The Hebrew for Prince is *Sar*, used in i. 11. The word "Sar" implies the power, "judge" the right, of interfering.

15. *Pharaoh heard it*] No Egyptian king would have left such an offence unpunished, even had it been committed by a native of high rank: it is not even necessary to assume the death of the princess (see note on *v.* 2) to rebut the objection that her adopted son found no defender. It is observed however (by Hirsch) that the expression "sought to kill him" implies that the position of Moses, as adopted son of a princess, made it necessary even for a despotic sovereign to take unusual precautions.

the land of Midian] The Midianites occupied an extensive district from the eastern coast of the Red Sea to the borders of Moab. It is not improbable that in the time of Moses they may have had a settlement in the peninsula, at Sherm, where the two harbours, the only safe ones on that coast, offered peculiar advantages to them, engaged as they were from the earliest times in the transport of merchandize. (See Note at the end of the Chapter.)

by a well] **The well**. The well is spoken of as well known, the chief feature of the locality; such was the case whichever site be accepted as the residence of Reuel.

16. *the Priest of Midian*] Not "the prince" as in the margin. The word *Cohen*

seven daughters: and they came and drew *water*, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.

17 And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock.

18 And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How *is it that* ye are come so soon to day?

19 And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and also drew *water* enough for us, and watered the flock.

20 And he said unto his daughters, And where *is* he? why *is* it *that* ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread.

21 And Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter.

22 And she bare *him* a son, and he called his name [c]Gershom: for he said, I have been a stranger in a strange land. [c] chap. 18. 3.

may have that meaning in some passages, but there is no reason for assuming it in this. Josephus and most of the ancient versions render it "priest." A Jewish tradition, derived probably from the Targum (which styles him Rabba, or Lord), represents Reuel as the prince, or probably as combining, like Melchizedek, the hereditary offices of chieftain and priest of the tribe, the Imam, the word used in the Arabic Version. The name of Reuel, and the detailed notices in c. xviii. (where see notes), prove that he was a priest of the one true God, known to the patriarchs especially under the name El; although the great bulk of the tribe, certainly those who lived farther north and more closely in contact with the Hamites of Canaan, were already plunged in idolatry. The conduct of the shepherds may indicate that his person and office were lightly regarded by the idolatrous tribes in his immediate neighbourhood.

drew water] This act would not be unbecoming or uncommon for the daughters of a priest whether chief of his tribe or not. At present the watering of cattle in that district is a work of maidens, from which even the daughters of sheickhs are not exempt. See Burckhardt, 'Syria,' p. 531. Thus Dr Stanley speaks of flocks climbing the rocks or gathered round the brooks and springs of the valleys under the charge of the black-vested Bedouin women of the present day.

18. *Reuel*] Or as in Num. x. 29, Raguel. The name means "friend of God." It appears to have been not uncommon among Hebrews and Edomites; see Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10; 1 Chron. ix. 8; Tobit vi. 10. Commentators, who identify Reuel with Jethro, a point open to grave objections (see Note at the end of the Chapter), generally accept the conjecture of Josephus, viz. that Reuel was his proper name, and Jether or Jethro, which means "excellency" (corresponding, as Knobel observes, to Imam), was his official designation. Moses naturally used the former name when he first mentioned his father-in-law, on other occasions he might take that by which the Priest was probably best known to the Israelites.

19. *An Egyptian*] Of course they spoke judging from his costume, or language, which must have been Egyptian at that time; a slight coincidence, but such as may be looked for only in a narrative of facts. Had Moses lived long among the Israelites, the Midianitish maidens would not have mistaken him for an Egyptian: a later writer would scarcely have noted the occurrence.

21. *was content to dwell with the man*] This conveys the true sense of the Hebrew. It implies that Moses recognized in Reuel a man in whom he could confide; and in his family a fitting home. So quietly, and yet so impressively, Moses records the entrance upon a long period, extending over forty years of mature life. Moses tells us nothing of what he may have learned from his father-in-law, but he must have found in him a man conversant with the traditions of the family of Abraham; nor is there any improbability in the supposition that, as hereditary priest, Reuel may have had written documents concerning their common ancestors. The use of letters was well known to the Phœnicians, whose trade with the dwellers in that very district is recorded on Egyptian monuments of the 13th dynasty, long anterior to the age of Moses: (see Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Egypte,' p. 74,) and inscriptions which record the campaigns of Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, make express mention of scribes and historians of nations, *e.g.* of the Kheta or Hittites, who were probably not in advance of the Midianites.

22. *Gershom*] According to most Hebrew scholars the name is derived from a word meaning "expulsion." This, however, is scarcely reconcileable with Moses' own account, of which the Egyptian supplies an exact and satisfactory explanation. The first syllable "Ger" is common to Hebrew and Egyptian, and means "sojourner." The second syllable "Shom" answers exactly to the Coptic "Shemmo," which means "a foreign or strange land." For the old Egyptian forms, see Appendix, p. 488.

23 ¶ And it came to pass in process of time, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage.

24 And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his [d]covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.

25 And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God [t]had respect unto *them*.

[d] Gen. 15. 14. & 46. 4.

[t] Heb. *knew*.

23. *in process of time*] Nearly forty years: some delay intervened between the call of Moses and his departure for Egypt. This verse marks the beginning of another section. We now enter at once upon the history of the Exodus.

their cry came up unto God] This statement, taken in connection with the two following verses, proves that the Israelites retained their faith in the God of their Fathers. The divine name God, Elohim, is chosen because it was that which the Israelites must have used in their cry for help, that under which the covenant had been ratified with the Patriarchs. Dr Stanley would illustrate this by an account of the cries of the Fellahs in Egypt: but the distinction ought to be marked between their execrations, and the prayers which reached God from the Israelites.

24. *remembered*] This means that God was moved by their prayers to give effect to the covenant, of which an essential condition was the faith and contrition involved in the act of supplication. The whole history of Israel is foreshadowed in these words. The accumulation of so called anthropomorphic terms in this passage is remarkable. God heard, remembered, looked upon, and knew them. It evidently indicates the beginning of a crisis marked by a personal intervention of God.

25. *had respect unto them*] lit. and God knew. The LXX. "and was known unto them." This involves only a change of punctuation and may be preferable.

NOTES on vv. 10, 13, 18.

10. The education which would be given to a youth belonging to the royal household, and destined for military or civil service under the Middle Empire, has lately been illustrated by the labours of Goodwin, Chabas, and other Egyptologers, from the select papyri published in 1844 by the Trustees of the British Museum. These documents belong for the most part to the reigns of Rameses II. and his immediate successors, but the literary habits and attainments which they describe are known to have been far more ancient; collections of manuscripts, and scribes holding high offices of state, are frequently mentioned in the monuments of the early dynasties (see M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 73), and some of the most valuable papyri are productions of the ancient empire. M. Maspero has lately collected the most important facts in the introduction to his work on a portion of a papyrus of the 19th dynasty, entitled 'Hymne au Nil.'

He observes that we know for certain that a literary education was the first condition for admission to the public service; the title of scribe was necessary in order to obtain the lowest appointment in the civil administration or in the army. Hence a real enthusiasm for study is manifested by men of letters, such as Enna and Pentaour, whose compositions, indeed whose autographs are preserved. We have addresses to Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks, the god of learning, in which the superiority of his work to all works is passionately maintained. "Thy works are better than all works; he who devotes himself to them becomes a noble; all successes achieved in life are due to thee; under thy inspiration a man becomes great, powerful, rich; of him all the world, all generations of men cry out, 'Great is he, great is the work of Thoth.'"

The education so highly valued began at a tender age; the infant, when it was weaned, was sent to school, and there instructed by scribes officially appointed. The discipline was severe, but due care was taken for the child's maintenance: the mother brought his food daily from his home, and in the upper schools rations of bread and salt fish seem to have been supplied regularly by the government: the register of distribution being, as in our colleges, accepted as proofs of the scholars' attendance (see Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Egyptien,' p. 23).

The scholar learned the elements of letters, the rules of orthography and grammar; and as he advanced, the art of expressing his thoughts in simple and perspicuous prose, of which the story of the two brothers in the D'Orbiney papyrus is a fair specimen; or in the epistolary style adapted for official communications, which occupy a large portion of the papyri; or in poetical composition, in which extant examples shew a genuine feeling for art; resembling Hebrew poetry in the carefully balanced parallelisms, and skilful combination of anti-

theses, though differing from it as markedly in the absence of the essential characteristics of simplicity and grace. It was indeed no slight thing to master the qualifications of a man of letters. The mere art of writing presented difficulties so serious that we find scribes boasting of a thorough knowledge of the mysteries of sacred letters as a rare and wonderful attainment. According to Diodorus special pains were bestowed upon arithmetic and geometry, an assertion borne out by late inquiries, which shew that the system of notation was remarkably clear, and that exact accounts were kept in every large household; a treatise on geometry in the British Museum now engages the attention of scholars, and will probably be published by Mr Birch. The mystic writings, in which ancient truths were imbedded in dark and dreary superstitions, occupied much of the time, not only of the priests, but of all men of learning. Schools of interpretation existed at an age long before Moses, which have left abundant traces in various readings, glosses, and mystic explanations of the so-called Funeral Ritual or Book of the Dead, a work which the literal translation of Mr Birch, remarkable for learning and ingenuity, has made to some extent accessible to English readers. The earliest extant copy of the chapter (the 17th) which gives the deepest insight into the ancient theosophy of Egypt dates from the 11th dynasty, and has even in that form numerous glosses bearing witness to a remote antiquity. In an address to an officer of rank, whose adventures in Syria have been illustrated by Goodwin and Chabas, the scribe whose autograph is before us, says, "Thou art a scribe skilful above thy equals, learned in the sacred writings, chastened in heart, disciplined in tongue; thy words pierce me, one phrase has thrice gone forth, thou hast broken me with terror." In a work just published ('Moses der Hebräer') M. Lauth attempts to identify this personage so remarkable for talents, learning, and bold speculations on religion, with Moses the Hebrew; an identification not likely to approve itself to scholars, but which serves to show the course of thought, and to some extent the state of mental development, in Egypt at a time not far remote from that in which Moses became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and mighty in word and deed.

13. The question whether the residence of Reuel was on the eastern or western coast of the Ælanitic gulf is not easily settled. The older and more general tradition is in favour of the former. The ruins of the city of Madian, described by Edrisi and Abul-feda and visited by Seetzen, lay on the east of the gulph, five days' journey from Aila, *i. e.* Akaba, and a well was shewn there as that from which Moses watered the flocks of his father-in-law. It would seem scarcely probable that Moses would be secure from pursuit within the peninsula, which was frequented by the Egyptians, who long before that time worked the copper mines and carried on a considerable traffic. Under the 18th and 19th dynasties the power of the Pharaohs appears to have extended over the whole country. It is also to be observed that the Israelites did not come into contact with the Midianites while they were in the peninsula, and that Jethro appears from the notices in ch. xviii. vv. 1, 5, 27 to have come from some considerable distance to meet Moses. It is objected that the distance of this city would have been too great for Moses to have pastured the flocks of Jethro in the peninsula, but we find instances of much longer distances in the history of Jacob and Laban, and at present in the accounts of the Bedouins. Thus Bochart, D'Anville, Mannert, and Quatremère, 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.'

On the other hand it is argued by Laborde, Knobel and others, that Reuel must have lived on the west of the gulf. The communications between the two coasts have always been frequent; at present sheep and goats are brought in great numbers from Mukna, near Madian, for sale in the peninsula, and at different times settlements have been made by Bedouins from the Hedjaz. The Towara, who are now the most powerful and most civilized tribe in the Peninsula, and have been recognized as the true descendants of the Midianites by most geographers (see Ritter, 'Sinai,' p. 936), occupied Madian in the time of Mahomet, who received one of their chieftains with the exclamation, "welcome to the brothers-in-law of Moses, welcome to the race of Shoeib, *i.e.* Jethro." If Reuel lived in this district, it must have been at Sherm, about 10 miles from Ras Mohammed, the southern headland. There are proofs that peculiar sanctity attached to that place at a very early period. The notices of ancient geographers (Strabo, Artemidorus, and Agatharchides, ap. Diodor. Sic., collected and examined by Knobel) speak of extensive palm-groves, abundant sources of fresh water, and a sanctuary under the charge of an hereditary priest and priestess, who held their office for life.. The same writers testify to the existence of an ancient tribe in that neighbourhood bearing a name (*Μαριανεῖς*) nearly resembling and probably identical with Midianites; the d and r are frequently interchanged, or confounded owing to the similarity of ד and ר, a similarity even more striking in the most archaic forms of the two letters. The place, though sharing the general desolation of Turkish provinces, is at present of some importance. "There are two large bays affording the only safe anchorage for large ships; on the southern bay is the tomb of an unknown

sheickh; near the northern bay are several copious wells of brackish water, deep, and lined with ancient stones, apparently an ancient work of considerable labour." Burckhardt, 'Syria,' p. 52.

18. The identity of Reuel with Jethro rests chiefly on the assumption that חתן, which is applied to Jethro repeatedly in the 3rd and 18th chapters, means "father-in-law." If Jethro were the father-in-law of Moses he would of course be the same person as Reuel. But in all other passages when the word חתן occurs, it means simply a "relation by marriage." In the Pentateuch it is applied to the sons-in-law of Lot, Gen. xix. 12, 14: to the brother-in-law of Moses, Hobab, Num. x. 29: to Moses himself, as husband of Zipporah, Exod. iv. 25, 26. In the book of Judges it is used once (xix. 4) of "a father-in-law," twice of "a son-in-law," twice of "a brother-in-law." The meaning in other passages is far more commonly son-in-law. The LXX. uses πενθερὸς and γαμβρός. The usage in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic is the same. Thus Freytag, خَتَن socer, vel omnis propinquus ab uxoris parte, scil. pater ejus, aut frater, &c.: ita apud genuinos Arates: vulgo autem est gener. Our rendering follows the Targums and Saadia. The Coptic word "Shom" has the same range of meaning. The meaning "circumcidit" has no authority in Hebrew, unless the very improbable explanation of ch. iv. 21, proposed by Gesenius, were admitted. The relationship therefore between Jethro and Moses cannot be decided by this word: it depends upon the internal evidence of the narrative. But Reuel must have been advanced in years, having seven grown up daughters when Moses arrived in Midian. When Moses was eighty years old, it is more probable that Reuel's son had succeeded him in his hereditary priesthood than that he was still living: and no difficulty is presented by the supposition that Jethro was the brother-in-law of Moses; thus Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1295. The identity in that case of Jethro and Hobab, see Numb. x. 29, may be regarded as possible, but by no means as certain. Jethro returned to his own land before the promulgation of the law on Sinai, nor does his name occur afterwards. Hobab appears to have accompanied Moses on his journey, casting in his lot with the Israelites (see Judges iv. 11). He may have been, and very probably was, a younger brother of Jethro, not bound, like him, to his own tribe by the duties of an hereditary priesthood. This combination seems to meet all the conditions of the narrative, which would otherwise present serious, if not insuperable, difficulties.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Moses keepeth Jethro's flock.* 2 *God appeareth to him in a burning bush.* 9 *He sendeth him to deliver Israel.* 14 *The name of God.* 15 *His message to Israel.*

NOW Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and

CHAP. III. The connection between this chapter and the preceding is very close, although many years intervened between the arrival of Moses in Midian and the transactions described in it. It marks however a distinct epoch, the commencement of the series of events which immediately preceded the Exodus. Hitherto the narrative has been studiously brief, stating only what was necessary to be known as preparatory to those events; but from this point Moses dwells minutely on the details, and enables us to realize the circumstances of the catastrophe which in its immediate and remote consequences stands alone in the world's history. This chapter is attributed by some writers to the so-called Jehovist; by others it is broken up into fragments, in order to meet the obvious objection that the name Elohim is found in it twenty-one times, that of Jehovah seven times only. But the internal evidence of unity is irresistible, and the fact that both the divine names occur far more frequently than in the preceding chapters is sufficiently accounted for by our having here a record of the personal intervention of the Lord God.

1. *the flock*] The expression is precise in Hebrew as in English, meaning not the cattle, but the sheep and goats. At present neither oxen nor horses are kept in the Peninsula, which does not supply fodder for them, under ordinary circumstances. It was however far more fertile in the time of Moses.

Jethro his father-in-law] Or "brother-in-law," see note above. An indefinite word such as affinis, signifying relative by marriage, would be preferable, but Jethro was probably the brother-in-law of Moses.

the backside] Gesenius explains this to mean "to the west of the district." This follows from the Hebrew system of orientation. The East is the region which is looked upon as before a man, the west behind him, the south and north as the right and left hand.

desert] Or **wilderness**. The word here used does not mean a barren waste, but a district supplying pasturage. The district near

came to the mountain of God, *even* to Horeb.

2 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a [a] flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush *was* not consumed.

[a] Acts 7. 30.

3 And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.

4 And when the LORD saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here *am* I.

5 And he said, Draw not nigh hither: [b] put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest *is* holy ground.

[b] Josh. 5. 15. Acts 7. 33.

6 Moreover he said, [c] I *am* the God of thy father, the God of Abraham,

[c] Matt. 22. 32. Acts 7. 32.

Sherm, where Jethro may have resided, is described by ancient and modern travellers as barren and parched; on the west and east are rocky tracts, but to the north-west, at a distance of three or four days' journey, lies the district of Sinai, where the pasturage is good and water abundant. The Bedouins drive their flocks thither from the lowlands at the approach of summer. From this it may be inferred that the events here recorded took place at that season.

the mountain of God, even to Horeb] More exactly, **To the mountain of God, towards Horeb.** The meaning is that Moses came to the mountain of God, *i.e.* Sinai, on his way towards Horeb. The name Horeb appears to belong to the northern part of the Sinaitic range, and to reach it Moses probably followed the road from Sherm, which passes through the deep valley between the Gebel ed Deir and the range terminated on the south by the commanding height called Gebel Musa. The tract which leads to the height is half way between the two extremities, about three miles distant from each other: this would bring Moses to the lower part of the range towards the north, which is best adapted for pasturage. An argument is drawn from the expression "mountain of God" against the Mosaic authorship: but Moses, who appears to have written, or to have revised, this book towards the end of his life, may naturally have given this name by anticipation, with reference to the manifestation of God. The paraphrase in the Targum gives the true meaning, "the mountain in which the glory of Jah was revealed to him." On the other hand, it is assumed that the spot was previously held sacred. For this there is no ancient authority; though it has been lately shewn that the whole Peninsula was regarded by the Egyptians as specially consecrated to the gods from a very early time. An inscription at Sarbut el Chadem, dated the 25th year of Tothmosis III., speaks of an officer charged to bring copper from the land of the gods.

2. *the angel of the* LORD] Whether *an* or *the* angel is not determined by the Hebrew. On the meaning and usage of the expression see note on Gen. xii. 7. In this passage it appears to designate a manifestation of God by the agency, or instrumentality of a created being. What Moses saw was the flame of fire in the bush; what he recognised therein was an intimation of the presence of God, who maketh "a flame of fire His angel." Ps. civ. 4. The words which Moses heard were those of God Himself, as all ancient and most modern divines have held, manifested in the Person of the Son.

out of the midst of a bush] Literally "**of the bush**, or seneh," a word which ought perhaps to be retained as the proper name of a thorny shrub common in that district, a species of acacia according to Dr Stanley. The name is very ancient, in Coptic *Sheno*; it is found in papyri of the 19th dynasty and in inscriptions quoted by Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 1397, who translates it Dorn-Acacia, thorny acacia. The use of the article is peculiar: it seems to mean that bush of which Moses must have spoken frequently to the Israelites.

4. *the* LORD *saw*] The interchange of the two divine names is to be observed; *Jehovah* saw, *God* called.

5. *put off thy shoes*] The reverence due to holy places thus rests on God's own command. The custom itself is well known from the observances of the Temple, it was almost universally adopted by the ancients, and is retained in the East.

holy ground] This passage is almost conclusive against the assumption that the place was previously a sanctuary. Moses knew nothing of its holiness after some 40 years spent on the Peninsula. It became holy by the presence of God.

6. *Moreover*] Literally **And.**

thy father] The word seems to be used collectively for the forefathers of Moses; it may, however, refer specially to Abraham, the father of the faithful; with whom the covenant was first made.

Our Saviour adduces the passage as a proof that the doctrine of the resurrection was taught in the Old Testament, and he calls this

the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

7 ¶ And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which *are* in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows;

8 And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

9 Now therefore, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me: and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.

10 Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.

11 ¶ And Moses said unto God, Who *am* I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?

12 And he said, Certainly I will be with thee; and this *shall be* a token unto thee, that I have sent thee:

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book the book of Moses (Mark xii. 26), two points to be borne in mind by readers of the Pentateuch.

7. *taskmasters*] A different word from that used in ch. i. 11. It means oppressors.

I know] The expression implies a personal feeling, tenderness, and compassion.

8. *a good land*, &c.] The natural richness of Palestine, the variety and excellence of its productions, are attested by all ancient writers, whose descriptions are strongly in contrast with those of later travellers. The expression "flowing with milk and honey" is used proverbially by Greek poets. Knobel assumes very unnecessarily, that the honey of wine, not of bees, is meant; Euripides, describing a paradisiacal state, says: "It flows with milk, it flows with the honey of bees," 'Bacchæ,' l. 142. On the abundance of honey in Palestine see Tristram, 'Land of Israel,' p. 88.

the place of the Canaanites] This is the first passage in this book where the enumeration, so often repeated, of the nations then in possession of Palestine, is given. Moses was to learn at once the extent of the promise, and the greatness of the enterprise. In Egypt, the forces, situation, and character of these nations were then well known. Aahmes I. had invaded the south of Palestine in his pursuit of the Shasous; Tothmosis I. had traversed the whole land on his campaign in Syria and Mesopotamia; representations of Canaanites, of the Cheta, identified by most Egyptologers with the Hittites, are common on monuments of the 18th and 19th dynasties, and give a strong impression of their civilization, riches, and especially of their knowledge of the arts of war. In this passage, the more general designations come first—"Canaanites" probably includes all the races; the Hittites, who had great numbers of chariots (892 were taken from them by Tothmosis III. in one battle), occupied the plains; the Amorites were chiefly mountaineers, but gave their name to the whole country in Egyptian inscriptions; the name Perizzites probably denotes the dwellers in scattered villages, the half-nomad population; the Hivites, a comparatively unwarlike, but influential people, held 4 cities in Palestine proper, but their main body dwelt in the north-western district, from Hermon to Hamath (see Josh. xi. 3, and Judg. iii. 3); the Jebusites at that time appear to have occupied Jerusalem and the adjoining district. Soon after their expulsion by Joshua, they seem to have recovered possession of part of Jerusalem, probably Mount Zion, and to have retained it until the time of David.

11. *Who am I*] The change in the character of Moses since his first attempt, is strongly marked by these words, which, however, indicate humility, not fear. Among the grounds which he alleges for his hesitation, in no instance is there any allusion to personal danger; what he feared was failure owing to incompetency, especially in the power of expression. This shrinking from self-assertion is the quality which seems to be specially intimated by the word rendered "meek" in Numbers ch. xii. 3.

12. *a token unto thee*] Or **the sign.** This passage illustrates a peculiar use of the word. It generally means any act, whether supernatural or not, which is made the pledge of some future event; but sometimes, as undoubtedly in this place, it means a declaration or promise of God, which rests absolutely on His word, and demands faith. The promise that God would have the people serve Him in that place was an assurance, if fully believed, that all intervening obstacles would be removed by His power.

When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.

13 And Moses said unto God, Behold, *when* I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What *is* his name? what shall I say unto them?

14 And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.

15 And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this *is* my name for ever, and this *is* my memorial unto all generations.

16 Go, and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, appeared unto me, saying, I have surely visited you, and *seen* that which is done to you in Egypt:

17 And I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

18 And they shall hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath

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13. *What is his name*] The meaning of this question is evidently: By which name shall I tell them the promise is confirmed? Each name of the Deity represented some aspect or manifestation of His attributes. El, Elohim, or Shaddai would speak of majesty, or might; either would probably have sufficed for Moses, but he would not use any one of them without God's special permission. What he needed was not a new name, but direction to use that Name which would bear in itself a pledge of accomplishment. It is not probable that Moses alluded to the multitudinous gods of Egypt; but he was familiar with the Egyptian habit of choosing from their many names that which bore specially upon the wants and circumstances of their worshippers (see especially the formulæ in the 'Papyrus magique d'Harris,' Chabas), and this may possibly have suggested the question which he was of course aware would be the first his own people would expect him to answer.

14. *I am that I am*] That is "I am what I am." The words express absolute, and therefore unchanging and eternal Being. So they are understood by ancient and modern interpreters (On the meaning and use of the name see the General Introduction). To Moses and the Israelites this was an explanation of the name Jehovah, which had been known from the beginning, but of which probably the meaning, certainly the full import, was not comprehended. The word "I am" in Hebrew is equivalent in meaning to Jehovah, and differs from it very slightly in form. This is much obscured by our substitution of **Lord** for Jehovah. The name, which Moses was thus commissioned to use, was at once new and old; old in its connection with previous revelations; new in its full interpretation, and in its bearing upon the covenant of which Moses was the destined mediator.

15. *The LORD God*] In this passage it is of great importance to keep the divine name **Jehovah God of your fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob.** It corresponds exactly to the preceding verse, the words **I am** and **Jehovah** being equivalent. This enables us to omit the article before "God," which is not in the Hebrew, and may be misunderstood, as though distinguishing Jehovah from other gods. The name met all the requirements of Moses, involving a twofold pledge of accomplishment; the pledges of ancient benefits and of a new manifestation.

name...memorial] The name signifies that by which God makes himself known, the *memorial* that by which His people worship Him; or as Bishop Wordsworth, following Keil, expresses it "the name declares the objective manifestation of the Divine Nature; the memorial, the subjective recognition by man."

18. *hath met with us*] This translation has been questioned, but it is now generally adopted. The Ancient Versions generally have "hath commanded or called us."

met with us: and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God.

19 ¶ And I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, [1]no, not by a mighty hand.

20 And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after that he will let you go.

21 And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty:

22 [a]But every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put *them* upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil [1]the Egyptians.

[1] Or, *but by strong hand.*

[a] chap. 11. 2. & 12. 35.

[1] Or, *Egypt.*

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three days' journey] *i.e.* A journey which would occupy three days in going and returning. The request which the Israelites were instructed to make was therefore most probably not a permission to go beyond the frontier, but into the part of the desert adjoining Goshen. In this there was no deception. The Israelites were to ask what could not reasonably be refused, being a demand quite in accordance with Egyptian customs. The refusal of Pharaoh and his subsequent proceedings led to the accomplishment of the ultimate purpose of God, which was revealed to Moses at once, since without it his mission would have had no adequate object. It is important to observe that the first request which Pharaoh rejected could have been granted without any damage to Egypt, or any risk of the Israelites passing the strongly fortified frontier. The point is well drawn out by M. de Quatremère. See 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,' Vol. XIX.

19. *And I am sure*] Or, **I know.**

no, not] The marginal rendering "but by a mighty hand" probably gives the true meaning, but the construction presents some difficulty. The LXX. have ἐὰν μή, unless. Keil renders the phrase "not even by a mighty hand," and explains it to mean Pharaoh will not let the people go even when severely smitten. This is a satisfactory explanation, and is borne out by the history; even after the 8th plague, we read "Pharaoh would not let them go."

22. *shall borrow*] or **shall ask.** (See Note at the end of the Chapter.) Our translation is unfortunate. The word is exceedingly common, and always means **ask** or demand. Setting aside this passage no proof or justification of the rendering "borrow" is adduced, except 1 Sam. i. 28, and 2 Kings vi. 5. In the former passage the meaning is "asked," and granted, not "borrowed." In the latter the meaning "borrowed" is true, but secondary. Of course "asked" may apply either to a gift or a loan, a sense to be determined by the context, as in Exod. xxii. 14, where the construction is different. In this case there is no indication that the jewels which were demanded when the final departure of the Israelites was settled, and strongly urged upon their acceptance by the Egyptians, were expected to be returned. The Egyptians had made the people serve "with rigour, in all manner of service in the fields," and the Israelites when about to leave the country for ever were to ask, or claim the jewels as a just, though very inadequate remuneration for services which had made "their lives bitter." The Egyptians doubtless would have refused had not their feelings towards Moses (see ch. xi. 3) and the people been changed under God's influence, by calamities in which they recognized a divine interposition, which also they rightly attributed to the obstinacy of their own king, (see ch. x. 7). The Hebrew women were to make the demand, and were to make it of women, who would of course be specially moved to compliance by the loss of their children, the fear of a recurrence of calamity, perhaps also by a sense of the fitness of the request in connection with a religious festival.

jewels] The Hebrew may be rendered more generally "vessels" or simply "articles." (The Vulgate has vasa, the LXX. σκεύη.) But the word probably refers chiefly to trinkets. The ornaments of gold and silver worn at that time by Egyptian women were beautiful and of great value. It is probable that, as at present, husbands invested their earnings in jewels. The wife of a tradesman or of a dragoman is thus often in possession of bracelets and collars of gold which in Europe would indicate wealth or high station. It is to be observed that these ornaments were actually applied to the purpose for which they were probably demanded, being employed in making the vessels of the sanctuary.

sojourneth in her house] This indicates a degree of friendly and neighbourly intercourse, which could scarcely be inferred from the preceding narrative, but it is in accordance with several indirect notices, and was a natural result of long and peaceable sojourn in the district. The Egyptians did not all necessarily share the feelings of their new king.

NOTE on CHAP. III. v. 22.

The true translation is important. The word has in fact but one true meaning, 'ask.' The ancient Versions take it in this sense. The LXX. has αἰτήσει, the Vulgate, postulabit. The Syriac and the Targum use the same word, in the same sense as the Hebrew. Thus too the Samaritan paraphrase. Saadia has تستوهب, which is incorrectly rendered in Walton's *Polyglott*, *mutuabitur*. Freytag, 'Lex. Arab.' s. v., gives the true sense, rogavit donum, aut petiit dono sibi dari quid. See also the note on c. xii. 36.

CHAPTER IV.

1 Moses's rod is turned into a serpent. 6 His hand is leprous. 10 He is loth to be sent. 14 Aaron is appointed to assist him. 18 Moses departeth from Jethro. 21 God's message to Pharaoh. 24 Zipporah circumciseth her son. 27 Aaron is sent to meet Moses. 31 The people believeth them.

AND Moses answered and said, But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee.

2 And the LORD said unto him, What *is* that in thine hand? And he said, A rod.

3 And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it.

4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand:

5 That they may believe that the LORD God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee.

6 ¶ And the LORD said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand *was* leprous as snow.

7 And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. And he put his hand into his bosom again; and plucked it out of his bosom, and, behold, it was turned again as his *other* flesh.

8 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.

CHAP. IV. With this chapter begins the series of miracles which resulted in the deliverance of Israel. Long intervals of sacred history pass without any notice of miracle; not one, properly speaking, is recorded in connection with the previous history of the children of Jacob; but they cluster around great and critical events, occurring where they are demonstrably necessary. It is clear that unless a spiritual miracle transcending outward marvels had been wrought in the hearts both of the Israelites and of their oppressors, some special manifestations of divine power were indispensable. The first miracle was wrought to remove the first obstacle, viz. the reluctance of Moses, conscious of his own weakness, and of the enormous power with which he would have to contend. The LXX. add, "what shall I say unto them?" a probable, but not a necessary reading.

2. *A rod*] The word seems to denote the long staff which on Egyptian monuments is borne by men in positions of authority. See Wilkinson, III. pp. 367 and 386. It was usually made of acacia wood, such as is still sold for that purpose by the monks of the convent of Mount Sinai.

3. *a serpent*] This miracle had a meaning which Moses could not mistake. The serpent was probably the basilisk or Uræus, the Cobra. See Tristram, 'Nat. Hist.' p. 271. This was the symbol of royal and divine power on the diadem of every Pharaoh. It was a poisonous snake, as is shown by the flight of Moses and by most passages in which the same word occurs, *nahash*, derived from hissing. This snake never attacks without first inflating its neck, and then hissing; on the monuments it is always represented with its neck enormously swollen. The conversion of the rod was not merely a portent (*τέρας*), it was a sign (*σημεῖον*), at once a pledge and representation of victory over the king and gods of Egypt.

6. *leprous*] The instantaneous production and cure of the most malignant and subtle disease known to the Israelites was a sign of their danger if they resisted the command, and of their deliverance if they obeyed it. The infliction and cure were always regarded as special proofs of a divine intervention.

9 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour *it* upon the dry *land:* and the water which thou takest out of the river [1]shall become blood upon the dry *land.*

10 ¶ And Moses said unto the LORD, O my Lord, I *am* not [1]eloquent, neither [1]heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I *am* slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.

11 And the LORD said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the LORD?

12 Now therefore go, and I will be [a]with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.

13 And he said, O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand *of him whom* thou [1]wilt send.

14 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses, and he said, *Is* not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart.

15 And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do.

16 And he shall be thy spokesman

[a] Matt. 10. 19. Mark 13. 11. Luke 12. 11.

[1] Heb. *shall be and shall be.*

[1] Heb. *a man of words.* [1] Heb. *since yesterday, nor since the third day.*

[1] Or, *shouldest.*

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9. *shall become*] This rendering is preferable to that in the margin.

10. *eloquent*] Lit. **a man of words**, as in margin. The expressions which Moses uses do not imply a natural defect or impediment, but an inability to speak fluently. "Slow of speech," literally **heavy**, is specially used of persons speaking a foreign language imperfectly (see Ezek. iii. 5). The double expression slow of speech and of a slow tongue seems to imply a difficulty both in finding words and in giving them utterance, a very natural result of so long a period of a shepherd's life, passed in a foreign land, and as such to be counted among the numerous latent coincidences of the narrative.

since thou hast spoken] This expression seems to imply that some short time had intervened between this address and the first communication of the divine purpose to Moses.

12. Compare with this our Lord's promise to His Apostles; Matt. x. 19, Mark xiii. 11. It applies to both difficulties; "be with thy mouth" giving prompt utterance, and "teach thee" supplying or eliciting the best expression of the right thought.

13. *And he said*] The reluctance of Moses is a point of great moment. It had a permanent effect, for it caused the transfer of a most important part of his work to his brother, and its record supplies a strong evidence of the Mosaic authorship of this portion, attributed by Knobel to the so-called Jehovist. Like every other circumstance in the narrative it is in accordance with the inner law of man's spiritual development, and specially with the character of Moses; but under the circumstances it indicates a weakness of faith, such as no late writer would have attributed to the greatest of the descendants of Abraham.

send...by the hand] The Hebrew phrase is curt, so to speak, and ungracious; literally "send I pray by hand, thou wilt send," *i.e.* by whomsoever thou wilt; an expression which has scarcely a precedent and which may serve to illustrate Moses' own account of his heavy and awkward utterance: cf. Note on Numb. xiv. 13—17.

14. *anger*] This proves that the words of Moses indicated more than a consciousness of infirmity; somewhat of the vehemence and stubbornness, characteristic failings of strong, concentrated natures, which had previously been displayed in the slaying of the Egyptian.

Aaron] This is the first mention of Aaron. The exact meaning of the words "he can speak well," lit. "speaking he can speak," has been questioned, but they probably imply that Aaron had both the power and will to speak. Aaron is here called "the Levite," with reference, it may be, to the future consecration of this tribe; but not, as Knobel assumes, as though at that time the office and duties of the priesthood were assigned to him.

he cometh forth] *i.e.* is on the eve of setting forth. The Hebrew does not imply that Aaron was already on the way, but that he had the intention of going to his brother, probably because the enemies of Moses were now dead, see v. 19. The divine intimation was given afterwards, v. 27; it told Aaron where his brother was to be found. The expression "glad in his heart" should be noted as one of many indications of the divine sympathy with strong and pure natural affections.

15. *thou shalt speak*] Moses thus retains his position as "mediator;" the word comes to him first, he transmits it to his brother.

unto the people: and he shall be, *even* he shall be to thee instead of a
[b] chap. 7. 1. mouth, and [b] thou shalt be to him instead of God.

17 And thou shalt take this rod in thine hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs.

18 ¶ And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which *are* in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.

19 And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life.

20 And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: and Moses took the rod of God in his hand.

21 And the LORD said unto Moses, When thou goest to return into Egypt, see that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which I have put in thine hand: but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go.

22 And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel *is* my son, *even* my firstborn:

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16. *instead of a mouth*] We may bear in mind Aaron's unbroken habitude of speaking Hebrew and his probable familiarity with Egyptian. The Arabic translator (Saadia) uses the word tarjaman, *i.e.* dragoman, interpreter. Thus also the Syriac and the Targum.

instead of God] The word God is used of persons who represent the Deity, as kings, or judges, and it is understood in this sense by the Targumist and Saadia: "Thou shalt be to him a master."

18. *Jethro*] In the Hebrew Jether, see note on ch. II. Moses says nothing of his divine mission to Jethro; it was a secret thing between him and God.

19. *in Midian*] The LXX. insert before this verse "but after those many days the king of Egypt died." Egli, l. c., holds this to be the ancient reading, but it was probably introduced to explain the following statement, which is clear without it. There was apparently some delay on the part of Moses, who did not set out until he received a distinct assurance that all his enemies were removed. Such notices would never have occurred to a later writer, nor could they have originated in popular impressions. They show moreover how entirely Moses acted under an influence overruling the feelings, in which some would find the key to his acts.

20. *an ass*] Lit. "the ass," which according to Hebrew idiom means that he set them upon asses, not upon one ass, which would imply that they were both infants. This is the first notice of other sons besides Gershom.

the rod of God] The reference to the miracle recorded in v. 2, and to the express command in v. 17, is so obvious that it would be unnecessary to point it out but for the strange statement (Knobel) that the rod is here first mentioned. The staff of Moses was consecrated by the miracle and became the rod of God.

21. *see that thou do*, &c.] The Hebrew has, See all the wonders which I have put into thy hand, and do them before Pharaoh. Moses is called upon to consider the signs and to be prepared to produce them. The construction however is not certain; and the old Versions for the most part agree with our Authorised Version, which gives the general sense.

I will harden] Calamities which do not subdue the heart harden it; and the effects of God's judgments being foreknown are willed by Him. We should not therefore adopt a forced interpretation of this expression in order to explain away its apparent harshness. The hardening itself is judicial, and just, when it is a consequence of previously formed habits; in the case of Pharaoh it was at once a righteous judgment, and a natural result of a long series of oppressions and cruelties. Theodoret thus deals with the question: "The sun by the action of heat makes wax moist, and mud dry, hardening the one while it softens the other, by the same operation producing exactly opposite results; thus from the long-suffering of God some derive benefit and others harm, some are softened while others are hardened." 'Quæst. XII. in Exod.' The reason why the action of God rather than the character of Pharaoh is dwelt on in this passage would seem to be that it was necessary to sustain the spirit of Moses and the people during the process of events, which they were thus taught were altogether foreseen and predetermined by God.

22. *my firstborn*] The expression would be perfectly intelligible to Pharaoh, whose official designation was Si Ra, son of Ra. In numberless inscriptions the Pharaohs are styled "own sons" or "beloved sons" of the deity. It is here applied for the first time to Israel; and as we learn from *v.* 23, emphatically in antithesis to Pharaoh's own firstborn. The menace however was not uttered until it was called forth by Pharaoh's sin. See ch. xi. 5.

23 And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, *even* thy firstborn.

24 ¶ And ‡it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the LORD met him, and sought to kill him.

25 Then Zipporah took a sharp ‡stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and †cast *it* at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband *art* thou to me.

‡ Or, *knife.*
† Heb. *made it touch.*

26 So he let him go: then she said, A bloody husband *thou art*, because of the circumcision.

27 ¶ And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mount of God, and kissed him.

28 And Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD who had sent him, and all the signs which he had commanded him.

29 ¶ And Moses and Aaron went

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24. *in the inn*] Or "resting place," it probably does not mean a building, but the place where they rested for the night, whether under a tent, or in the open air. The khans or caravanserais, now common in the East, appear to have been unknown to the ancient Israelites and Egyptians.

met him, and sought to kill him] The expression is obscure, but is understood to mean that Moses was attacked by a sudden and dangerous illness, which he knew was inflicted by God. The word 'sought to kill' implies that the sickness, whatever might be its nature, was one which threatened death had it not been averted by a timely act. We are not told for what cause the visitation came; but from the context it may be inferred that it was because Moses had neglected the duty of an Israelite and had not circumcised his son. From the words of Zipporah it is evident that she believed the illness of Moses was to be thus accounted for; the delay was probably owing to her own not unnatural repugnance to a rite, which though practised by the Egyptians under the 19th dynasty, and perhaps earlier, was not adopted generally in the East, even by the descendants of Abraham and Keturah. Moses appears to have been utterly prostrate and unable to perform the rite himself.

25. *sharp stone*] Not "knife," as in the margin. Zipporah used a piece of flint, in accordance with the usage of the patriarchs. The Egyptians never used bronze or steel in the preparation of mummies because stone was regarded as a purer and more sacred material than metal. See Wilkinson, Vol. II. p. 164; and M. de Rougemont, 'Age du Bronze,' p. 152.

cast it at his feet] The Hebrew is obscure, but the Authorised Version probably gives the true meaning. Zipporah threw it at the feet of Moses, not of her son, as some commentators suppose; showing at once her abhorrence of the rite, and her feeling that by it she had saved her husband's life.

a bloody husband] Lit. "A husband of blood;" or "bloods:" the plural form signifies effusion of blood; the word (חתן) rendered husband (as in Psalm xix. 5, bridegroom) includes all relations by marriage; see note at the end of c. ii. The meaning is, the marriage bond between us is now sealed by blood. In the next verse Zipporah repeats the expression, as though she would say, thou art bound to me by a second covenant of which this bloody rite is the sign and pledge. By performing it Zipporah had recovered her husband; his life was purchased for her by the blood of her child. See the remarks of Hooker, 'E. P.' v. 62. The Targum Onk. gives a paraphrase, "had it not been for the blood of this circumcision my husband had been condemned to death." This appears to be the true explanation of a very obscure passage; other interpretations, which make the words refer to the child, or to the Angel of the Covenant, are generally admitted to be untenable.

26. *So he let him go*] *i.e.* God withdrew His visitation from Moses. The Hebrew allows no other interpretation.

We learn from ch. xviii. 2, that Moses sent Zipporah and her children back to Jethro before he went to Egypt. It was probably on this occasion. The journey would have been delayed had he waited for the healing of the child.

27. *And the LORD said*] See *v.* 14. Aaron now receives direct intimation where he is to meet his brother. He might otherwise have undertaken a long and fruitless journey to the residence of Jethro.

in the mount of God] Horeb lies on the direct route from Sherm to Egypt; this passage is therefore in favour of the supposition that Jethro's residence was on the west of the gulf. See note on c. ii.

28. *who had sent him*] The meaning is, probably, "which God had charged him to do." Thus the Vulgate, LXX., Knobel, and other commentators; but it is not necessary to alter the translation, which is literal and supported by Rosenmüller, who renders it, "qui eum miserat."

and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel:

30 And Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people.

31 And the people believed: and when they heard that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped.

CHAPTER V.

1 *Pharaoh chideth Moses and Aaron for their message.* 5 *He increaseth the Israelites' task.* 15 *He checketh their complaints.* 20 *They cry out upon Moses and Aaron.* 22 *Moses complaineth to God.*

AND afterward Moses and Aaron went in, and told Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.

2 And Pharaoh said, Who *is* the LORD, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go.

3 And they said, [a] The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the LORD our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.

[a] chap. 3. 18.

4 And the king of Egypt said unto

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29. *all the elders*] The Israelites retained their own national organization; their affairs were administered by their own elders.

31. *the people*] This implies that the elders called a public assembly to hear the message brought by Moses and Aaron.

and worshipped] There is no reason to doubt that this act of worship was addressed to God, not to Moses and Aaron. It is important to remark that in this narrative there is no indication of ignorance of the history of the patriarchs, or of abandonment of the worship of God, sometimes attributed to the Israelites.

CHAP. V. 1. *Pharaoh*] This king, probably (see Appendix) Tothmosis II. the great grandson of Aahmes, the original persecutor of the Israelites, must have been resident at this time in a city of lower Egypt, situate on the Nile. It could not therefore have been Heliopolis, and we have to choose between Memphis and Tanis; and there can be little doubt that most of the events which follow occurred at the latter city, the Zoan of Scripture. The notices in Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43, are admitted by all critics to be of great weight, and all the circumstances confirm them. See on ix. 31 and on ii. 5. Tanis was a very large city and strongly fortified. The remains of buildings and the obelisks are numerous; they bear for the most part the name of Rameses II.; but it was the place of rendezvous for the armies of the Delta, and an imperial city in the 12th dynasty; it is identified by M. de Rougé with Avaris the capital of the Hyksos, who probably gave it its Hebrew name; both Avaris and Zoan mean "going out." Tothmosis II. had waged a successful war in the beginning of his reign against the Shasous, the nomad tribes of the adjoining district, and his residence in the north-west of Egypt would be of importance at that time.

the LORD God] This version rather obscures the meaning; **Jehovah God of Israel** demanded the services of his people. The demand according to the general views of the heathens was just and natural; the Israelites could not offer the necessary sacrifices in the presence of Egyptians.

2. *I know not the LORD*] This may mean either that Pharaoh had not heard of Jehovah, or that he did not recognize Him as a God. The former is possible, for though the name was ancient, it was apparently less used by the Israelites than other designations of God. The Targum thus paraphrases: "the name of Jah has not been revealed to me."

3. *three days' journey*] This would not suffice for the journey to the "Mountain of God." See note on iii. 18. All that Moses was instructed to ask for was permission to go into a part of the desert where the people might offer sacrifices without interruption from the Egyptians; and that might be found on the frontiers of Egypt, or, at least, in a district commanded by the king's army. It is evident from Pharaoh's answer that he did not see in the request any indication of an intention to escape from Egypt. Ewald (Vol. II. pp. 84, 85) recognizes the reasonableness and modesty of this demand, which he represents as a manifest proof that the sober and noble spirit of prophecy in its best age has interpenetrated the narrative; words which do but express the old truth that the transaction and record bear equally the marks of divine governance and inspiration.

with pestilence, or with the sword] This notice is important as shewing that the plague was well known to the ancient Egyptians. It

them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works? get you unto your burdens.

5 And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land now *are* many, and ye make them rest from their burdens.

6 And Pharaoh commanded the same day the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying,

7 Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.

8 And the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish *ought* thereof: for they *be* idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go *and* sacrifice to our God.

9 †Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not regard vain words.

† Heb. *Let the work be heavy upon the men.*

10 ¶ And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their officers, and they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw.

11 Go ye, get you straw where ye can find it: yet not ought of your work shall be diminished.

12 So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw.

13 And the taskmasters hasted *them*, saying, Fulfil your works, †*your* daily tasks, as when there was straw.

† Heb. *a matter of a day in his day.*

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was probably less common than at present under the ancient Pharaohs, who bestowed great care on the irrigation and drainage of the country, but there are other indications of its ravages. See Chabas, 'Mél. ég.' I. p. 40. The reference to the sword is equally natural, since the Israelites occupied the eastern district, which was frequently disturbed by the neighbouring Shasous. See note on v. 1.

6. *the taskmasters*] This word, which means "exactors" or "oppressors," designates the Egyptian overseers, who were subordinate to the officers called "taskmasters" in ch. i. 11, but whose name is different in Hebrew. See note on ch. i. 11, and 14.

their officers] Or **scribes**. These were Hebrews, appointed by the Egyptian superintendents, and responsible to them for the work; see v. 14. The Hebrew name *shoter* is equivalent to "scribe;" and it is probable that persons were chosen who were able to keep accounts in writing. Subordinate officers are frequently represented on Egyptian monuments giving in written accounts to their immediate superiors. Rosellini (II. 3, p. 272) observes that Egyptians made more use of writing on ordinary occasions than modern Europeans. "Shoterim" are often mentioned in the Old Testament, generally in connection with judges or leaders, by whom they were employed to transmit orders to the people and superintend the execution. It is evident how much this measure must have advanced the organization of the Israelites, and prepared them for their departure. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

7. *straw*] Some of the most ancient buildings in Egypt were constructed of bricks not burned, but dried in the sun; they were made of clay, or more commonly of mud, mixed with straw chopped into small pieces. Baked bricks are seldom found in ruins more ancient than the Exodus, never, according to Sir G. Wilkinson, (see Quarterly Review, 1859, April, p. 421), but there is a specimen in the British Museum belonging to the reign of Tothmosis III. An immense quantity of straw must have been wanted for the works on which the Israelites were engaged, and their labours must have been more than doubled by this requisition. In a papyrus of the 19th dynasty ('Anast.' IV. 12, 16) the writer complains: "I have no one to help me in making bricks, no straw." The expression at that time was evidently proverbial, whether or not as a reminiscence of the Israelites may be questioned, but it shows the thoroughly Egyptian character of the transaction.

9. *may labour therein*] The LXX. have "that they may attend to it and not attend to vain words:" a good and probable reading.

12. *stubble instead of straw*] Rather, **for the straw**. See Note at the end of the Chapter. The Israelites had to go into the fields after the reaping, was done, to gather the stubble left by the reapers, who then, as at present in Egypt, cut the stalks close to the ears. They had then to chop it into morsels of straw before it could be mixed with the clay: see the previous note. This implies that some time must have elapsed before Moses again went to Pharaoh; and it also marks the season of the year, viz. early spring, after the barley or wheat harvest, towards the end of April. Their suffering must have been severe, since at that season the pestilential sand-wind blows over Egypt some 50 days, hence its name Chamsin.

14 And the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, *and* demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both yesterday and to day, as heretofore?

15 ¶ Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants?

16 There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants *are* beaten; but the fault *is* in thine own people.

17 But he said, Ye *are* idle, *ye are* idle: therefore ye say, Let us go *and* do sacrifice to the LORD.

18 Go therefore now, *and* work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.

19 And the officers of the children of Israel did see *that* they *were* in evil *case*, after it was said, Ye shall not minish *ought* from your bricks of your daily task.

20 ¶ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh:

21 And they said unto them, The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour †to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.

† Heb. *to stink.*

22 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou *so* evil entreated this people? why *is* it *that* thou hast sent me?

23 For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath done evil to this people; neither hast thou †delivered thy people at all.

† Heb. *delivering thou hast not delivered.*

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13. *hasted them*] See the words of the overseer quoted above on ch. i. 14. In a passage of the papyrus 'Anast.' III. translated by M. Chabas, 'Mél. ég.' II. p. 122, twelve labourers employed in the same district are punished for negligence in failing to make up their daily tale of bricks.

14. *Were beaten*] The beating of these officers is quite in accordance with Egyptian customs; even natives of rank in civil and military service were subject to severe corporal punishments. See note on ch. ii. 11.

16. *the fault is in thine own people*] Lit. **thy people sin:** which may possibly mean thy subjects, *i.e.* the Israelites, are made guilty and punished: but the Authorised Version probably gives the true meaning; thus the Vulg., Targ. and Saadia. The LXX. and Syr. have "thou hast sinned against thy people."

17. *Ye are idle*] The old Egyptian language abounds in epithets which shew contempt for idleness. The charge was equally offensive and ingenious; one which would be readily believed by Egyptians who knew how much public and private labours were impeded by festivals and other religious ceremonies. Among the great sins which involved condemnation in the final judgment, idleness is twice mentioned; see funeral ritual in Bunsen's 'Egypt,' ed. 2, Vol. v. pp. 254, 255.

19. *in evil case*] They saw plainly that the object of Pharaoh was to find a pretext for further cruelty; probably for cutting off the leaders of the Israelites; see v. 21. The effect, however, would be to bring them into closer union and sympathy with the people.

20. *who stood in the way*] Or "waiting to meet them," *i.e.* Moses and Aaron stood without the palace to learn the result of the interview.

21. *in the eyes*] The change of metaphor shows that the expression was proverbial. Thus an Egyptian of rank complains to the scribe, who writes his history, "Thou hast made my name offensive, stinking, to all men." 'Anast.' I. 27, 7.

23. The earnestness of this remonstrance, and even its approach to irreverence, are quite in keeping with other notices of Moses' naturally impetuous character, see especially, ch. iii. 13; but such a speech would certainly not have been put into his mouth by a later writer. See note on ch. iv. 10.

NOTES on CHAP. V. *vv.* 6 and 12.

6. The question whether the שטרים were Egyptians or Hebrews is important in its bearings on the narrative. The word is common, and always denotes the class of persons described in the foot-note. Gesenius finds its root in the Arabic سطر, he wrote. The LXX. render it *τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν*: the Syr. ܣܦܪ̈ܐ, writer or scribe. Thus also the Samaritan version. The Targum Onk. uses the word סרכא, which is incorrectly rendered

"exactor" in Walton's Polyglott. It corresponds exactly to *shoter*, and is applied to the native officers of Israel: see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Chal.' s. v. Saadia uses a word which Walton renders "exactor;" but its true meaning is "cognitor, qui suos cognitos habet;" a very apt expression for these Hebrew officials.

12. The Hebrew has קַשׁ, stubble, and לִתֶבֶן, which does not mean instead of, but "for," *i.e.* to be prepared as תֶּבֶן, "straw chopped small:" stramenta minutim concisa.' Thus the ancient versions and Targ. Onk., which is incorrectly translated in Walton. The etymology of תֶּבֶן is doubted; no Semitic root is found. The Egyptian has *tebu*, chaff. 'Pap. Sallier,' v. 6. Kash also is Egyptian for stubble, or stalk.

CHAPTER VI.

1 God reneweth his promise by his name JEHOVAH. 14 The genealogy of Reuben, 15 of Simeon, 16 of Levi, of whom came Moses and Aaron.

THEN the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for with a strong hand shall he let them go, and with a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

2 And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I *am* the LORD:

3 And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by *the name of* God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.

4 And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers.

5 And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.

6 Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I *am* the LORD, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments:

7 And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD

CHAP. VI. 1. *with a strong hand*] Or, **by a strong hand**, *i.e.* compelled by the power of God, manifested in judgments. In the 2nd clause the LXX. have "by a stretched out arm:" a probable reading, adopted by Egli, l. c.

2, 3. There appears to have been an interval of some months between the preceding events and this renewal of the promise to Moses. The oppression in the mean time was not merely driving the people to desperation, but preparing them by severe labour, varied by hasty wanderings in search of stubble, for the exertions and privations of the wilderness. Hence the formal and solemn character of the announcements in the whole chapter.

2. *I am the* LORD] See General Introduction, p. 25. The meaning, as is there shewn, seems to be this. I am Jehovah, and I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai, but as to my name Jehovah, I was not made known to them. In other words, the full import of that name was not disclosed to them. On the one hand it is scarcely possible to doubt, and it is in fact admitted by most critics, that the sacred name Jehovah was known from very early times; on the other, the revelation on Mount Sinai clearly states that the derivation and full meaning of the name were then first declared. On this special occasion it was important or necessary, for the support and encouragement of Moses and the people to whom he gave the announcement, to repeat the declaration as a pledge of the fulfilment of the promises made on the "Mountain of God."

3. *God Almighty*] Rather, "**El Shaddai**," it is better to keep this as a proper name; the meaning is correctly given in the text.

4. *And I have also*] The connection between this and the following verse is marked by the repetition of these words. Two reasons are assigned for the promise, viz. the old covenant with the patriarchs, and the divine compassion for the sufferings of Israel.

6. *with a stretched out arm*] The figure is common and quite intelligible; it may have struck Moses and the people the more forcibly since they were familiar with the hieroglyphic which represents might by two outstretched arms. On the obelisk at Heliopolis, Moses had been from infancy familiar with the symbol in the official name of Osertasen Racheperka, *i.e.* Ra is might.

your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians.

8 And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did † swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: I *am* the LORD.

† Heb. *lift up my hand.*

9 ¶ And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for † anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.

† Heb. *shortness,* or, *straitness.*

10 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

11 Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land.

12 And Moses spake before the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who *am* of uncircumcised lips?

13 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

14 ¶ These *be* the heads of their fathers' houses: [a] The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these *be* the families of Reuben.

[a] Gen. 46. 9. 1 Chron. 5. 3.

15 [b] And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these *are* the families of Simeon.

[b] 1 Chron. 4. 24.

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8. *I am the* LORD] Rather, I the Lord: the word "am" obscures the construction.

9. *they hearkened not*] The contrast between the reception of this communication and that recorded in ch. iv. 31, is dwelt upon by some critics as indicating different authors, but it is distinctly accounted for by the change of circumstances. On the former occasion the people were comparatively at ease, accustomed to their lot, sufficiently afflicted to long for deliverance, and sufficiently free in spirit to hope for it.

for anguish] Literally as in the margin, for shortness of spirit; out of breath, as it were, after their cruel disappointment, they were quite absorbed by their misery, unable and unwilling to attend to any fresh communication; an effect which might seem recorded expressly to preclude the notion that the deliverance of Israel was the result of a religious struggle, such as is assumed in some accounts of the transaction.

11. *go out of his land*] There is now a change in the demand; the first of a series of changes. Moses is now bidden to demand not a permission for a three days' journey, which might be within the boundaries of Egypt, but for departure from the land.

12. *uncircumcised lips*] An uncircumcised ear is one that does not hear clearly; an uncircumcised heart one slow to receive and understand warnings; uncircumcised lips, such as cannot speak fluently. Thus LXX., Syr., Targ., &c. There is no ground for assuming a natural defect. See note on ch. iv. 10. The recurrence of the hesitation of Moses is natural; great as was the former trial this was far more severe; yet his words as ever imply fear of failure, not of personal danger.

13. *unto Moses and unto Aaron*] The final and formal charge to the two brothers is given, as might be expected, before the plagues are denounced. With this verse begins a new section of the history, and as in the book of Genesis "there is in every such case a brief repetition of so much of the previous account as is needed to make it an intelligible narrative in itself; a peculiarity which extends to the lesser subdivisions also." Quarry 'On Genesis,' p. 322.

14. *These be the heads*] We have in the following verses, not a complete genealogy, but a summary account of the family of the two brothers. It has been objected to as out of place, interrupting the narrative, and therefore probably an interpolation; but, as Rosenmüller and other unbiassed critics have observed, the reason is clear why Moses should have recorded his own genealogy and that of his brother, when they were about to execute a duty of the highest importance which had been imposed upon them; just then it was right and natural to state, for the satisfaction of Hebrew readers, to whom genealogical questions were always interesting, the descent and position of the designated leaders of the nation.

The sons of Reuben] Moses mentions in the first place the families of the elder brothers of Levi, in order to shew the exact position of his own tribe and family. Thus Rashi and Rosenmüller.

16 ¶ And these *are* the names of
[c] Numb. 3. 17. 1 Chron. 6. 1. the [c]sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi *were* an hundred thirty and seven years.

17 The sons of Gershon; Libni, and Shimi, according to their families.

[d] Numb. 26. 57. 1 Chron. 6. 2. 18 And [d]the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath *were* an hundred thirty and three years.

19 And the sons of Merari; Mahali and Mushi: these *are* the families of Levi according to their generations.

[e] chap. 2. 1, 2. Numb. 26. 59. 20 And [e]Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram *were* an hundred and thirty and seven years.

21 ¶ And the sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri.

22 And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Zithri.

23 And Aaron took him Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Naashon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

24 And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph: these *are* the families of the Korhites.

25 And Eleazar Aaron's son took him *one* of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and [f]she bare him Phinehas: [f] Numb. 25. 11. these *are* the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families.

26 These *are* that Aaron and Moses, to whom the LORD said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies.

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16. *sons of Levi*] Thus Moses shews that of the three great divisions of the tribe, the one to which he and Aaron belonged, and to which the priesthood was afterwards confined, was the second, not the first. Again, he does not trace the descent of other families, but passes at once from Kohath, the son of Levi, to the heads of Kohath's family in his own time.

the years of the life of Levi] It is usual throughout Genesis in each genealogy to give the age of the chief person in each principal family, and to omit it in the case of secondary families.

20. *Amram*] This can scarcely be the same person who is mentioned in *v.* 18; but his descendant and representative in the generation immediately preceding that of Moses. The intervening links are omitted, as is the rule where they are not needed for some special purpose, and do not bear upon the history. Between the death of Amram and the birth of Moses was an interval which can scarcely be brought within the limits assigned by any system of chronology to the sojourn in Egypt. Thus Tiele, quoted by Keil: "According to Numbers iii. 27, &c. in the time of Moses the Kohathites were divided into four branches, that of Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel: their number amounted to 8600 males; of these the Amramites were about one fourth, *i.e.* more than 2000 males. This would be impossible were Amram the son of Kohath identical with Amram the father of Moses. We must therefore admit an omission of several links between the two." Thus in the genealogy of Ezra (Ezra vii. 3, compared with 1 Chron. v. 33—35) five descents are omitted between Azariah, the son of Meraioth and Azariah son of Johanan, and several between Ezra himself and Seraiah, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar 150 years before the time of Ezra."

Jochebed] Here named for the first time, and, as might be expected, not in the general narrative but in a genealogical statement. The name means "the glory of Jehovah," one clear instance of the use of the sacred name before the Exodus.

father's sister] This was within the prohibited degrees after the law was given, but not previously.

23. *Elisheba*] Her brother Naashon was at that time captain of the children of Judah, Num. ii. 3. Theodoret remarks, τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς φυλῆς τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν διδασκει. 'Quæst. in Exod.' Moses shews the intermixture of the royal and priestly tribes.

25. *Putiel*] This name is remarkable, being compounded of Puti, or Poti, in Egyptian "devoted to," and "El," the Hebrew name of God. See De Vogué, 'Inscriptions sémitiques,' p. 125.

26, 27. This emphatic repetition shews the reason for inserting the genealogy. The names of Moses and Aaron are given twice and in a different order; in the 26th verse probably to mark Aaron as the elder in the genealogy, and in the 27th to denote the leadership of Moses.

27 These *are* they, which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these *are* that Moses and Aaron.

28 ¶ And it came to pass on the day *when* the LORD spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt,

29 That the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I *am* the LORD: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I say unto thee.

30 And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I *am* of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Moses is encouraged to go to Pharaoh.* 7 *His age.* 8 *His rod is turned into a serpent.* 11 *The sorcerers do the like.* 13 *Pharaoh's heart is hardened.* 14 *God's message to Pharaoh.* 19 *The river is turned into blood.*

AND the LORD said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.

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28. This and the following verses belong to the next chapter. They mark distinctly the beginning of a subdivision of the narrative, and according to the general rule in the Pentateuch (see note on ver. 14), begin with a brief recapitulation. Moses once more, like other sacred writers, dwells strongly upon his personal deficiencies and faults of character (see Ewald, II. p. 84), an all but certain indication of autobiography in the case of great and heroic personages.

CHAP. VII. With this chapter begins the series of miracles wrought in Egypt. They are progressive. The first miracle is wrought to accredit the mission of the brothers; it is simply credential, and unaccompanied by any infliction. Then come signs which shew that the powers of nature are subject to the will of Jehovah, each plague being attended with grave consequences to the Egyptians, yet not inflicting severe loss or suffering; then in rapid succession come ruinous and devastating plagues, murrain, boils, hail and lightning, locusts, darkness, and lastly, the death of the firstborn. Each of the inflictions has a demonstrable connection with Egyptian customs and phenomena; each is directly aimed at some Egyptian superstition; all are marvellous, not, for the most part, as reversing, but as developing forces inherent in nature, and directing them to a special end. The effects correspond with these characteristics; the first miracles are neglected; the following plagues first alarm, and then for a season, subdue, the king, who does not give way until his firstborn is struck. Even that blow leaves him capable of a last effort, which completes his ruin, and the deliverance of the Israelites.

It is admitted by critics that the deliverance of the Israelites must have been the result of heavy calamities inflicted upon the Egyptians, who certainly would never have submitted to so great a loss had they been in a state to prevent it. Nor could it have been effected by a successful uprising of the Israelites, who were not in a position to resist the power of Egypt, and who, had such been the case, would certainly have preserved the record of a war issuing in so glorious a result. It is also generally admitted that the calamities, whatever they might have been, did not include an overthrow of Egyptian power by foreign enemies, or national insurrections. No notice of either, as Knobel remarks, is found in Hebrew traditions; and it may be added, that in neither of the reigns to which the Exodus has been assigned, are there any indications of either calamity. Egypt was in the highest state of power and prosperity through the whole period within which all agree that the Exodus took place. The reign of Tothmosis II., which has been shewn in the Appendix to be that which tallies best with all ascertained facts, intervened between two of the ablest and most successful sovereigns in Egypt, and though obscure and uneventful, it gives no indications of loss or disturbance; the only war recorded was one that extended or confirmed his power. Late investigations have also shewn that the reigns of Merneptah and his successor (under whom these events are supposed by most critics to have occurred), were on the whole prosperous; one only invasion is recorded in the beginning of that period and it was completely repelled. A succession of such plagues as are described in Exodus must therefore be assumed, and is in fact accepted by critics, as the only conceivable cause of the result. The question whether it was miraculous, depends upon the ulterior question, whether miracles under any circumstances are conceivable; if in any case possible, no case can be imagined in which the necessity of a divine interposition, and its direct and permanent results upon the whole state of humanity, could be more satisfactorily shewn.

1. *I have made thee*] Or "appointed thee." The expression "a god" is not unfrequently used of an appointed representative of God; but here it implies that Moses will stand in this peculiar relation to Pharaoh, that he will address him by a prophet, *i.e.* by one appointed to speak in his name. The pas-

2 Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that he send the children of Israel out of his land.

3 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt.

4 But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you, that I may lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth mine armies, *and* my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgments.

5 And the Egyptians shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.

6 And Moses and Aaron did as the LORD commanded them, so did they.

7 And Moses *was* fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

8 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

9 When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast *it* before Pharaoh, *and* it shall become a serpent.

10 ¶ And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the LORD had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent.

11 Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments.

12 For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.

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sage is an important one as illustrating the primary and essential characteristic of a prophet, he is the declarer of God's will and purpose.'

3. *and my wonders*] The distinction between signs and the word here rendered "wonders," according to Kimchi, is that the former is used more generally, the latter only of portents wrought to prove a divine interposition; they were the credentials of God's messengers.

9. *thy rod*] Apparently the rod before described, which Moses on this occasion gives to Aaron as his representative.

a serpent] A different word is used in ch. iv. 3, when the rod of Moses is changed. In that passage the snake is called "Nahash," which corresponds to the Egyptian Arā, or Uræus. Here another and more general term, "Tannin," is employed, which in other passages includes all sea or river monsters, and is more specially applied to the crocodile as a symbol of Egypt. It occurs in the Egyptian ritual, c. 163, nearly in the same form, "Tanem," as a synonym of the monster serpent which represents the principle of antagonism to light and life. The ancient versions either render the word coluber, δράκων, or simply transcribe the Hebrew; thus Syr., Targ., Sam., and Saadia.

11. *magicians*] See Note at the end of the chapter.

with their enchantments] The derivation of the original expression is ambiguous. It may come from a word meaning "flame," or from another meaning "conceal;" in either case it implies a deceptive appearance, an illusion, a juggler's trick, not an actual putting forth of magic power. It bears a very near resemblance to an Egyptian term for a magic formula, sc. Ra, or La, ap. Chabas, 'P. M.' p. 170. Moses describes the act of the sorcerers as it appeared to Pharaoh and the spectators; living serpents may have been thrown down by the jugglers, a feat not transcending the well-known skill of their modern representatives, with whom it is a common trick to handle venomous serpents, and benumb them so that they are motionless and stiff as rods. Pharaoh may or may not have believed in a real transformation; probably he did, for the jugglers have always formed a separate caste, and have kept their arts secret; but in either case he would naturally consider that if the portent wrought by Aaron differed from theirs, it was a difference of degree only, implying merely superiority in a common art. The miracle which followed was sufficient to convince him had he been open to conviction. The accounts in the Koran, Sur. VII. and XX., are curious. They represent the magicians as deceiving the spectators by acting upon their imagination.

12. *swallowed up their rods*] The miracle here is distinctly stated, and is bound up with the very substance of the narrative. Its meaning is obvious. Ewald remarks truly that this miracle was the clearest expression of the truth which underlies all these stories, as he is pleased to call the miracles, viz. the truth and power of the religion of Jehovah in contrast with others.

13 And he hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.

14 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart *is* hardened, he refuseth to let the people go.

15 Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come; and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.

16 And thou shalt say unto him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear.

17 Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD: behold, I will smite with the rod that *is* in mine hand upon the waters which *are* in the river, and they shall be turned to blood.

18 And the fish that *is* in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.

19 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their † pools of water, that they may become blood; and *that* there may be blood

† Heb. *gathering of their waters.*

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13. *And he hardened*] Or **Pharaoh's heart was hardened.** The word is here used intransitively, as in many passages: thus all the Ancient Versions.

15. *he goeth out unto the water*] The Nile was worshipped under various names and symbols, at Memphis especially, as Hapi, *i.e.* Apis, the sacred bull, or living representation of Osiris, of whom the river was regarded as the embodiment or manifestation. See 'Zeitschrift Eg.' 1868, p. 123. It is therefore probable that the king went in the morning to offer his devotions. This gives a peculiar force and suitableness to the miracle. The reason which Knobel assigns is not incompatible with this. It was the season of the yearly overflowing, about the middle of June. (The Arabic almanacs give the 18th of Payni, *i.e.* the 12th of June, for the festival of the rising of the Nile.) The daily rise of the water was accurately recorded, probably in the time of Moses, as some centuries later, under the personal superintendence of the king. In early inscriptions the Nilometer is the symbol of stability and providential care. According to Diodorus a Nilometer was erected at Memphis under the ancient Pharaohs; one is described by Lepsius which bears the name of Amenemha III., of the 12th dynasty, by whom the system of irrigation was completed. See Appendix.

The First Plague.

17. *turned to blood*] In accordance with the general character of the narrative it might be expected that this miracle would bear a certain resemblance to natural phenomena, and therefore be one which Pharaoh might see with amazement and dismay, yet without complete conviction. It is well known that before the rise the water of the Nile is green and unfit to drink. About the 25th of June it becomes clear, and then yellow, and gradually reddish like ochre; this effect has been generally attributed to the red earth brought down from Sennaar, but Ehrenberg proves that it is owing to the presence of microscopic cryptogams and infusoria. The depth of the colour varies in different years; when it is very deep the water has an offensive smell. Late travellers say that at such seasons the broad turbid tide has a striking resemblance to a river of blood. The supernatural character of the visitation was attested by the suddenness of the change; by its immediate connection with the words and act of Moses, and by its effects. It killed the fishes, and made the water unfit for use, neither of which results follows the annual discoloration.

18. *shall lothe*] Lit. "be weary of," but the Authorised Version expresses the meaning. The word has a special force as applied to the water of the Nile, which has a certain sweetness when purified of the slime, and has always been regarded by Egyptians as a blessing peculiar to their land. It is the only pure and wholesome water in their country, since the water in wells and cisterns is unwholesome, while rain water seldom falls, and fountains are extremely rare. Maillet, ap. Kalisch.

19. The expressions in this verse shew an accurate knowledge of Egypt, where the water system was complete at a period long before Moses. Lepsius ('Zeitschrift,' 1865) describes it carefully. *Their streams* mean the natural branches of the Nile in Lower Egypt. The word *rivers* should rather be **canals**. Moses uses the Egyptian word explained above (ch. ii.). It includes canals. They were of great extent, running parallel to the Nile, and

throughout all the land of Egypt, both in *vessels of* wood, and in *vessels of* stone.

20 And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD commanded; and he [a] lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that *were* in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the [b] waters that *were* in the river were turned to blood.

21 And the fish that *was* in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river; and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt.

22 [c] And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, neither did he hearken unto them; as the LORD had said.

23 And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, neither did he set his heart to this also.

24 And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river.

25 And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had smitten the river.

[a] chap. 17. 5.

[b] Psal. 78. 44.

[c] Wisd. 17. 7.

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communicating with it by sluices, which were opened at the rise, and closed at the subsidence of the inundation. The word rendered "*ponds*" refers either to natural fountains, or more probably to cisterns or tanks found in every town and village. The "*pools*," lit. "gathering of waters," were the reservoirs, always large and some of enormous extent, containing sufficient water to irrigate the country in the dry season.

in vessels of wood] Lit. "in wood and stone;" but the word "vessels" is understood and should be retained. This also marks the familiarity of the writer with Egyptian customs. The Nile water is kept in vessels and is purified for use by filtering, and by certain ingredients such as the paste of almonds. At present the vessels are generally earthenware. The words in the text appear to include all household vessels in which the water was kept.

21. *the fish*, &c.] The expression may not necessarily mean "all the fish;" but a great mortality is of course implied, and would be a most impressive warning. The Egyptians subsisted to a great extent on the fish of the Nile, though salt-water fish was regarded as impure. A mortality among the fish was a plague much dreaded. In a hymn to the Nile written by the scribe Enna it is said that the wrath of Hapi the Nile-God is a calamity for the fishes. See Maspero, 'Hymne au Nil,' p. 27.

22. *did so*] From this it must be inferred that the plague though general was not universal. In numberless instances the Hebrew terms which imply universality must be understood in a limited sense.

24. *digged round about the river*] This statement corroborates the explanation given above on *v.* 17. The discoloured water would be purified by a natural filtration.

25. *seven days*] This marks the duration of the plague. The natural discoloration of the Nile water lasts generally much longer, about 20 days.

NOTE on CHAP. VII. 11.

11. Three names for the magicians of Egypt are given in this verse. The first and last occur in Genesis, ch. v. The word (חכמים), wise men, is used specifically of men who know occult arts. Corresponding expressions in Arabic are well known, as araph, alam, &c. Thus in the Acts the sorcerer Bar-jesus is called Elymas, "the knowing one." In ancient Egyptian the most general name is Rechiu Chetu, *i.e.* people who know things, the word "things" being applied technically to secret and curious things. The word rendered "sorcerers" (מכשפים) occurs first in this passage. It is used in the sense "muttering magic formulæ." According to Gesenius the original meaning, as retained in Syriac and Ethiopic, is simply to worship or pray. No exact parallel is found for this word among the numerous designations for sorcerers in Egyptian documents; but it seems not improbable that it may be connected with "Chesef," a very common word used specially in the sense of repelling, driving away, conjuring all noxious creatures by magic formulæ. Thus in the funeral ritual there are no less than 11 chapters (32—42) containing forms for "stopping" or driving away crocodiles, snakes, asps, &c. It was natural that Pharaoh should have sent especially for persons armed with such formulæ on this occasion. The more general word "chartummim," which corresponds in meaning to ἱερογραμ-

ματεὺς or ἐξηγητής, "sacred scribe" or "interpreter," has not been yet traced in Egyptian. If however it is resolved into its probable elements, the first syllable חר (char) answers exactly to "cher," one of the commonest Egyptian words, used in compound terms as "bearing," "having," "possessing;" the second part corresponds to "temu" or "tum," "to speak, utter," which is applied specifically to uttering a sacred name, and apparently as "a spell." Thus on certain days of the calendar it was unlawful to utter (temu) the name of Set or Sutech, the Typhon, or spirit of force and destruction. See 'Papyrus Sallier,' IV. p. 12, last line; and Brugsch, 'D. H.' s. v. In the trilingual inscription lately discovered at San, "tum" means to recite a sacred hymn, l. 34. Cher-tum would thus mean "bearer of sacred words."

The most complete and interesting account of Egyptian magic is given by M. Chabas in his work called 'Le Papyrus Magique,' Harris, 1866. Books containing magic formulæ belonged exclusively to the king; no one was permitted to consult them but the priests and wise men, who formed a council or college, and were called in by the Pharaoh on all occasions of difficulty. These "wise men" are called "scribes" (see Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 1576), "scribes of the sacred house," or "te-ameni," *i.e.* "scribes of occult writings," &c. Under the 20th dynasty, the use of these books was interdicted under pain of death. Two curious documents (the Papyrus Lee and Rollin explained by M. Chabas, and lately edited by Pleyte) give a full account of the trial and execution of a criminal who fraudulently obtained possession of some books kept in the archives of the palace. No formulæ are more common than those which were used to fascinate, or to repel serpents.

The names of the two principal magicians, Jannes and Jambres, who "withstood Moses" are preserved by S. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 8. Both names are Egyptian, in which language An, or Anna, identical with Jannes, means scribe. It was also a proper name borne by a writer well known in Papyri of the time of Rameses II. Jambres may mean Scribe of the South: it is the name of a sacred book, 'Horap.' I. 38. The tradition is found in the Talmud, in the later Targum, and in other Rabbinical writings quoted by Buxtorf, 'Lex. H. C.' p. 946. Pliny, who makes Moses, Jamnes, and Jotape heads of magic factions, seems to have derived his information from other sources, and he is followed by Apuleius. Numenius, a Pythagorean, quoted by Eusebius, comes nearer to the truth, though according to Greek habit he transforms Moses into Musæus.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Frogs are sent.* 8 *Pharaoh sueth to Moses,* 12 *and Moses by prayer removeth them away.* 16 *The dust is turned into lice, which the magicians could not do.* 20 *The swarms of flies.* 25 *Pharaoh inclineth to let the people go,* 32 *but yet is hardened.*

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

2 And if thou refuse to let *them* go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:

3 And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into

The Second Plague.

CHAP. VIII. 2. *with frogs*] The annoyance and suffering caused by frogs are described by ancient writers, quoted by Bochart, 'Hier.' III. In Egypt they sometimes amount at present to a severe visitation. Some months appear to have elapsed between this and the former plague, if they made their appearance at the usual time, that is (according to Seetzen, who gives the fullest and most accurate account of them, Vol. III. p. 492) in September. He describes two species, the rana Nilotica, and the rana Mosaica, called by the natives "Dofda," which exactly corresponds to the Hebrew word used in this and no other passage, except in the psalms taken from it; it is not a general designation, but restricted to the species, and probably of Egyptian origin. See Appendix and end of volume. They are small, do not leap much, are much like toads, and fill the whole country with their croakings. They are generally consumed rapidly by the Ibis (ardea Ibis), which thus preserves the land from the stench described *v.* 14. This plague was thus, like the preceding, in general accordance with natural phenomena, but marvellous both for its extent and intensity, and for its direct connection with the words and acts of God's messengers. It had also apparently, like the other plagues, a direct bearing upon Egyptian superstitions. A female deity with a frog's head, named Heka, was worshipped in the district of Sah (*i.e.* Benihassan) as the wife of Chnum, the god of the cataracts, or of the inundation; see Brugsch, 'Geog.' p. 224. Lepsius has shewn that the frog was connected with the most

thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy [1] kneadingtroughs:

4 And the frogs shall come up both on thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants.

5 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the streams, over the rivers, and over the ponds, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.

6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.

7 [a] And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt.

8 ¶ Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Intreat the LORD, that he may take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the LORD.

9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, [1] Glory over me: [1] when shall I intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, [t] to destroy the frogs from thee and thy houses, *that* they may remain in the river only?

10 And he said, [1] To morrow. And he said, *Be it* according to thy word: that thou mayest know that *there is* none like unto the LORD our God.

11 And the frogs shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river only.

12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses cried unto the LORD because of the frogs which he had brought against Pharaoh.

13 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields.

14 And they gathered them together upon heaps: and the land stank.

15 But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.

[1] Or, *dough.*

[a] Wisd. 17. 7.

[1] Or, *Have this honour over me, &c.*

[1] Or, *against when.*

[t] Heb. *to cut off.*

[1] Or, *Against to morrow.*

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ancient forms of nature-worship in Egypt. See also Duemichen, 'Æg. Zeitschrift,' 1869, p. 6. According to Chæremon (see Bunsen's 'Egypt,' Vol. v. p. 736) the frog was regarded as a symbol of regeneration. See the note, p. 242, on the adoration of the frog by the father of Rameses II.

3. *into thine house*] This appears to have been peculiar to the plague, as such. No mention is made of it by travellers. It was specially the visitation which would be felt by the scrupulously clean Egyptians.

kneadingtroughs] Not "dough," as in the margin.

7. The magicians would seem to have been able to increase the plague, but not to remove it; hence Pharaoh's application to Moses, the first symptom of yielding. An explanation, which is certainly ingenious and not improbable, is suggested by a late commentator (Hirsch, 1869). He assumes that the words "the magicians did so," mean that they imitated the action of Aaron, stretching out their rods, but using magic formulæ with the intention of driving away the frogs, the result being not only a frustration of their object, but an increase of the plague.

9. *Glory over me*] The expression is rather obscure, but it is supposed by most of the later, and by some early commentators, to mean, as the margin renders it, "have honour over me," *i.e.* have the honour, or advantage over me, directing me when I shall entreat God for thee and thy servants, &c. Moses thus accepts the first intimation of a change of mind in Pharaoh, and expresses himself, doubtless in accordance with Egyptian usage, at once courteously and deferentially. It is, however, obvious that such an expression would not have been attributed to him by a later writer. The old versions, LXX., Vulg., Saadia, who are followed by Gesenius, generally render the word, appoint for me, determine for me when, &c., the Syriac has "ask for me a time when;" this agrees well with the answer "to-morrow."

when] Or by when; *i.e.* for what exact time. Pharaoh's answer in *v.* 10 refers to this, by to-morrow. The shortness of the time would, of course, be a test of the supernatural character of the transaction.

13. *villages*] Lit. "inclosures, or courtyards."

16 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

17 And they did so; for Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

18 And the magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: so there were lice upon man, and upon beast.

19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This *is* the finger of God: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.

20 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send [1]swarms *of flies* upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms *of flies*, and also the ground whereon they *are*.

[1] Or, *a mixture of noisome beasts, &c.*

The Third Plague.

It is observed by Hebrew commentators that the nine plagues are divided into three groups: distinct warnings are given of the first two plagues in each group; the third in each is inflicted without any previous notice, the third, *lice*, the sixth, *boils*, the ninth, *darkness*.

16. *the dust of the land*] The two preceding plagues fell upon the Nile. This fell on the earth, which was worshipped under the name Seb, its personification, regarded, in the pantheistic system of Egypt, as the father of the gods. See Brugsch, 'Zeitschrift,' 1868, p. 123. An especial sacredness was attached to the black fertile soil of the basin of the Nile, called Chemi, from which the ancient name of Egypt is supposed to be derived.

lice] In Hebrew "Kinnim." The word occurs only in connection with this plague. These insects are generally identified with mosquitos, a plague nowhere greater than in Egypt. They are most troublesome towards October, *i.e.* soon after the plague of frogs, and are dreaded not only for the pain and annoyance which they cause, but also because they are said to penetrate into the body through the nostrils and ears. Thus the LXX. (σκνίφες), Philo, and Origen, whose testimony as residents in Egypt is of great weight. The mosquito net is an indispensable article to Egyptian travellers. There are however some grave objections to this interpretation. Mosquitos are produced in stagnant waters where their larvæ are deposited, whereas these kinnim spring from the dust of the earth. The word in our version may be nearer to the original, which is probably Egyptian; see Appendix. Late travellers (*e.g.* Sir S. Baker) describe the visitation of vermin in very similar terms, "it is as though the very dust were turned into lice." The lice which he describes are a sort of tick, not larger than a grain of sand, which when filled with blood expands to the size of a hazel nut. Saadia renders the word "lice."

17. *all the dust*] The sense is here necessarily limited: the meaning being, the dust swarmed with lice in every part of the land.

19. *the finger of God*] This expression is thoroughly Egyptian; it need not imply that the magicians recognised Jehovah as the God who wrought the marvel, which they attributed generally to the act of the Deity. They may possibly have referred it to a god hostile to their own protectors, such as Set, or Sutech, the Typhon of later mythology, to whom such calamities were attributed by popular superstition.

The Fourth Plague.

20. *cometh forth to the water*] See note ch. vii. 15. It is not improbable that on this occasion Pharaoh went to the Nile with a procession in order to open the solemn festival, which was held 120 days after the first rise, at the end of October or early in November, when the inundation is abating and the first traces of vegetation are seen on the deposit of fresh soil.

The plague now denounced may be regarded as connected with the atmosphere, each element in turn being converted into a scourge. The air was an object of worship, personified in the deity Shu, the son of Ra, the sun-god; or in Isis, queen of heaven.

21. *swarms of flies*] The Hebrew has the word "Arob," which most of the ancient, and some modern interpreters, understand to mean a mixture of beasts and insects, a sense

22 And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms *of flies* shall be there; to the end thou mayest know that I *am* the LORD in the midst of the earth.

23 And I will put [†] a division between my people and thy people: [‖] to morrow shall this sign be.

24 And the LORD did so; and [b] there came a grievous swarm *of flies* into the house of Pharaoh, and *into* his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt: the land was [‖] corrupted by reason of the swarm *of flies*.

25 ¶ And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.

26 And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the LORD our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?

27 We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as [c] he shall command us.

[†] Heb. *a redemption.*
[‖] Or, *by to morrow.*
[b] Wisd. 16. 9.
[‖] Or, *destroyed.*
[c] chap. 3. 18.

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derived from the Arabic "Arab," "mixed." (Thus the Vulg., Targ., Saadia, Syr., and Aquila.) It is now, however, more generally supposed that a particular species of fly is described, the dog-fly (κυνόμυια, LXX.), which at certain seasons is described as a far worse plague than mosquitos. The bite is exceedingly sharp and painful, causing severe inflammation, especially in the eyelids. Coming in immense swarms they cover all objects in black and loathsome masses and attack every exposed part of a traveller's person with incredible pertinacity. Some commentators however adopt the opinion of Œdmann, who identifies the species here described with the blatta orientalis, or the kakerlaque, of which Munk ('Palestine,' p. 120) says: "Ceux qui ont voyagé sur le Nil savent combien cet insecte est incommode: les bateaux en sont infestés, et on les y voit souvent par milliers." Kalisch quotes passages which prove that they inflict painful bites and consume all sorts of materials. There would be a special fitness in this plague, if the insect were a species of beetle, which was reverenced by the Egyptians as the symbol of life, of reproductive or creative power. No object is more common in hieroglyphics, where it represents the word "cheper," "to exist," or "to become." The sun-god, as creator, bore the name Chepera, and is represented in the form, or with the head, of a beetle. The word "arob," which occurs nowhere else, moreover bears a very near resemblance to an old Egyptian word, retained in Coptic, which designates a species of beetle. See Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 178, s. v. 'Abeb.'

22. *I will sever*, &c.] This severance constituted a specific difference between this and the preceding plagues. Pharaoh could not of course attribute the exemption of Goshen from a scourge, which fell on the valley of the Nile, to an Egyptian deity, certainly not to Chepera (see the last note), a special object of worship in lower Egypt.

in the midst] Literally "heart." The idiom is common in Hebrew, but there may possibly be an allusion to the Egyptian "heart" used specially to designate lower Egypt.

25. *to your God*] Pharaoh now admits the existence and power of the God whom he had professed not to know; but, as Moses is careful to record, he recognises Him only as the national Deity of the Israelites.

in the land] *i.e.* In Egypt, not beyond the frontier.

26. *the abomination*] The expression may mean either the object of an abominable worship (as Chemosh is called the abomination of Moab, and Moloch the abomination of Ammon, see 1 Kings xi. 7), or an animal which the Egyptians held it sacrilegious to slay. The latter meaning seems more probable, considering that the words were addressed to Pharaoh. Thus Ros., Knob., but the former meaning is preferred by Bp. Wordsworth, and is given by the LXX., Targ., Vulg., and Syr. In either case the ox, bull, or cow, is meant. The cow was never sacrificed in Egypt, being sacred to Isis; but as a general rule, no animal was slaughtered in a district where it represented a local deity. From a very early age the ox was worshipped throughout Egypt, and more especially at Heliopolis and Memphis under various designations, Apis, Mnevis, Amen-Ehe, as the symbol or manifestation of their greatest deities, Osiris, Atum, Ptah, and Isis.

27. *three days' journey*] See note on ch. iii. 18. The demand does not refer to a journey to Sinai, which would have occupied much longer time. In the next verse Pharaoh grants the permission, not however without imposing a condition which would have enabled him to take effectual measures to prevent the final emigration of the Israelites. The power of the Pharaohs extended far beyond the frontier, especially on the road to

28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very far away: intreat for me.

29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will intreat the LORD that the swarms *of flies* may depart from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, to morrow: but let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the LORD.

30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.

31 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses; and he removed the swarms *of flies* from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there remained not one.

32 And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The murrain of beasts.* 8 *The plague of boils and blains.* 13 *His message about the hail.* 22 *The plague of hail.* 27 *Pharaoh sueth to Moses,* 35 *but yet is hardened.*

THEN the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

2 For if thou refuse to let *them* go, and wilt hold them still,

3 Behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which *is* in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: *there shall be* a very grievous murrain.

4 And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all *that is* the children's of Israel.

5 And the LORD appointed a set time, saying, To morrow the LORD shall do this thing in the land.

6 And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.

7 And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.

8 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you

Palestine, which was commanded by fortresses erected by the early sovereigns of the 18th dynasty.

The Fifth Plague.

CHAP. IX. 3. *a very grievous murrain*] Or "pestilence;" but the word murrain, *i.e.* a great mortality, exactly expresses the meaning. This terrible visitation struck far more severely than the preceding, which had caused distress and suffering; it attacked the resources of the nation. The disease does not appear to have been common in ancient times, no distinct notice is found on the monuments, unless it is included, as seems not improbable, under the term "Aat," which, as M. Chabas shews, applies to the contagious or epidemic pestilence which frequently, as it would almost seem annually, broke out after the subsidence of the inundation; see 'Mélanges égyptologiques,' 1. p. 39. Within the last few years the murrain has thrice fallen upon Egypt, in 1842, 1863, and 1866 (also 60 years previously); when nearly the whole of the herds have been destroyed. The disease appears to have been of the same kind as that which lately fell so severely upon England. The exact time of the infliction is not mentioned; but in Egypt the cattle are in the fields from December to the end of April, and the disease may have broken out in the former month when the cattle were predisposed to it by the change from confinement to the open air, and from old to fresh pastures; a change more dangerous than usual in so exceptional a year. In 1863 the murrain began in November, and was at its height in December.

the camels] These animals are only twice mentioned, here and Gen. xii. 16, in connection with Egypt. In this passage the enumeration of cattle is studiously complete. It is shewn in the Appendix, that though camels are never represented on the monuments, they were known to the Egyptians and were probably used on the frontier.

6. *all the cattle*] *i.e.* which were left in the field; 19—21.

7. *was hardened*] Pharaoh probably attributed the exemption of the Israelites to natural causes. They were a pastoral race, well acquainted with all that appertained to the care of cattle; and dwelling in a healthy district probably far more than the rest of lower Egypt.

handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh.

9 And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth *with* blains upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.

10 And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth *with* blains upon man, and upon beast.

11 And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians.

12 And the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them; [a] as the LORD had spoken unto Moses. [a] chap. 4. 21.

13 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

14 For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that *there is* none like me in all the earth.

15 For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.

The Sixth Plague.

This marks a distinct advance and change in the character of the visitations. Hitherto the Egyptians had not been attacked directly in their own persons. It is the second plague which was not preceded by a demand and warning, probably on account of the peculiar hardness shewn by Pharaoh in reference to the murrain.

8. *ashes of the furnace*] The Hebrew word occurs only in the Pentateuch, and is probably of Egyptian origin. The act was evidently symbolical: the ashes were to be sprinkled towards heaven, challenging, so to speak, the Egyptian Deities, and specially it may be Neit, who bore the designation "The Great Mother Queen of highest heaven," and was worshipped as the tutelary Goddess of lower Egypt. There may possibly be a reference to an Egyptian custom of scattering to the winds ashes of victims offered to Sutech, or Typhon. Human sacrifices said to have been offered at Heliopolis under the Shepherd dynasty were abolished by Amosis I., but some part of the rite may have been retained, and the memory of the old superstition would give a terrible significance to the act. Thus Burder, Hævernick and Kurtz.

9. *a boil breaking forth with blains*] The word rendered boil is derived from "burning inflammation," and is used elsewhere of plague-boils, of the leprosy, and elephantiasis. See Deut. xxviii. 27, and 35, which may specially refer to this passage. Here it means probably a burning tumour or carbuncle breaking out in pustulous ulcers. Cutaneous eruptions of extreme severity are common in the valley of the Nile, some bearing a near resemblance to the symptoms described in this passage. The date is not marked. It was probably soon after the last plague. In an old Egyptian calendar mention is made of severe contagious diseases in December, Pap. Sall. IV. The analogy of natural law is still preserved, the miracle consisting in the severity of the plague and its direct connection with the act of Moses.

11. This verse seems to imply that the magicians now formally gave way and confessed their defeat.

The Seventh Plague.

13—34. The plague of hail: with this begins the last series of plagues, which differ from the former both in their severity and their effects. Each produced a temporary, but real change in Pharaoh's feelings.

14. *all my plagues*] This applies to all the plagues which follow; the effect of each was foreseen and foretold. The words "at this time" are understood by some to limit the application to the plague of hail, but they point more probably to a rapid and continuous succession of blows. The plagues which precede appear to have been spread over a considerable time; the first message of Moses was delivered after the early harvest of the year before, when the Israelites could gather stubble, *i.e.* in April and May: the second mission, when the plagues began, was probably towards the end of June, and they went on at intervals until the winter; this plague was in February; see note on *v.* 31.

15. *For now*, &c.] This verse (as scholars are agreed, *e.g.* Rosenmüller, Ewald, Knobel, Keil) should be rendered thus: **For now in-**

[b] Rom. 9. 17.
[1] Heb. *made thee stand.*

16 And in very deed for [b]this *cause* have I [1]raised thee up, for to shew *in* thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.

17 As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go?

18 Behold, to morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now.

19 Send therefore now, *and* gather thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field; *for upon* every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.

20 He that feared the word of the LORD among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses:

[1] Heb. *set not his heart unto.*

21 And he that [1]regarded not the word of the LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

22 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.

23 And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the LORD sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground; and the LORD rained hail upon the land of Egypt.

24 So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.

25 And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that *was* in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field.

26 Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel *were*, was there no hail.

27 ¶ And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, I have sinned this time: the

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deed had I stretched forth my hand and smitten thee and thy people with the pestilence then hadst thou been cut off from the earth. The next verse gives the reason why God had not thus inflicted a summary punishment once for all.

16. *have I raised thee up*] The margin **made thee stand** is correct: the meaning is, not that God raised Pharaoh to a position of rank and power, but that he kept him standing, *i.e.* permitted him to live and hold out until His own purpose was accomplished.

18. *a very grievous hail*] This verse distinctly states that the miracle consisted in the magnitude of the infliction and in its immediate connection with the act of Moses. Travellers in lower Egypt speak of storms of snow, thunder and lightning in the winter months; and Seetzen and Willman (quoted by Knobel) describe storms of thunder and hail in March. A friend (Rev. T. H. Tooke) describes a storm of extreme severity, which lasted 24 hours, in the middle of February, at Benihassan. The natives spoke of it as not uncommon at that season.

19. *thy cattle*] In Egypt the cattle are sent to pasture in the open country from January to April, when the grass is abundant; see note on *v.* 3. They are kept in stalls the rest of the year. The word "gather" does not exactly express the meaning of the original, "cause to flee," *i.e.* bring them rapidly under cover.

20. *the word of the* LORD] This gives the first indication that the warnings had a salutary effect upon the Egyptians. See ch. xi. 3.

22. *in all the land of Egypt*] The storms described above fell on lower Egypt: the expression here may imply that this extended to the upper valley of the Nile, but it is possible that the land of Mizraim is used specially to designate the Delta and the adjoining district.

23. *and the fire ran along upon the ground*] The expression is peculiar (literally "fire walked earthwards"), and appears to describe a succession of flashes mingled with the hail: our Authorised Version seems to present a true and graphic account of the phenomenon.

25. *smote*] The words imply heavy damage both to herbs and trees, but not total destruction: the loss however must have been enormous.

27. *this time*] *i.e.* I acknowledge now that I have sinned.

LORD *is* righteous, and I and my people *are* wicked.

28 Intreat the LORD (for *it is* enough) that there be no *more* † mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer.

† Heb. *voices of God.*

29 And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto the LORD; *and* the thunder shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; that thou mayest know how that the earth *is* the LORD's.

c Psal. 24. 1.

30 But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the LORD God.

31 And the flax and the barley was smitten: for the barley *was* in the ear, and the flax *was* boiled.

32 But the wheat and the rie were not smitten: for they *were* † not grown up.

† Heb. *hidden*, or, *dark.*

33 And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto the LORD: and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth.

34 And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants.

35 And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, neither would he let the children of Israel go; as the LORD had spoken † by Moses.

† Heb. *by the hand of Moses.*

CHAPTER X.

1 *God threateneth to send locusts.* 7 *Pharaoh, moved by his servants, inclineth to let the Israelites go.* 12 *The plague of the locusts.* 16 *Pharaoh sueth to Moses.* 21 *The plague of darkness.* 24 *Pharaoh sueth unto Moses,* 27 *but yet is hardened.*

AND the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh: for a I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might shew these my signs before him:

a chap. 4. 21.

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the LORD] Thus for the first time Pharaoh explicitly recognizes Jehovah as God.

28. *for it is enough*] The Authorised Version is not literal, but it probably expresses the meaning of the original, which is somewhat obscure, "and it is much, *i.e.* enough, that there should be voices of God (thunderings) and hail," no more are needed now.

29. *the earth is the* LORD'S] This declaration has a direct reference to Egyptian superstition. Each God was held to have special power within a given district; Pharaoh had learned that Jehovah was *a* God, he was now to admit that his power extended over the whole earth. The unity and universality of the Divine power are tenets distinctly promulgated in the Pentateuch, and though occasionally recognized in ancient Egyptian documents (*e.g.* in the early copies of the 17th chapter of the Funeral Ritual under the 11th dynasty), were overlaid at a very early period by systems alternating between Polytheism and Pantheism.

31. *the flax was bolled*] *i.e.* in blossom. This is a point of great importance. It marks the time. In the north of Egypt the barley ripens and flax blossoms about the middle of February, or at the latest early in March, and both are gathered in before April, when the wheat harvest begins (Forskal and Seetzen ap. Knobel). The cultivation of flax must have been of great importance; linen was preferred to any material and exclusively used by the priests. It is frequently mentioned on Egyptian monuments. Four kinds are noted by Pliny (XIX. 1) as used in Egypt. He makes special mention of Tanis, *i.e.* Zoan, as one of the places famous for flax. The texture was remarkably fine, in general quality equal to the best now made, and for the evenness of the threads, without knot or break, superior to any of modern manufacture. Wilkinson on Herod. II. c. 37, p. 54.

32. *rie*] Rather **spelt**, triticum spelta, the common food of the ancient Egyptians, now called doora by the natives: the only grain, according to Wilkinson (on Herod. II. c. 36), represented on the sculptures: the name however occurs on the monuments very frequently in combination with other species. See Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 442.

34. *hardened*] Different words are used in this and the following verse: here the word means "heavy," *i.e.* obtuse, incapable of forming a right judgment; the other, which is more frequently used in this narrative, is stronger and implies a stubborn resolution. The LXX. render the former word ἐβάρυνε, the latter ἐσκληρύνθη. The other old Versions mark the distinction with equal clearness.

The Eighth Plague.

CHAP. X. 1—20. *I have hardened*] Literally "made heavy." This state of mind, though judicial, may be accounted for psychologically by the fact that the corn, to

2 And that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, what things I have wrought in Egypt, and my signs which I have done among them; that ye may know how that I *am* the LORD.

3 And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go, that they may serve me.

4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to morrow will I
[b] Wisd. 16. 9. bring the [b]locusts into thy coast:
[f] Heb. *eye.* 5 And they shall cover the [f]face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field:

6 And they shall fill thy houses, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; which neither thy fathers, nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh.

7 And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How long shall this man be a snare unto us? let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?

8 And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he

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which he and his people attached most importance had been spared in the visitation. The word "I" is emphatic, equivalent to "as for me I have," &c.

2. *thou*] Moses is addressed as the representative of Israel.

wrought] The Hebrew word is not very commonly used. It implies an action which brings shame and disgrace upon its objects, making them, so to speak, playthings of divine power (התעלל, LXX. ἐμπέπαιχα). Ges. 'Thes.' interprets it with reference to 1 Sam. xxxi. 4, "animum explevit illudendo," which appears to be the true meaning in this passage, as in most others.

4. *the locusts*] The locust is less common in Egypt than in many eastern countries, yet it is well known, and dreaded as the most terrible of scourges. In the papyrus Anast. v. p. 10, it is mentioned as a common enemy of the husbandmen. Niebuhr and Forskal witnessed two visitations; Tischendorf describes one of unusual extent in March which covered the whole country: they come generally from the western deserts, but sometimes from the east and the south-east. Denon saw an enormous cloud of locusts in May, which came from the east, settling upon every blade of grass, and after destroying the vegetation of a district passing on to another. No less than nine names are given to the locust in the Bible, the word here used is the most common; it signifies "multitudinous," and whenever it occurs reference is made to its terrible devastations. See notes on Leviticus xi. 12.

5. *the face*] Literally "the eye of the earth," alluding doubtless to the darkness when, as Olivier describes it, "the whole atmosphere is filled on all sides and to a great height by an innumerable quantity of these insects—in a moment all the fields are covered by them."

shall eat every tree] Not only the leaves, but the branches and even the wood are attacked and devoured. Pliny says, xi. 29, "omnia morsu erodentes et fores quoque tectorum." The Egyptians were passionately fond of trees; in hieroglyphics one of the most ancient names of Egypt is "the land of the sycomore:" see De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 80, under the 5th dynasty; Saneha, *i.e.* "son of the sycomore," is found as a name given to a court favourite under the 12th dynasty. The widow of Tothmosis II. a few years after his death, imported a large number of trees from Arabia Felix; a singular coincidence if, as seems probable, that was the date of the Exodus. See Duemichen's 'Fleet of an Egyptian Queen.'

6. *fill thy houses*] The terraces, courts, and even the inner apartments are said to be filled in a moment by a locust storm. Cf. Joel ii. 9.

7. *Pharaoh's servants*] This marks a very considerable advance in the transaction. For the first time the officers of Pharaoh intervene before the scourge is inflicted, shewing at once their belief in the threat, and their special terror of the infliction. Pharaoh also for the first time takes measures to prevent the evil; he does not indeed send for Moses and Aaron, but he permits them to be brought into his presence.

let the men go] *i.e.* the men only, not all the people; the officers assumed that the women and children would remain as hostages, and Pharaoh was now ready to consent to the proposal so limited.

said unto them, Go, serve the LORD your God: *but* †who *are* they that shall go?

† Heb. *who and who, &c.*

9 And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we *must hold* a feast unto the LORD.

10 And he said unto them, Let the LORD be so with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones: look *to it;* for evil *is* before you.

11 Not so: go now ye *that are* men, and serve the LORD; for that ye did desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

12 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land, *even* all that the hail hath left.

13 And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the LORD brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all *that* night; *and* when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.

14 And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous *were they;* before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such.

15 For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.

16 ¶ Then Pharaoh †called for Moses and Aaron in haste; and he said, I have sinned against the LORD your God, and against you.

† Heb. *hastened to call.*

17 Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may take away from me this death only.

18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.

19 And the LORD turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away

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9. *with our young*, &c.] The demand was not contrary to Egyptian usage, as great festivals were kept by the whole population: see Herod. II. 58, "the numbers who attend (*i.e.* the festival at Bubastis) counting only the men and women, and omitting the children, amounted, according to the native reports, to seven hundred thousand."

10. *evil is before you*] The meaning is ambiguous. It may be a threat, but most commentators (LXX., Vulg., Rosen., Knobel, &c.) render it, "for your intentions are evil," and this doubtless expresses the exact motive of the king: great as the possible infliction might be, he held it to be a less evil than the loss of so large a population.

13. *an east wind*] Moses is careful to record the natural and usual cause of the evil, portentous as it was in its extent, and in its connection with his denouncement. The east wind sometimes brings locusts into Egypt, see note on *v.* 4, nor is there any reason for departing from the common meaning of the word which is given in the Authorised Version.

14. *went up*] The expression is exact and graphic; at a distance the locusts appear hanging, as it were, like a heavy cloud over the land; as they approach they seem to rise, and they fill the atmosphere overhead on their arrival.

over all the land] The expression may be taken in the broadest sense. Accounts are given by Major Moore of a cloud of locusts extending over 500 miles, and so compact while on the wing that, like an eclipse, it completely hid the sun. Brown states ('Travels in Africa'), that an area of nearly two thousand square miles was literally covered by them. This passage describes a swarm unprecedented in extent.

17. *this death only*] Pliny calls locusts "Pestis iræ Deorum," a pestilence brought on by divine wrath. Pharaoh now recognizes the justice of his servants' apprehensions, *v.* 7.

19. *west wind*] Literally "a sea wind," which in Palestine of course is from the west: but in this passage it may, and probably does, denote a wind blowing from the sea on the north-west of Egypt. A direct westerly wind would come from the Lybian desert and be far less effectual than one rushing transversely over the whole surface of lower Egypt (which was doubtless the main centre of the visitation), and driving the locusts into the Red

the locusts, and [t]cast them into the Red sea; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt.

[t] Heb. *fastened.*

20 But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go.

21 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, [t]even darkness *which* may be felt.

[t] Heb. *that one may feel darkness.*

22 And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days:

23 They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: [c]but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.

[c] Wisd. 18. 1.

24 ¶ And Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve the LORD; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed: let your little ones also go with you.

25 And Moses said, Thou must give [t]us also sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the LORD our God.

[t] Heb. *into our hands.*

26 Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind; for thereof must we take to serve the LORD our God; and we know not with what we must serve the LORD, until we come thither.

27 ¶ But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.

28 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in *that* day thou seest my face thou shalt die.

29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more.

Sea. The rendering "cast" in the text is preferable to that in the margin; the Hebrew word means to drive in by a sharp stroke or blow.

Red sea] The Hebrew has the Sea of Suph: the exact meaning of Suph is disputed. Gesenius renders it "rush" or "sea-weed;" but it is probably an Egyptian word. A sea-weed resembling wool is thrown up abundantly on the shores of the Red Sea. The origin of the modern name is uncertain. The Egyptians called it the sea of Punt, *i.e.* of Arabia. The sudden and complete disappearance of the locusts, generally effected by a strong wind (gregatim sublatæ vento in maria aut stagna decidunt, Plin. 'H. N.' XI. 35), is a phenomenon scarcely less remarkable than their coming; the putrefaction of such immense masses not unfrequently causes a terrible pestilence near the coasts of the sea into which they fall.

The Ninth Plague.

21. *darkness*] This infliction was specially calculated to affect the spirits of the Egyptians, whose chief object of worship was Ra, the Sun-god, and its suddenness and severity in connection with the act of Moses mark it as a preternatural withdrawal of light. Yet it has an analogy in physical phenomena. After the vernal equinox the south-west wind from the desert blows some fifty days, see note on v. 12, not however continuously but at intervals, lasting generally some two or three days. (Thus Lane, Willman and others quoted by Knobel.) It fills the atmosphere with dense masses of fine sand, bringing on a darkness far deeper than that of our worst fogs in winter. While it lasts no man "rises from his place; men and beasts hide themselves: people shut themselves up in the innermost apartments or vaults." "So saturated is the air with the sand that it seems to lose its transparency, so that artificial light is of little use." The expression "even darkness which might be felt," has a special application to a darkness produced by such a cause. The consternation of Pharaoh proves that, familiar as he may have been with the phenomenon, no previous occurrence had prepared him for its intensity and duration, and that he recognized it as a supernatural visitation. The rendering, which has been questioned, is correct, LXX. ψηλαφητὸν σκότος, Vulg. tam densæ ut palpari queant. Thus Rosen., Maurer, Knobel, &c.

23. *had light in their dwellings*] The sandstorm, if such were the cause, may not have extended to the district of Goshen; but the expression clearly denotes a miraculous intervention, whether accomplished or not by natural agencies.

24. *your flocks and your herds*] Pharaoh still exacts what would of course be a complete security for their return: but the demand was wholly incompatible with the object assigned for the journey into the wilderness. Every gradation in the yielding of Pharaoh and in the demands of Moses is distinctly noted: but it should be observed that these do not yet

CHAPTER XI.

1 God's message to the Israelites to borrow jewels of their neighbours. 4 Moses threateneth Pharaoh with the death of the firstborn.

AND the LORD said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague *more* upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let *you* go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.

2 Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man borrow of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, [a] jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. [a] chap. 3. 22. & 12. 35.

3 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man [b] Moses *was* very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people. [b] Ecclus. 45. 1.

4 And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, [c] About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: [c] chap. 12. 29.

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extend to a permission to emigrate from the country. Had Pharaoh even then yielded he could have taken measures to compel them to come back, a result only at last, rendered impossible by the destruction of the whole army stationed on the frontier of lower Egypt.

CHAP. XI. 1. *the LORD said*] Or "the Lord had said." Commentators generally agree that the first three verses of this chapter are parenthetical. The most probable account of their insertion in this place appears to be that, before Moses relates the last warning given to Pharaoh, he feels it right to recall to his readers' minds the revelation and command which had been previously given to him by the Lord. Thus Aben-Ezra, who proposes the rendering "had said," which is adopted by Rosenmüller, Keil, Kalisch, Ranke, Smith ('Pentateuch,' pp. 557—560), who completely disposes of the objections of German and English critics. No grammatical objection is made to this construction, which is common in the Old Testament and belongs to the simple and inartificial style of the Pentateuch. The command may have been given immediately before the last interview with Pharaoh; such repetition when a work is on the eve of accomplishment is customary in Holy Writ. Here it accounts "both for the confidence with which Moses, remembering the words of Jehovah, had just told the king that he would no more see his face, and for the prediction which immediately follows, that Pharaoh's court would come humbly to entreat him to depart." Smith, *l. c.*

when he shall let you go, &c.] The original is obscure, but it may probably be rendered **when he lets you go altogether he will surely thrust you out hence**; see note below. The meaning is, when at last he lets you depart with children, flocks, herds, and all your possessions, he will compel you to depart in haste. This part of the command is important, as shewing that Moses was already aware that the last plague would be followed by an immediate departure, and, therefore, that measures had probably been taken to prepare the Israelites for the journey. In fact on each occasion when Pharaoh relented for a season, immediate orders would of course be issued by Moses to the heads of the people, who were thus repeatedly brought into a state of more or less complete organization for the final movement. See Introduction.

2. *every man*] In ch. iii. 22 women only were named; the command is more explicit when the time is come for its execution.

borrow] Or "demand." See note on ch. iii. 22.

3. *gave the people favour*] See note on iii. 22.

Moreover the man Moses was very great] No objection would have been taken to this statement had it been found in any other book. It does not assert, however, what was perfectly true, that Moses was a great man by reason of personal qualifications, but that he was great in the estimation of Pharaoh, of his servants, and of all the Egyptians. This has a very important bearing upon the narrative, shewing the effect produced upon the Egyptians by the previous visitations, and by the conduct of Moses, especially by the care he had taken to warn them, and, so far as was practicable, to save them from suffering. See ch. ix. 19, 20. It accounts for their ready compliance with the demand of the Israelites. God gave them a kindly feeling, by an inward act, not changing their nature, but eliciting their better feelings, the sense of obligation, and gratitude for benefits, which Diodorus specially mentions as a characteristic of the Egyptians. The reasons above assigned appear sufficient to account for the introduction of these verses, which undoubtedly interrupt the narrative; but there would be no objection in point of principle to the supposition that they may have been inserted either by Moses at a later period, when he probably put together and revised the detached portions of the books; or by one of his younger contemporaries, who must have been equally conversant with the facts, and aware of the

5 And all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maid-servant that *is* behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts.

6 And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more.

7 But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.

8 And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people †that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in †a great anger.

† Heb. *that is at thy feet.*

† Heb. *heat of anger.*

9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you; that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.

10 And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land.

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importance of the statement in its bearings upon the whole transaction.

4. *And Moses said*] The following words must be read in immediate connection with the last verse of the preceding chapter. It is not there stated that Moses left the presence of Pharaoh; this passage tells us what took place after his declaration that this would be his last interview.

About midnight] This marks the hour, but not the day, on which the visitation would take place. There may have been, and probably was, an interval of some days, during which preparations might be made both for the celebration of the Passover, and the departure of the Israelites: in the meantime Egypt remained under the shadow of the menace.

5. *the firstborn*] Two points are to be noticed: 1, The extent of the visitation: the whole land suffers in the persons of its firstborn, not merely for the guilt of the sovereign, but for the actual participation of the people in the crime of infanticide. 2, The limitation. Pharaoh's command had been to slay all the male children of the Israelites, one child only in each Egyptian family was to die. If Tothmosis II. was the Pharaoh (see Appendix) the visitation fell with special severity on his family. He left no son, but was succeeded by his widow.

the mill] The mill used by the Israelites, and probably by the Egyptians, consisted of two circular stones, one fixed in the ground, the other turned by a handle. The work of grinding was extremely laborious, and performed by women of the lowest rank.

firstborn of beasts] This visitation has a peculiar force in reference to the worship of beasts, which was universal in Egypt; each nome having its own sacred animal, adored as a manifestation or representative of the local tutelary deity.

8. *in great anger*] Or **in heat of anger**, as in the margin.

9, 10. These two verses refer to the whole preceding narrative, and mark the close of one principal division of the book.

NOTE on *v.* 1.

The force of the word כלה appears to have been overlooked by our translators, who misplace it, as also by the Vulgate, which takes no notice of it. The Targum of Onkelos renders it correctly גמירא. The LXX. σὺν παντί: the Syriac less accurately, "all of you." It reads also in both clauses, "I will dismiss you." The Arabic forcibly and correctly

CHAPTER XII.

1 The beginning of the year is changed. 3 The passover is instituted. 11 The rite of the passover. 15 Unleavened bread. 29 The firstborn are slain. 31 The Israelites are driven out of the land. 37 They come to Succoth. 43 The ordinance of the passover.

AND the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying,

2 This month *shall be* unto you the beginning of months: it *shall be* the first month of the year to you.

3 ¶ Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to them every man a ‖lamb, according to the house of *their* fathers, a lamb for an house:

‖ Or, *kid.*

4 And if the household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour next unto his house take *it* according to the number of the souls; every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb.

5 Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male †of the first year: ye

† Heb. *son of a year.*

CHAP. XII. 1. *in the land of Egypt*] It seems evident that this verse, and consequently the rest of the chapter, was written some time after the Exodus, probably when Moses put together the portions of the book towards the end of his life. The statements that these instructions were given in the land of Egypt, and that they were given to Moses and Aaron, are important: the one marks the peculiar dignity of this ordinance, which was established before the Sinaitic code, the other marks the distinction between Moses and Aaron and all other prophets. They alone, as Aben-Ezra observes, were prophets of the Law, *i.e.* no law was promulgated by any other prophets.

2. *This month*] The name of the month, Abib, is given xiii. 4. It was called by the later Hebrews Nisan, a name found in early Syrian inscriptions, De Vogué, 'Syrie centrale,' p. 5, and derived from the Nisannu of the Assyrians and Babylonians, with whom it was the first month of the year. It corresponds nearly to our April, since the last full moon in March or the first in April fell in the middle of the month. It is clear that in this passage the Israelites are directed to take Abib henceforth as the beginning of the year; the year previously began with the month Tisri, when the harvest was gathered in; see xxiii. 16. They do not appear to have adopted the Egyptian division, in which the fixed year began in June, at the rise of the Nile. The injunction touching Abib or Nisan referred only to religious rites; in other affairs they retained the old arrangement, even in the beginning of the Sabbatic year; see Levit. xxv. 9; and Josephus, 'Ant.' I. 25. 9. The assumption that an ancient festival was previously held at this season to celebrate the ripening of the wheat has no grounds in history or tradition.

3. *a lamb*] The Hebrew word, used in the same way in Arabic and Chaldee, is general, meaning either a sheep or goat, male or female, and of any age; the age and sex are therefore specially defined in the following verse. The direction to select the lamb on the tenth day, the fourth day before it was offered, is generally assumed to have applied to the first institution only, but there is no indication of this in the text, and it seems more probable that the injunction was intended to secure due care in the preparation for the greatest national festival. The custom certainly fell into desuetude at a later period, but probably not before the destruction of the Temple. The later Targum, which asserts that the rule was not intended to be of permanent obligation, records the traditions of Rabbins of the sixth century.

the house of their fathers] Lit. a house of fathers, or parents; *i.e.* for each family.

4. *if the household be too little*, &c.] The meaning is clear, if there be not persons enough to consume a lamb at one meal: tradition specifies ten as the least number; thus Josephus says, not less than ten attend this sacrifice, and twenty are generally assembled, 'De B. J.' VI. 9. 3. The later Targum paraphrases the passage thus: "If the men of the household be less than ten in number." There is, however, no indication of such a rule earlier than Josephus, and it was probably left altogether to the discretion of the heads of families. The women and children were certainly not excluded, though the Rabbins held their attendance to be unnecessary, and the Karaites permitted none but adult males to be partakers.

The last clause should be rendered: "let him and his neighbour who is near to his house take according to the number of souls, each man according to his eating ye shall count for the lamb." Our Version only requires the insertion of *ye*, or *you*, before "shall make your count." See note below.

5. *without blemish*] This is in accordance with the general rule laid down in Levit. xxii. 20: so also is the choice of a male, Levit. i. 3: although in this case there is a special reason, since the lamb was in place of the firstborn male in each household. The re-

shall take *it* out from the sheep, or from the goats:

6 *And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it* [t] *in the evening.*

7 And they shall take of the blood, and strike *it* on the two side posts and on the upper door post of the houses, wherein they shall eat it.

8 And they shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; *and* with bitter *herbs* they shall eat it.

[t] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

striction to the first year is peculiar, and refers apparently to the condition of perfect innocence in the antitype, the Lamb of God.

or from the goats] There is no indication of a preference, but the Hebrews have generally held that a lamb was the more acceptable offering.

6. *ye shall keep it up*] The Hebrew implies that it was to be kept with great care, which appears to be the meaning of the expression "keep it up."

until the fourteenth day] It should be observed that the offering of our Lord on the selfsame day is an important point in determining the typical character of the transaction. Masius on Josh. v. 10 quotes a remarkable passage from the Talmud: "It was a famous and old opinion among the ancient Jews that the day of the new year which was the beginning of the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt should in future time be the beginning of the redemption by the Messiah,"

in the evening] The Hebrew has **between the two evenings.** The meaning of the expression is disputed. The most probable explanation is that it includes the time from afternoon, or early eventide, until sunset. This accords with the ancient custom of the Hebrews, who slew the paschal lamb immediately after the offering of the daily sacrifice, which on the day of the passover took place a little earlier than usual, between two and three p.m. This would allow about two hours and a half for slaying and preparing all the lambs. It is clear that they would not wait until sunset, at which time the evening meal would take place. This interpretation is supported by Rashi, Kimchi, Bochart, Lightfoot, Clericus, and Patrick. Thus Josephus: "they offer this sacrifice from the ninth to the eleventh hour." The Greeks had the same idiom, distinguishing between the early and late evening. Other interpreters understand it to mean the interval between sunset and total darkness, an exceedingly short time in the East, and quite insufficient for the work. Rosenmüller shews from the Talmud that the twilight as strictly defined did not last longer than it would take to walk half a mile, *i.e.* about ten minutes. If, moreover, the lamb were slain after sunset, it would not have been on the fourteenth day of the month, since the day was reckoned from sunset to sunset. Knobel observes that the expression is peculiar to the so-called Elohist; it is in fact peculiar to the Pentateuch, and its meaning was evidently ascertained only by conjecture at a later period. It is to be observed that the slaying of the lamb on the former hypothesis coincides exactly with the death of our Saviour, at the ninth hour of the day.

7. *the upper door post*] Or **lintel**, as it is rendered v. 23. This meaning is generally accepted, but the word occurs only in this passage; it is derived from a root which means to "look out," and may signify a lattice above the door: thus Aben-Ezra and Rosenmüller. This direction was understood by the Hebrews to apply only to the first Passover: it was certainly not adopted in Palestine. The meaning of the sprinkling of blood is hardly open to question. It was a representation of the offering of the life, substituted for that of the firstborn in each house, as an expiatory and vicarious sacrifice.

8. *in that night*] The night is thus clearly distinguished from the evening when the lamb was slain. It was slain before sunset, on the 14th, and eaten after sunset, the beginning of the 15th.

with fire] Among various reasons given for this injunction the most probable and satisfactory seems to be the special sanctity attached to fire from the first institution of sacrifice. The memory of this primeval sanctity is preserved by universal tradition, *e.g.* among the Aryans, as is shewn by the hymns in the Rig Veda to Agni, the fire-god, and by the whole system of the Zend Avesta.

and unleavened bread] Or, **and they shall eat unleavened cakes with bitter herbs.** See note below. The Hebrew word is certain in meaning, but of doubtful origin; see note below. Like many others in this account it is archaic, found only in the Pentateuch, except in passages which refer to the Passover. The importance of the injunction is admitted; the unleavened cakes give one of the two general designations to the festival. This may in part be accounted for by its being a lasting memorial of the circumstances

9 Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast *with* fire; his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof.

10 And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire.

11 ¶ And thus shall ye eat it; *with* your loins girded, your shoes on your

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of the hasty departure, allowing no time for the process of leavening: but the meaning discerned by St Paul, 1 Cor. v. 7, and recognized by the Church in all ages, was assuredly implied, though not expressly declared in the original institution; and though our Lord may not directly refer to the Passover, yet His words, Matt. xvi. 6, are conclusive as to the symbolism of leaven.

bitter herbs] The word occurs only here and in Numbers ix. 11, in reference to herbs. The symbolical reference to the previous sufferings of the Israelites is generally admitted. Various kinds of bitter herbs are enumerated in the Mishna; but the expression should be taken generally: the bitter herbs of Egypt would of course differ in kind from those of other countries where the Passover was to be eaten.

9. *raw*] Another obsolete word, probably Egyptian, found only in this passage: the corresponding root in Arabic means "half-cooked," and this appears to be the sense here: raw meat was not likely to be eaten, though some interpretors find here a reference to the ὠμοφαγία, "feasting on raw food," in some Gentile festivals. The prohibition of eating it sodden with water has been considered in reference to "roast with fire:" it was probably more common to seethe than to roast meat; hence the regrets expressed by the Israelites for the seething pots of Egypt; on other occasions the flesh of sin and peace-offerings, whether consumed by the people or the priests, was ordered to be sodden: see Lev. vi. 28; Num. vi. 19.

sodden...with water] or "sodden," omitting "water," which is added in Hebrew because the word in that language may be used either of roasting (as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 13) or boiling.

the purtenance thereof] or **its intestines.** This verse directs that the lamb should be roasted and placed on the table whole. No bone was to be broken (see v. 46, and Num. ix. 12, an injunction which the LXX. insert in the next verse). According to Rashi and other Rabbins the bowels were taken out, washed and then replaced. The Talmud prescribes the form of the oven of earthenware, in which the lamb was roasted, open above and below with a grating for the fire. Lambs and sheep are roasted whole in Persia, nearly in the same manner. Thevenot describes the process, Vol. II. p. 180, ed. 1674.

This entire consumption of the lamb constitutes one marked difference between the Passover and all other sacrifices, in which either a part or the whole was burned, and thus offered directly to God. The whole substance of the sacrificed lamb was to enter into the substance of the people, the blood only excepted, which was sprinkled as a propitiatory and sacrificial offering. Another point of subordinate importance is noticed. The lamb was slain and the blood sprinkled by the head of each family: no separate priesthood as yet existed in Israel; its functions belonged from the beginning to the father of the family: when the priesthood was instituted the slaying of the lamb still devolved on the heads of families, though the blood was sprinkled on the altar by the priests; an act which essentially belonged to their office. The typical character of this part of the transaction is clear. Our Lord was offered and His blood shed as an expiatory and propitiatory sacrifice, but His whole humanity is transfused spiritually and effectually into His Church, an effect which is at once symbolized and assured in Holy Communion, the Christian Passover.

10. *And ye shall let nothing*, &c.] This was afterwards a general law of sacrifices; at once preventing all possibility of profanity, and of superstitious abuse, such as was practised among some ancient heathens, who were wont to reserve a portion of their sacrifices; see Herod. I. 132; and Baruch vi. 28. The injunction is on both accounts justly applied by our Church to the Eucharist.

burn with fire] Not being consumed by man, it was thus offered, like other sacrifices, to God.

11. *with your loins girded*, &c.] These instructions are understood by the Jews to apply only to the first Passover, when they belonged to the occasion. There is no trace of their observance at any later time; a striking instance of good sense and power of distinguishing between accidents and substantial characteristics. Each of the directions marks preparation for a journey; the long flowing robes are girded round the loins; shoes or sandals, not worn in the house or at meals, were fastened on the feet; and the traveller's staff was taken in hand.

the LORD*'s passover*] A most important statement. It gives at once the great and most significant name to the whole ordinance. The word Passover renders as nearly as pos-

feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste: it *is* the LORD'S passover.

12 For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the [1]gods of Egypt I will execute judgment: I *am* the LORD.

13 And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye *are:* and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you [†]to destroy *you*, when I smite the land of Egypt.

14 And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the LORD throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever.

[1] Or, *princes.*

[†] Heb. *for a destruction.*

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sible the true meaning of the original, of which the primary sense is generally held to be "pass rapidly," like a bird with outstretched wings, but it undoubtedly includes the idea of sparing. See Ges. 'Thes.' s.v. It is a word which occurs very seldom in other books, twice in one chapter of 1 K., xviii. 21, where it is rendered "halt," and seems to mean "waver," flitting like a bird from branch to branch, and 26, where our A.V. has in the margin "leaped up and down." A passage in Isaiah xxxi. 5 is of more importance, since it combines the two great ideas involved in the word: "As birds flying, so will the LORD of hosts defend Jerusalem; defending also he will deliver it; and PASSING OVER he will preserve it." This combination of ideas is recognized by nearly all ancient and modern critics. It is remarkable that the word is not found in other Semitic languages, except in passages derived from the Hebrew Bible. In Egyptian the word Pesh, which corresponds to it very nearly in form, means to "spread out the wings over," and "to protect;" see Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 512.

12. *I will pass through*] The word rendered "pass through" is wholly distinct from that which means "pass over." The passing through was in judgment, the "passing over" in mercy.

against all the gods of Egypt] The meaning of this and of the corresponding passage, Num. xxxiii. 4, is undoubtedly that the visitation reached the gods of Egypt, not "the princes" as in the margin. The true explanation in this case is that in smiting the firstborn of all living beings, man and beast, God smote the objects of Egyptian worship. It is not merely that the bull and cow and goat and ram and cat were worshipped in the principal cities of Egypt as representatives, or, so to speak, incarnations, of their deities, but that the worship of beasts was universal; every nome, every town had its sacred animal, including the lowest forms of animal life; the frog, the beetle, being especial objects of reverence as representing the primeval deities of nature. In fact not a single deity of Egypt was unrepresented by some beast. This explanation, which is adopted by many critics, *e.g.* Michaelis, Rosenmüller, forces itself upon our minds in proportion to our closer and more accurate knowledge of Egyptian superstitions. It would not however have occurred to an Israelite living in Palestine, and the Rabbins in course of time adopted a different view, which approved itself to some of the early Fathers of the Church. Thus Jerome, 'Ep. ad Fabiolam,' says: "The Hebrews think that in the night when the people went forth all the temples in Egypt were destroyed either by earthquake or lightning:" and the second Targum, which gives the traditions of a still later time, asserts that each and every idol was destroyed. The explanation given above meets the whole requirement of the text.

13. *a token*] A sign to you, so to speak, a sacramental pledge of mercy.

I will pass over you] The same word as in *v.* 11. The sense of sparing is clear. The Targum renders it "I will spare you," and the LXX. "I will protect you."

to destroy you] or "to destruction," but our version gives the true sense and may be retained.

14. *a memorial*] The following verses to end of *v.* 20 contain explicit instructions for the future celebration of the Passover. They appear from *v.* 17 to have been given to Moses after the departure from Egypt, but are inserted here in their proper place, in connection with the history. The passover was to be a memorial, a commemorative and sacramental ordinance of perpetual obligation. As such it has ever been observed by the Hebrews. By the Christian it is spiritually observed; its full significance is recognized, and all that it foreshadowed is realized, in the Sacrament of Holy Communion. It is not therefore necessary to limit the meaning of the words "throughout your generations" and "for ever," although both expressions are frequently used with reference to an existing dispensation, or to a limited period.

ye shall keep it a feast] The word *chag* is used twice in this passage, for "keep a feast." The radical meaning is festivity, expressed in outward demonstrations of joy.

15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel.

16 And in the first day *there shall be* an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you; no manner of work shall be done in them, save *that* which every [1] man must eat, that only may be done of you.

17 And ye shall observe *the feast of* unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations by an ordinance for ever.

18 ¶ [a] In the first *month*, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even.

19 Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger, or born in the land.

20 Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.

21 ¶ Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, Draw out and take you a [1] lamb according to your families, and kill the passover.

[1] Heb. *soul.*

[a] Lev. 23. 5. Numb. 28. 16.

[1] Or, *kid.*

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15. *Seven days*] From the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan to the end of the 21st day. The leaven was removed from the houses before the paschal lamb was slain, in accordance with the general instruction, "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread;" xxiii. 18. The unleavened bread was an essential element in the celebration: see note on *v.* 8. The penalty inflicted on those who transgressed the command may be accounted for on the ground that it was an act of rebellion; but additional light is thrown upon it by the typical meaning assigned to leaven by our Lord, Matt. xvi. 6. The period of seven days does not settle the question as to the previous observance of the week, since this command may have been first given after the institution of the Sabbath, but it adds considerable weight to the argument in its favour.

16. *an holy convocation*] This rendering exactly expresses the sense of the original; an assembly called by proclamation for a religious solemnity. The proclamation was directed to be made on some occasions by the blowing of the silver trumpets. See Num. x. 2, 3. In the East the proclamation is made by the Muezzins from the minarets of the mosques.

save that, &c.] In this the observance of the festival differed from the Sabbath, when the preparation of food was prohibited. The same word for "work" is used here and in the 4th Commandment: it is very general, and includes all laborious occupation, not however all bodily exercise, as it is understood by the stricter sects of the Rabbins.

17. *the feast of unleavened bread*] lit. "the unleavened bread;" which may mean either the festival, or the instructions relating to the unleavened bread. The Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX. read "the precept," taking a word which differs slightly in form in the unpunctuated Hebrew: but our reading and translation are accepted by most critics.

18. *In the first month*] or "in the beginning," which may mean at the beginning of the festival, on the evening of the 14th Nisan. Thus the LXX.; but the other ancient versions agree with our own, and their rendering is supported by Rosenmüller.

19. *leaven*] The Hebrew word used here occurs only in the Pentateuch. It denotes the leaven itself; the word in the next clause, which is also found only in the Pentateuch, means the leavened dough, or bread.

born in the land] or "a native of the land;" a stranger or foreigner might be born in the land, but the word here used means indigenous, belonging to the country in virtue of descent, that descent being reckoned from Abraham, to whom Canaan was promised as a perpetual inheritance. The Hebrews had no tinge of the opinion which takes human races to be autochthonous. It is indeed remarkable that that opinion was entertained most strongly of old by the Athenians, a people whose foreign origin is incontestably proved by their language, customs and religion.

21. *Then Moses called*] From this verse to end of the 28th Moses records the directions

[b] Heb. 11. 28.

22 [b] And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip *it* in the blood that *is* in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that *is* in the bason; and none of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning.

23 For the LORD will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the LORD will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite *you*.

24 And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.

25 And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service.

26 [c] And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? [c] Josh. 4. 6.

27 That ye shall say, It *is* the sacrifice of the LORD's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and worshipped.

28 And the children of Israel went away, and did as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

29 ¶ [d] And it came to pass, that at midnight the LORD smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, [e] from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that *was* in the [f] dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle. [d] chap. 11. 4. [e] Wisd. 18. 11. [f] Heb. *house of the pit.*

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which, in obedience to the command, he gave at the time to the people. This method of composition occurs frequently in the Pentateuch: it involves of course some repetition, from which no very ancient writer would shrink, but it would scarcely have been adopted by a compiler. Moses is here careful to record first the commands which he receives, and afterwards the way in which he executed them.

Draw out] The expression is clear, but the sense has been questioned. Moses directs the elders to draw the lamb from the fold and then to take it to their houses.

the passover] The word is here applied to the lamb; an important fact, marking the lamb as the sign and pledge of the exemption of the Israelites.

22. *a bunch of hyssop*] The word rendered hyssop occurs only in the Pentateuch, with two exceptions, Ps. li. 7, which refers to the Mosaic rite, and 1 K. iv. 33, where it is applied to a herb growing on the wall, probably a small species of fern, mentioned as the smallest of plants and therefore not likely to be used for the sprinkling. The species here designated does not appear to be the plant now bearing the name. If we follow the Hebrew tradition, which in such matters is of weight, and is supported by most critics, it would seem to be a species of origanum, common in Palestine and near Mount Sinai, an aromatic plant with a long straight stalk and leaves well adapted for the purpose. See note on Lev. xiv. 4.

bason] The rendering rests on good authority and gives a good sense: but the word means threshold in some other passages and in Egyptian, and is taken here in that sense by the LXX. and Vulgate. If that rendering were correct it would imply that the lamb was slain on the threshold.

none...shall go out, &c.] There is no safety outside of the precincts protected by the blood of the lamb; a symbolism too obvious to require pointing out.

23. *the destroyer*] The word denotes a personal agent; see *v.* 29, and 2 S. xxiv. 16.

24. *this thing*] The injunction would seem to apply specially to the sprinkling of blood on the lintel and doorposts; but the authority for changing the rite is unquestioned; see note on *v.* 9; and the Hebrew tradition is uniform. It may therefore be admitted, with Aben-Ezra and Knobel, who represent very different schools, that this charge refers to the general observance of the Passover.

27. *It is the sacrifice of the LORD's passover*] or **This is the sacrifice of the Passover to Jehovah.** The most formal and exact designation of the festival is thus given: but "the Passover" may mean either the act or God's mercy in sparing the Israelites, or the lamb which is offered in sacrifice: more probably the latter, as in *v.* 21, "and kill the passover." This gives a clear sense to the expression "to Jehovah;" it was a sacrifice offered to Jehovah by His ordinance.

The Tenth and Last Plague.

29. *smote all the firstborn*] This plague is distinctly attributed here and in *v.* 23 to

30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for *there was* not a house where *there was* not one dead.

31 ¶ And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, *and* get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have said.

32 Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also.

33 And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We *be* all dead *men*.

34 And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their [1] kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.

[1] Or, *dough*.

35 And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians [f] jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment:

[f] chap. 3. 22. & 11. 2.

36 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them *such things as they required*. And they spoiled the Egyptians.

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the personal intervention of THE LORD; but it is to be observed that although the Lord Himself passed through to smite the Egyptians, He employed the agency of "the destroyer," in whom, in accordance with Heb. xi. 28, all the Ancient Versions, and most critics, recognize an angel. Such indeed is the express statement of Holy Writ with reference to other visitations, as 2 Kings xix. 35, and more especially 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. The employment of angelic agency, however, does not always exclude the operation of physical causes. In the same chapter of 2 Sam. which describes the destruction of 70,000 Israelites by an angel, whose personality is distinctly attested, see *vv.* 15—17, it is no less distinctly declared to have been effected by a pestilence; see *vv.* 13 and 25. Nature accomplishes God's purposes under His control. As in every other case the hand of God was distinctly shewn by the previous announcement, the suddenness, intensity, and limitation of the calamity. No house of the Egyptians escaped; the firstborn only perished in each; the Israelites were unscathed.

the captive] In ch. xi. 5, the woman at the mill is mentioned. Such variations are common in Holy Writ, and are to be noticed as shewing the disregard of slight or apparent discrepancies. The notices of captives under the 18th dynasty are numerous on the monuments: they were generally employed in brick-making and building, and this passage implies that they were treated to some extent as settlers in the land. The word "dungeon" translated more literally in the margin "house of the pit," corresponds to the Egyptian "Rar," or "Lar," in meaning; the same word for "pit" is found in both languages. See Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 402, who considers it to be Semitic.

31. *the* LORD] The LXX. add "your God," a very probable reading.

32. *bless me also*] No words could shew more strikingly the complete, though temporary submission of Pharaoh.

34. *kneadingtroughs*] Not "dough" as in the margin. The same word is used in ch. viii. 3, and Deut. xxviii. 5. The troughs were probably small, such as are now used by the Arabians; wooden bowls in which the cakes when baked are preserved for use. The Hebrews used their outer garment, or mantle, in the same way as the Bedouins at present, who make a bag of the voluminous folds of their haiks or burnous. See Ruth iii. 15; 2 Kings iv. 39.

35. *borrowed*] Or "asked of." See note ch. iii. 22.

36. *lent*] Or **gave**. The word here used in the Hebrew means simply "granted their request." Whether the grant is made as a loan, or as a gift, depends in every instance upon the context. In this case the question is whether the Israelites asked for the jewels and the Egyptians granted them as a loan with reference to the festival in the wilderness; or whether this was regarded on both sides as a moderate remuneration for long service, and a compensation for cruel wrongs. The word "spoiling" (iii. 22) ought to be regarded as conclusive for the latter sense. The Arabic translator, Saadia, uses the word "gave." The Syriac and the Targum Onk. have the exact equivalent of the Hebrew. Rosenmüller says truly, in Hebrew the word means simply "to give;" often with the idea of willingness or readiness. Thus too Knobel, who altogether rejects the notion of lending; and Kalisch. Even if the word were taken, as it is by some distinguished scholars, in the sense "lent," it must be remembered that the actual cause which prevented the Egyptians from recovering their property was, that the return of the

[e] Numb. 33. 3.

37 ¶ And [e] the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot *that were* men, beside children.

[f] Heb. *a great mixture.*

38 And [f] a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, *even* very much cattle.

39 And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.

40 ¶ Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, *was* [g] four hundred and thirty years.

[g] Gen. 15. 13. Acts 7. 6. Gal. 3. 17.

41 And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt.

[h] Heb. *a night of observations.*

42 It *is* [h] a night to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this *is* that night of the LORD to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.

Israelites was cut off by the treachery of Pharaoh. Thus Ewald, 'G. I.' II. p. 87. Ewald also accepts the application of the transaction found so commonly in the Fathers, who see in it a figure of the appropriation by the Israelites of Egyptian rites and ceremonies, and of the truths thereby represented.

The Departure of the Israelites.

37. *Rameses*] See note on ch. i. 11. Rameses was evidently the place of general rendezvous, well adapted for that purpose as the principal city of Goshen. The Israelites, by whom it had been built, were probably settled in considerable numbers in it and about it. Pharaoh with his army and court were at that time near the frontier, and Rameses, where a large garrison was kept, was probably the place where the last interview with Moses occurred. Under the 19th dynasty the Pharaohs received foreign embassies, transacted treaties, and held their court in this city, which was considerably enlarged and embellished by Rameses II. A discussion on the route of the Israelites from Rameses to Sinai will be found in the Appendix to this book. The first part of the journey appears to have followed the course of the ancient canal. The site of Succoth cannot be exactly determined, but it lay about half-way between Rameses and Etham. It could not therefore have been on the road to Palestine which ran north-east of the lake of crocodiles (Birket Timseh), but to the south of that lake by the road which led by the shortest way to the edge of the wilderness. The frontier to the east of the road appears to have been covered in ancient times by the so-called bitter lakes, which extended to the Gulf of Suez. The name Succoth (*i.e.* "tents" or "booths" in Hebrew), may have been given by the Israelites, but the same, or a similar word, occurs in Egyptian in connection with the district. Thus in De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 50, we find an officer of state in possession of a domain called Sechet, or Sochot, in the time of Chufu. That domain was certainly in lower Egypt, and probably at no great distance from Memphis.

600,000] This includes all the males who could march. The total number of the Israelites should therefore be calculated not from the men above twenty years old, but from the males above twelve or fourteen, and would therefore amount to somewhat more than two millions. This is not an excessive population for Goshen, nor does it exceed a reasonable estimate of the increase of the Israelites, including their numerous dependants. See Payne Smith's 'Bampton Lectures,' 1869, L. III. p. 88. The number 600,000 is confirmed by many distinct statements and details, and is accepted by Ewald and other critics.

38. *a mixed multitude*] They consisted probably of remains of the old Semitic population, whether or not first brought into the district by the Hyksos is uncertain. As natural objects of suspicion and dislike to the Egyptians who had lately become masters of the country, they would be anxious to escape, the more especially after the calamities which preceded the Exodus.

very much cattle] This is an important fact, both as shewing that the oppression of the Israelites had not extended to confiscation of their property, and as bearing upon the question of their maintenance in the Wilderness.

40. *who dwelt*] Read, **which they sojourned.** The obvious intention of Moses is to state the duration of the sojourn in Egypt. On the interpretation and chronology see note below.

41. At the end of this verse the LXX. add "by night."

43 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This *is* the ordinance of the passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof:

44 But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.

45 A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof.

[e] Numb. 9. 12.

46 [e] In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house; [a] John 19. 36. [k] neither shall ye break a bone thereof.

47 All the congregation of Israel shall [t] keep it.

[t] Heb. *do it.*

48 And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born in the land: for no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.

49 One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you.

50 Thus did all the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

51 And it came to pass the selfsame day, *that* the LORD did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies.

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43. *And the* LORD *said*] The following passage, from this verse to *v.* 16 of the next chapter, contains additional instructions regarding the Passover. Such instructions were needed when the Israelites were joined by the "mixed multitudes" of strangers; and they were probably given at Succoth, on the morning following the departure from Rameses. The antiquity of this section is generally admitted by critics. The first point which required to be determined was the condition of participation in the rite; it is simple and complete. No one was to be admitted without being circumcised: all were to be admitted who were qualified by that rite.

no stranger] lit. "son of a stranger." The term is general; it includes all who were aliens from Israel, until they were incorporated into the nation by circumcision. The Arabic translator is probably right in using a word which involves the idea of persistence in a false religion; the Targum goes farther, and takes a word which means apostate.

44. *servant*] or "slave." It seems better to retain the word "servant," for although the servant was, strictly speaking, a slave, being the property of his master, his condition differed very widely from that of a slave in heathen countries, or those Christian nations wherein slavery is legalized. The circumcision of the slave, thus enjoined formally on the first day that Israel became a nation, in accordance with the law given to Abraham Gen. xvii. 12, made him a true member of the family, equally entitled to all religious privileges. In the household of a priest the slave was even permitted to eat the consecrated food: Lev. xxii. 11.

45. *A foreigner*] or **sojourner.** The Hebrew means one who resides in a country, not having a permanent home, nor being attached to an Israelitish household. A different word is used *v.* 43.

46. *In one house*] The Targum renders this "in one company," a translation which, though not literal, expresses the true meaning of the injunction. Each lamb was to be entirely consumed by the members of one company, whether they belonged to the same household or not.

break a bone] The typical significance of this injunction is recognized by St John; see marginal reference. It is not easy to assign any other satisfactory reason for it. This victim alone was exempt from the general law by which the limbs were ordered to be separated from the body.

48. *when a stranger shall sojourn*] or "when a stranger shall settle with thee." It is not easy to express in English the exact meaning of these words. The sojourner and the hired servant did not come under the definition of a permanent settler. When circumcised any foreigner became one of the chosen race.

50. *Thus did*, &c.] This verse and the following apply apparently to the stay of the people at Succoth, where they may have remained a short time, completing their preparation for final departure from Egypt.

NOTES on vv. 4, 8, 40.

4. The variations in translating this verse do not affect the general sense, but indicate some difficulty in the construction. "Each man according to his eating" is understood by the Vulg. to mean the number which may be sufficient to consume the lamb: but the evident sense is that the head of the family must judge what quantity each person will probably consume, a quantity varying of course according to age, strength, and other circumstances. The Hebrew root סכם, with its derivatives, does not occur in any book but the Pentateuch, and with one exception, Num. xxxi., only in connection with this special transaction, nor is it found in any of the Semitic languages. It is evidently archaic, unknown to later Hebrews except from this book. Gesenius points out the analogy with other roots with the same or similar initials, and Fuerst compares the Sanscrit *ças*, *kshi*, which however differ, having, as well as the Egyptian *kesha*, the sense of cutting, wounding, &c.

8. Hebrew מצות; derived by Gesenius from מצץ, "cum voluptate hausit, gustavit." Brugsch, 'D. H.' s. v., suggests an Egyptian etymology. The cakes offered at the festival of the New Year to Osiris were called *mest*, or *mesī-t*. It is possible that the word was commonly used while the Israelites were in Egypt to denote sweet, or unleavened, cakes used exclusively for sacred purposes. Knobel and Keil agree in referring *mazzoth* to a word extant in Arabic, in the sense "pure:" but that sense is secondary and probably not ancient; the root has the meaning assigned above to מצץ. At the end of this verse the LXX. and Vulg. omit "it" after "eat." This gives a preferable construction to that of our A.V.; and the authority of the LXX., always high in the Pentateuch, is especially so in this book.

40. The rendering of the Authorised Version, "who dwelt," is peculiar. It has no support in the Ancient Versions: (the LXX. have ἣν κατῴκησαν; the Vulg. qua mânserunt; thus also the Arabic, Syriac, Chaldee and Samaritan;) nor does it appear to be adopted by any modern commentator. In fact the mention of the sojourning without reference to its duration would be beside the mind of the writer. If the Hebrew text be taken as it stands, it fixes that duration to 430 years; and this is accepted by the majority of critics of all schools. It agrees substantially with Genesis xv. 13, 14, when the announcement was first made to Abraham, "know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterwards shall they come out with great substance." The expressions here used apply to Egypt and not to Canaan, in which the Patriarchs were certainly not made to serve. The additional statement in *v.* 16 of the same chapter "in the fourth generation they shall come hither again" presents some difficulty; it is however probably identical in sense with the preceding one, referring to the time during which the people would serve in a strange land; the term generation is understood by Gesenius and other Hebrew scholars to be equivalent to a century.

The correctness of the Hebrew text has however been questioned. The LXX. according to the Vatican codex inserts after Egypt, "and in the land of Canaan:" or according to the Alexandrian codex and Coptic Version, ed. De Lagarde, "which they and their fathers dwelt in the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan." The Samaritan Pentateuch has "which they dwelt in the land of Canaan and the land of Egypt." This is supposed by some to represent a various reading in the original: but the authority of both witnesses is impaired by the variations which indicate an intention to meet a difficulty, and by the fact that the most ancient Greek codices omit the words altogether and agree with the Hebrew text. For this we have the evidence of Theophilus Ant. who states twice, 'ad Aut.' III. § 9 and 24, that the Israelites sojourned 430 years in Egypt: the Samaritan text and that of one late Hebrew MS. which agrees with it are suspected of interpolation. Scholars at present generally accept the Hebrew as genuine, differing only in the interpretation.

There can be no doubt that at an early time the Jews felt the difficulty of reconciling this statement with the genealogies, which they held to be complete. If Levi were the grandfather of Moses on the mother's side through Jochebed, and separated only by two descents on the father's, through Kohath and Amram, it is clear that a space of 430 years could not be accounted for. Levi was past middle age when he went into Egypt; Moses was born 80 years before the Exodus. The difficulty however appears to be insuperable even on the hypothesis that 430 years included the whole interval between Abraham and the Exodus. Isaac was born 25 years after Abraham's arrival in Canaan, Jacob was born in Isaac's 60th year, and was 130 years old when he entered Egypt. This accounts for 215 years, leaving 215 for the sojourn. But in order to make out 215 years it is necessary to assume that Levi was 95 years old when Jochebed was born, and that Jochebed was 85 years old when she became mother of Moses. This is said by a commentator of great weight not to be improbable; but it involves two miracles, for which there is no authority in Scripture.

In the later Targum on Exodus ii. 1 Rabbinical tradition is recorded that Jochebed was miraculously restored to youth at the age of 130 years. But even these assumptions would not remove the objection, that the male descendants of Kohath (the grandfather of Moses on this hypothesis) amounted to 8600 at the time of the Exodus; see Num. iii. 28. The Kohathites were then divided into four families, each of which must have numbered, including females, about 4300, when Moses was 80 years of age. Whether the longer or shorter period be adopted, it is equally necessary either to assume a succession of miracles, or to admit that an indefinite number of links in the genealogies are omitted; a fact for which we have positive evidence in the most important of all genealogies, that of our Lord, and in that of Ezra, which therefore there can be no irreverence in assuming in a case when it clears up every difficulty in the narrative.

The Jewish tradition is assumed to be in favour of 215 years; this may be true in reference to the later Rabbis: but it is far from being uniform. Josephus adopts it in one passage, 'Ant.' II. 15. 2, but in others he distinctly asserts that the period of affliction in Egypt after the death of Joseph lasted 400 years; see 'Ant.' II. 9. 1 and 'B. J.' V. 9. 4. The evidence is worth little, being self-contradictory, but it shews that both opinions were held at his time. In the New Testament St Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 6, recognizes 400 years as the period when the seed of Abraham should be in bondage and evil entreated, terms which could only apply to Egypt. St Paul however seems to support the other view, Gal. iii. 17, where he says that the law was given 430 years after Abraham: but the period accepted generally by the Jews in his time sufficed for his purpose, and a discussion upon a point which did not affect his argument would have been out of place.

It may be possible to reconcile the number of the Israelites at the time of the Exodus with the shorter period; but it certainly is far more probable if we accept without any reserve the statement of Moses in this passage, made as it is, in the most formal and precise terms, with the express purpose of fixing the length of the sojourn permanently upon the national mind.

The determination of the date of the Exodus rests mainly upon the statement in 1 K. vi. 1, that 480 years elapsed between the fourth year of Solomon and the time when the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt. That date is supported by all the ancient versions (the slight deviation in the LXX., 440 for 480, being accounted for by Winer and Thenius in loc. as a lapsus calami, מ=40 for ת=80), it is accepted by able critics, and it appears to the writer of this note to accord best with the indications of time in the historical books; but the subject belongs properly to the commentary on Kings.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The firstborn are sanctified to God.* 3 *The memorial of the passover is commanded.* 11 *The firstlings of beasts are set apart.* 17 *The Israelites go out of Egypt, and carry Joseph's bones with them.* 20 *They come to Etham.* 21 *God guideth them by a pillar of a cloud, and a pillar of fire.*

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 [a] Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, *both* of man and of beast: it *is* mine. [a] chap. 22. 29. & 34. 19. Lev. 27. 26. Numb. 3. 13. & 8. 16. Luke 2. 23.

3 ¶ And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of [1] bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD brought you out [1] Heb. *servants.*

CHAP. XIII. The instructions in the first part of this chapter are not necessarily connected with the rest of the narrative, and there may have been special reasons for adding some of them, together with the grounds for their observance, when the people were preparing for the invasion of Palestine. This might have been before the beginning of their long wandering in the wilderness of Tih, at the same time when Moses sent the spies to explore Canaan. Whether written later or not, this section contains much which must have been orally given at the first celebration of the Passover.

2. *Sanctify unto me*] The command is addressed to Moses. It was to declare the will of God that all firstborn were to be consecrated to him, set apart from all other creatures. The command is expressly based upon the Passover. The firstborn exempt from the destruction became in a new and special sense the exclusive property of the Lord: the firstborn of man as His ministers, the firstborn of cattle as victims. In lieu of the firstborn of men the Levites were devoted to the temple services. The consecration of all firstborn is admitted to be peculiar to the Hebrews; nor can any satisfactory reason for such a law be assigned by those who refuse to accept the Scriptural statement, which they admit to be explicit. Knobel refutes the theories of other writers.

from this *place:* there shall no leavened bread be eaten.

4 This day came ye out in the month Abib.

5 ¶ And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this month.

6 Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day *shall be* a feast to the LORD.

7 Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters.

8 ¶ And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, *This is done* because of that *which* the LORD did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.

9 And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the LORD's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the LORD brought thee out of Egypt.

10 Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year.

11 ¶ And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee,

12 [b] That thou shalt [f] set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males *shall be* the LORD's.

13 And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [i] lamb; and

[b] chap. 22. 29. & 34. 19. Ezek. 44. 30.

[f] Heb. *cause to pass over.*

[i] Or, *kid.*

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4. *Abib*] It is uncertain whether this name was ancient or given then for the first time. It is found only in the Pentateuch, twice in the sense of young wheat, six times as the name of the first month. The two former instances leave little doubt as to the etymology, viz. the month when the wheat began to ripen. Thus the LXX., Targ. and Saadia. In Arabic *abbon* means green herbs. The name resembles the Egyptian Epiphi, April, and may possibly have been derived from it; that name is ancient. See Brugsch, 'H. E.' p. 162.

5. *the Canaanites*] Five nations only are named in this passage, whereas six are named in iii. 8, and ten in the original promise to Abraham, Gen. xv. 19—21. The LXX. add the Perizzites and Girgashites, probably on MSS. authority. The first word Canaanite is generic, and includes all the Hamite races of Palestine.

9. *And it shall be for a sign unto thee*, &c.] Hebrew writers have generally regarded this as a formal injunction to write the precepts on slips of parchment, and to fasten them on the wrists and forehead; but other commentators are generally agreed that it is to be understood metaphorically. The words appear to be put into the mouths of the parents. They were to keep all the facts of the passover constantly in mind, and, referring to a custom prevalent ages before Moses in Egypt, to have them present as though they were inscribed on papyrus or parchment fastened on the wrists, or on the face between the eyes. If, as may be inferred from Deut. vi. 7, 8, Moses adopted this custom, he would take care to warn the people against the Egyptian superstition of amulets. Modern Israelites generally allege this precept as a justification for the use of phylacteries. Moses states distinctly the object of the precept, which was that the law of Jehovah should be in their mouth: see *v.* 16. The expression may have been proverbial in the time of Moses, as it certainly was at a later period; see Proverbs vi. 20—22, vii. 3, where the metaphorical sense is not questioned. Jerome gives a clear and rational interpretation in his commentary on Matthew xxiii. 5, "Præcepta mea sint in manu tua, ut opere compleantur, sint ante oculos tuos ut nocte et die mediteris in illis."

12. *thou shalt set apart*] lit. as in the margin "cause to pass over," but the sense is correctly expressed in the text, which follows the Old Versions, and is preferable to the marginal rendering, which suggests a reference to the word "Passover."

13. *an ass*] The reason of the injunction is evidently that the ass could not be offered in sacrifice, being an unclean animal: possibly the only unclean animal domesticated among the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. The principle of the law being obvious, it was extended to the horse and camel, and generally to every unclean beast; see Num. xviii. 15. The mention of the ass only would scarcely have occurred to an Israelite of a

if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break his neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.

14 ¶ And it shall be when thy son asketh thee † in time to come, saying, What *is* this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage:

† Heb. *to morrow.*

15 And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the LORD slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the matrix, being males; but all the firstborn of my children I redeem.

16 And it shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

17 ¶ And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not *through* the way of the land of the Philistines, although that *was* near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt:

18 But God led the people about, *through* the way of the wilderness of the Red sea: and the children of Israel went up ‖ harnessed out of the land of Egypt.

‖ Or, *by five in a rank.*

19 And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying,

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later age. It has been observed that the ass was held by the Egyptians to be typhonic, *i.e.* in a peculiar sense unclean: but that feeling appears to belong to a comparatively later period; in early monuments the ass is frequently represented, and in the 'Ritual,' c. 40, it is even a type of Osiris.

thou shalt redeem] The lamb, or sheep, was given to the priest for the service of the sanctuary.

firstborn of man] The price of redemption was fixed at five shekels of the sanctuary: Num. iii. 47, where see note.

16. *it shall be*] This passage confirms the interpretation given above on *v.* 9.

17—19. These verses do not appear to be a continuation of the narrative, which is resumed at *v.* 20. It is not improbable that some short time was passed at Succoth, and that Moses then gave final injunctions touching the celebration of the Passover, and received general instructions as to the ultimate direction of the journey. Succoth may very probably have been the head-quarters of the Hebrews in Goshen. The name in Hebrew indicates an assemblage of booths, or moveable huts (see ch. xii. 37), such as were probably used by the Israelites, ever mindful of their condition as sojourners in a strange land: the notice in *v.* 19 naturally leaves the impression that the bones of Joseph were kept there, of course in the charge of his own descendants.

17. *the way of the land of the Philistines*] The occupancy of southern Palestine by the Philistines, at a much earlier period than is assigned by any critics to the Exodus, is attested by the narrative in Genesis xxvi. 1. It has lately been questioned on the ground that the inhabitants of Ascalon, when it was captured by Rameses II. did not wear the well-known costume of the Philistines, but that of the ancient Canaanites, and that the name Pulisha, *i.e.* Philistines, occurs first in monuments of the time of Rameses III. Brugsch, 'Geog. Ins.' II. p. 86. The objection is answered in the Appendix at the end of the volume: here it may suffice to notice that the persons represented on the monuments of Rameses II. were probably Israelites; for they actually took possession of the cities of the Philistines, who did not recover the territory until a considerable time had elapsed after the death of Joshua. The warlike character of the Philistines is equally conspicuous in the Egyptian and Hebrew records.

18. *harnessed*] This interpretation of the Hebrew word rests on the authority of some ancient versions, and a possible etymology is suggested by Rabbinical writers. It seems, however, more probable that the meaning is marshalled or in orderly array. See note below. The objection (grounded on the rendering in our version) that the Israelites were not likely to have been armed is unreasonable. There is not the least indication that they were disarmed by the Egyptians, and as occupying a frontier district frequently assailed by the nomads of the desert they would of necessity be accustomed to the use of arms. The fear expressed by Pharaoh (see ch. i. 10) that they might at any time join the invaders and fight against Egypt was the avowed and doubtless the true motive for the crafty measures by which he hoped to subdue their spirit and prevent their increase.

[e] Gen. 50. 25. Josh. 24. 32. [d] Numb. 33. 6. [e] Numb. 14. 14. Deut. 1. 33. Psal. 78. 14. 1 Cor. 10. 1.

[e] God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you.

20 ¶ And [d] they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.

21 And [e] the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night:

22 He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, [f] nor the pillar of fire by night, *from* before the people. [f] Neh. 9. 19.

20. *Etham*] The Egyptian notices of Etham will be found in the Appendix at the end of this volume. The most probable result of those notices is that Etham, which means the house or sanctuary of Tum (the Sun God worshipped specially by that name in lower Egypt), was in the immediate vicinity of Heropolis, called by the Egyptians the fortress of Zar, or Zalu (*i.e.* of foreigners); the frontier city where the Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty reviewed their forces when about to enter upon a campaign on Syria. The name Pithom has precisely the same meaning with Etham, and may possibly be identified with it. It was at this point that the Bedouins of the adjoining wilderness came into contact with the Egyptians. Under the 19th dynasty we find them applying in a time of famine for admission to the fertile district commanded by the fortress called the sanctuary of Tum.

21. *pillar of cloud*] The Lord Himself did for the Israelites by preternatural means that which armies were obliged to do for themselves by natural agents. Passages are quoted from classical writers which shew that the Persians and Greeks used fire and smoke as signals in their marches. Curtius describes the practice of Alexander, who gave the signal for departure by a fire on a tall pole over his tent, and says, observabatur ignis noctu fumus interdiu. Vegetius and Frontinus mention it as a general custom, especially among the Arabians. The success of some important expeditions, as of Thrasybulus and Timoleon, was attributed by popular superstition to a divine light guiding the leaders. To these well-known instances may be added two of peculiar interest, as bearing witness to a custom known to all the contemporaries of Moses. In an inscription of the Ancient Empire an Egyptian general is compared to "a flame streaming in advance of an army." (See Chabas 'V. E.' p. 54; the inscription is in the Denkmæler, II, pl. 150, 2). Thus too in a wellknown papyrus, (Anast. 1) the commander of an expedition is called "A flame in the darkness at the head of his soldiers." By this sign then of the pillar of cloud, the Lord shewed Himself as their leader and general. "The Lord is a man of war . . . thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy" (xv.).

NOTE on *v.* 18.

The Hebrew חמשים is rendered "armati" by the Vulg., מזרזין by Onkelos, *i.e.* accincti, expediti, rather than armati, as it is rendered in Walton's Polyglott. This would suit the etymology proposed by Abulwalid, Kimchi, and Tanchum, and adopted by Kalisch, viz. חֹמֶשׁ, ilia, abdomen. The sense however would be *not* "full-armed," but simply "with their loins girded," as men prepared for a journey. Thus in Joshua i. 14 it is rendered ἐνζωνοι by the LXX. The Arabic in Walton (by Saadia) has مُتَعَبِّيِين. *i.e.* instructi, marshalled; and this meaning is adopted by many critics, though different etymologies are proposed. Knobel says that it *must* signify assembled, arranged in orderly divisions, in contradistinction from a disorganised rabble. He derives it from Arabic roots, such as خمس &c. It seems however preferable to take the obvious Hebrew etymology from חמש, *i.e.* five, probably connected with خمس, agmen instructum, pr. quinquepartitum, which is pointed at by the singular rendering of the LXX. "in the fifth generation." Ewald, 'G. I.' p. 89, explains it "arranged in five divisions," *i.e.* van, centre, two wings and rear-guard. The promptitude with which so vast a multitude was marshalled and led forth justifies admiration, but is not marvellous, nor without parallels in ancient and modern history (see Introduction). The Israelites had been prepared for departure, some preliminary measures must have been taken after each of the plagues when Pharaoh had given a temporary assent to the request of Moses, see viii. 8, 28, ix. 28, x. 16, four several occasions on which notice must have been given to the people. It must also be borne in mind that the despotism of Pharaoh had supplied the Israelites with native officers whom they were accustomed to obey, and with whom they were united by the bond of a common suffering (see ch. v. 14—21). Their leader had the experience of an early life at a warlike court, and of long years passed among the fierce tribes of the desert. The nation moreover has shewn in every age a remarkable talent for prompt and systematic organization.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *God instructeth the Israelites in their journey.* 5 *Pharaoh pursueth after them.* 10 *The Israelites murmur.* 13 *Moses comforteth them.* 15 *God instructeth Moses.* 19 *The cloud removeth behind the camp.* 21 *The Israelites pass through the Red sea,* 23 *which drowneth the Egyptians.*

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before [a] Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea.

[a] Numb. 33. 7.

3 For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They *are* entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.

The Passage over the Red Sea.

CHAP. XIV. 2. *That they turn*] The narrative is continued from *v.* 20 of the preceding chapter. The people were then at Etham, or Pithom, the frontier city towards the wilderness: they are now commanded to change the direction of their march, and to go southwards, to the west of the Bitter Lakes, which completely separated them from the desert: see note on c. xii. 37.

Pi-hahiroth] The derivation of this name is doubtful. If it is Semitic, like the two other names mentioned in connection with it, the meaning may be "mouth, or entrance of the holes or caverns," but it is more probably Egyptian, with the common prefix Pi, *i. e.* house. In an ancient papyrus, we read of a place called Hir, or Pe-Hir, where there was a large well, at no great distance from Rameses, which it supplied with garlands. See Chabas, 'Mél. ég.' II. p. 123. The place is generally identified with Ajrud, a fortress with a very large well of good water (see Niebuhr, 'Voyage,' I. p. 175), situate at the foot of an elevation commanding the plain which extends to Suez, at a distance of four leagues. The journey from Etham might occupy two, or even three days; had however Etham been, as many geographers suppose, half-way between Mukfar and Ajrud (see Robinson's 'Chart'), Pharaoh could not possibly have overtaken the Israelites, whether his head-quarters were at Zoan, or even at Rameses, which was two days' journey from Etham.

Migdol] The word means a tower, or fort: it is probably to be identified with Bir Suweis, about two miles from Suez. The water is said by Niebuhr to be scarcely drinkable; according to Robinson, p. 45, it is used only for cooking and washing. This traveller observes justly, that if the wells were in existence at the time of the Exodus they would mark the site of a town. Now M. Chabas has lately shewn that Maktal, or Magdal, an Egyptian fort (which on other grounds he identifies with Migdol), visited by Sethos I. on his return from a campaign in Syria, was built over a large well: see 'Voyage d'un Egyptien,' p. 286. This leaves scarcely any room for doubt as to the locality; it is a point of importance with reference to the passage over the sea.

Baal-zephon] This appears to have been the name under which the Phœnicians, who had a settlement in lower Egypt at a very ancient period, worshipped their chief Deity. The corresponding Egyptian Deity was Sutech, who is often called Bal on monuments of the 19th dynasty. Sethos I. gave a name closely connected with this to a city in the same neighbourhood, which Chabas, l. c., holds to be Baal-Zephon. There can be no doubt it was near Kolsum, or Suez. In the time of Niebuhr there were considerable ruins close to Suez on the north. From the text it is clear that the encampment of the Israelites extended over the plain from Pi-hahiroth: their head-quarters being between Bir Suweis and the sea opposite to Baal-Zephon. At Ajrud the road branches off in two directions, one leading to the wilderness by a tract, now dry, but in the time of Moses probably impassable, see next note; the other leading to Suez, which was doubtless followed by the Israelites.

3. *They are entangled*, &c.] The meaning evidently is, in that direction they have no egress from Egypt: the latter part of the verse is generally rendered as in our Version, "the wilderness has shut them in," but the sense would rather seem to be "the wilderness is closed to them;" see note below. The original intention of Moses was to go towards Palestine by the wilderness: when that purpose was changed by God's direction and they moved southwards, Pharaoh on receiving information was of course aware that they were completely shut in, since the waters of the Red Sea then extended to the bitter lakes. It is known that the Red Sea at some remote period extended considerably further towards the north than it does at present. In the time of Moses the water north of Kolsum joined the bitter lakes, though at present the constant accumulation of sand has covered the intervening space to the extent of 8000 to 10000 yards, not however rising higher than six feet above the level of the lakes, and from 40 to 50 feet below the level of the Red Sea. Mr Malan, p. 217, observes that the lake Timseh, still further north, is full of

4 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I *am* the LORD. And they did so.

5 ¶ And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?

6 And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him:

7 And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.

8 And the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: and the children of Israel went out with an high hand.

9 But the [b] Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses *and* chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.

[b] Josh. 24. 6. 1 Mac. 4. 9

10 ¶ And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out unto the LORD.

11 And they said unto Moses, Be-

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the Saris or Shari, the arundo Egyptiaca, from which the Red Sea takes its local name.

5. *the people fled*] This was a natural inference from the change of direction, which indicated a determination to escape from Egypt. Up to the time when that information reached Pharaoh both he and his people understood that the Israelites would return after keeping a festival in the district adjoining Etham. From Etham the intelligence would be forwarded by the commander of the garrison to Rameses in less than a day, and the cavalry, a highly disciplined force, would of course be ready for immediate departure.

7. *six hundred chosen chariots*] The Egyptian army comprised large numbers of chariots, each drawn by two horses, with two men, one bearing the shield and driving, the other fully armed. The horses were thoroughbred, renowned for strength and spirit. Chariots are first represented on the monuments of the 18th dynasty: they were used by Amosis I. in the expedition against the shepherd kings, by Tothmosis I. against Syria and Mesopotamia: under Tothmosis III. we have the record of a battle at Megiddo in which 897 war-chariots were captured from the confederated forces of northern Palestine and Syria. By "all the chariots of Egypt" we are to understand all that were stationed in lower Egypt, most of them probably at Rameses and other frontier garrisons near the head-quarters of Pharaoh. According to Diodorus Siculus, I. 54, the Egyptians had 27000 chariots in the time of Rameses II.

captains over every one of them] Rather **captains over the whole of them.** Thus the LXX., Vulg., Saadia, Syr. The word rendered captains (Shalishim, lit. third or thirtieth) is supposed by Rœdiger, Ges. 'Thes.' s. v., to mean the warriors in the chariots, but the Egyptians never put more than two men in a chariot. The true meaning is captains or commanders. The word may represent an Egyptian title. The king had about him a council of thirty, each of whom bore a title corresponding to the Roman decemvir, viz. Mapu, a "thirty man." See Pleyte, 'Æg. Zeitschrift,' 1866, p. 12, and Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Egyptien.' The word occurs frequently in the books of Kings. David seems to have organized the Shalishim as a distinct corps, see 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, where it is translated, as in this passage, captains. He probably retained the old name, though it is possible that he may have adopted the Egyptian system, being on friendly terms with the contemporary dynasty, which gave a queen to Israel.

9. *and his horsemen*] Horsemen are not represented on Egyptian monuments, even on those of a later age, when they were employed in great numbers; the omission is probably connected with the strict regulations of Egyptian art; but Diodorus Siculus, whose authority is not questioned on this point, states that Rameses II. had a force of 24000 cavalry, independent of the chariotry; Isaiah makes the same distinction between the chariots and horsemen of Egypt, c. xxxi. 1. The technical expression for mounting on horseback is found in ancient papyri.

beside Pi-hahiroth] This statement is urged as an objection to the identification with Ajrud; but the encampment of the great host of Israel extended over many miles.

cause *there were* no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt?

[c] chap. 6. 9. 12 [c] *Is* not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For *it had been* better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness.

13 ¶ And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will shew to you to day: [1] for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.

[1] Or, *for where as you have seen the Egyptians to day, &c.*

14 The LORD shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.

15 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward:

16 But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go on dry *ground* through the midst of the sea.

17 And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

18 And the Egyptians shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

19 ¶ And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them:

20 And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness *to them*, but it gave light by night *to these:* so that the one came not near the other all the night.

21 And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the LORD caused the sea to go *back* by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry *land*, and the waters were [d] divided.

[d] Josh. 4. 23. Psal. 114. 3.

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11. *no graves in Egypt*] This bitter taunt was probably suggested by the vast extent of cemeteries in Egypt, which might not improperly be called the land of tombs: it would scarcely have been imagined by one who had not dwelt there.

12. *Let us alone*] This is a gross exaggeration, yet not without a semblance of truth: for although the Israelites welcomed the message of Moses at first, they gave way completely at the first serious trial. See the reference in marg. The whole passage foreshadows the conduct of the people in the wilderness.

13. *for the Egyptians whom*, &c.] Rather **for as ye have seen the Egyptians** today ye shall see them again no more for ever. Our A.V. follows the Vulg., but the LXX., Targ., Saad. give the true sense, ye shall never see the Egyptians in the same way, under the same circumstances.

15. *Wherefore criest thou unto me?*] Moses does not speak of his intercession, and we only know of it from this answer to his prayer. This is a characteristic of the narrative, important to be observed with reference to other omissions less easily supplied.

19. *the angel of God*] Compare ch. xiii. 21; and see note on ch. iii. 2.

20. The words in Italics are accepted as explanatory by some commentators; but the LXX. read "and the night passed" instead of "it gave light by night." The sense is good and the reading not improbable.

21. *a strong east wind*] It is thus distinctly stated that the agency by which the object was effected was natural. It is clear that Moses takes for granted that a strong east wind blowing through the night, under given circumstances, would make the passage quite possible. It would seem to be scarcely practicable, when the wind blows from other quarters (see Tischendorf's account, 'Aus dem heiligen Lande,' p. 21). Of course this would not explain the effect, if the passage had been made, as was formerly supposed, through the deep sea near the Wady Musa, some leagues south of Suez. All the conditions of the narrative are satisfied by the hypothesis, that the passage took place near Suez.

the waters were divided] *i.e.* there was a complete separation between the water of the gulf and the water to the north of Kolsum.

[e] Psal. 78. 13. 1 Cor. 10. 1. Heb. 11. 29.

22 And [e] the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry *ground:* and the waters *were* a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

23 ¶ And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, *even* all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.

24 And it came to pass, that in the morning watch the LORD looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians,

25 And took off their chariot wheels, [1] that they drove them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the LORD fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

[1] Or, *made them to go heavily.*

26 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen.

27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD [t] overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

[t] Heb. *shook off.*

28 And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, *and* all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as [f] one of them.

[f] Psal. 106. 11.

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22. *were a wall unto them*] The waters served the purpose of an intrenchment and wall; the people could not be attacked on either flank during the transit; to the north was the water covering the whole district; to the south was the Red Sea. For the idiom, compare Nahum iii. 8.

23. *the Egyptians pursued*] The Egyptians might be aware that under ordinary circumstances there would be abundant time for the passage of the chariots and cavalry, of which the force chiefly consisted.

24. *in the morning watch*] At sunrise, a little before 6 A.M. in April.

troubled] Threw them into confusion by a sudden panic.

25. *And took off their chariot wheels*] This translation is generally accepted. The LXX. however render the word "bound" or clogged (συνέδησε = אסר), a probable reading, and perhaps more suited to the context.

26. *that the waters may come*] A sudden cessation of the wind, possibly coinciding with a spring tide (it was full moon) would immediately convert the low flat sand-banks first into a quicksand, and then into a mass of waters, in a time far less than would suffice for the escape of a single chariot, or horseman loaded with heavy corslet.

27. *overthrew the Egyptians*] Better as in the margin, **The Lord shook them off**, hurled them from their chariots into the sea. Thus in the papyrus quoted above, when the chariot is broken the warrior is hurled out with such force that his armour is buried in the sand.

28. *not so much as one of them*] The statement is explicit, all the chariots and horsemen and that portion of the infantry which followed them into the bed of the sea. In fact, as has been shewn, escape would be impossible. A doubt has been raised whether Pharaoh himself perished: but independent of the distinct statement of the Psalmist, Ps. cxxxvi. 15, his destruction is manifestly assumed, and was in fact inevitable. The station of the king was in the vanguard: on every monument the Pharaoh is represented as the leader of the army, and allowing for Egyptian flattery on other occasions, that was his natural place in the pursuit of fugitives whom he hated so intensely. The death of the Pharaoh, and the entire loss of the chariotry and cavalry accounts for the undisturbed retreat of the Israelites through a district then subject to Egypt and easily accessible to their forces. The blow to Egypt was not fatal, for the loss of men might not amount to many thousands; but falling upon their king, their leaders and the portion of the army indispensable for the prosecution of foreign wars, it crippled them effectually. If, as appears probable, Tothmosis II. were the Pharaoh, the first recorded expedition into the Peninsula took place 17 years after his death; and twenty-two years elapsed before any measures were taken to recover the lost ascendancy of Egypt in Syria. So complete, so marvellous was the deliverance: thus the Israelites were baptized to Moses in the cloud and in the sea. When they left Baal-Zephon they were separated finally from the idolatry of Egypt: when they passed the Red Sea their independence of its power was sealed; their life as a nation then began, a life inseparable henceforth from belief in Jehovah, and His servant Moses, only to be merged in the higher life revealed by His Son.

29 But the children of Israel walked upon dry *land* in the midst of the sea; and the waters *were* a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

30 Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.

31 And Israel saw that great † work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians: and the people feared the LORD, and believed the LORD, and his servant Moses.

† Heb. *hand.*

NOTE on *v.* 3.

The Hebrew has סגר עליהם המדבר. The LXX. and Vulg. render סגר συγκέκλεικε, conclusit: but it is not followed by an accusative in the Hebrew, and must be intransitive, as it is taken by Saadia انغلق, and the Syr. ܐܬܓܪ, *i.e.* conclusum est. Thus in Judges iii. 22, "The fat closed upon the blade." The correct rendering seems to be the wilderness is closed to them. In no sense could the wilderness be a barrier; the direct route led them into it, the change of route shut them out from it.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *Moses' song.* 22 *The people want water.* 23 *The waters at Marah are bitter.* 25 *A tree sweeteneth them.* 27 *At Elim are twelve wells, and seventy palm trees.*

[a] Wisd. x. 20.

[a]THEN sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying, I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

2 The LORD *is* my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he *is* my God, and I will prepare him

CHAP. XV. 1—18. With the deliverance of Israel is associated the development of the national poetry, which finds its first and perfect expression in this magnificent hymn. It is said to have been sung by Moses and the people, an expression which evidently points to him as the author. That it was written at the time is an assertion expressly made in the text, and it is supported by the strongest internal evidence. The style is admitted, even by critics who question its genuineness, to be archaic, both in the language, which is equally remarkable for grandeur, and severe simplicity, and in the general structure, which, though rhythmical and systematic, differs materially from later compositions, in which the divisions are more numerous and the arrangement more elaborate. The subject matter and the leading thoughts are such as belong to the time and the occasion; unlike the imitations in the later Psalms, the song abounds in allusions to incidents passing under the eye of the composer: it has every mark of freshness and originality. The only objections are founded on the prophetic portion (15—17): but if ever there was a crisis calculated to elicit the spirit of prophecy, it was that of the Exodus, if ever a man fitted to express that spirit, it was Moses. Even objectors admit that the invasion of Palestine was contemplated by Moses: if so what more natural than that after the great catastrophe, which they accept as an historical fact, he should anticipate the terror of the nations through whose territories the Israelites would pass, and whose destruction was an inevitable condition of their success. In every age this song gave the tone to the poetry of Israel; especially at great critical epochs of deliverance. In the book of Revelation (xv. 3) it is associated with the final triumph of the Church, when the saints "having the harps of God" will sing "the Song of Moses the servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb."

The division of the Song into three parts is distinctly marked: 1—5, 6—10, 11—18: each begins with an ascription of praise to God; each increases in length and varied imagery unto the triumphant close.

FIRST DIVISION. 1—5. Ascription of praise and brief statement of the transaction.

1. *He hath triumphed gloriously*] This gives the true meaning, but not the force and grandeur of the Hebrew, literally He is gloriously glorious. Among the Ancient Versions the LXX, ἐνδόξως δεδόξασται, comes near, the Arabic of Saadia is very fine اقتدر اقتدارا

an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

3 The LORD *is* a man of war: the LORD *is* his name.

4 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red sea.

5 The depths have covered them: they sank into the bottom as a stone.

6 Thy right hand, O LORD, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O LORD, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee: thou sentest forth thy wrath, *which* consumed them as stubble.

8 And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, *and*

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the horse and his rider] The word "rider" may include horseman, but applies properly to the charioteer: the Egyptian word for horse which corresponds exactly to the Hebrew, always designates the swift, high-bred horses used for the war-cars of nobles. Thus in the papyrus 'Anast.' 1, "The horses of my chariot are swift as jackals: their eyes like fire: they are like a hurricane when it bursts."

2. *The* LORD *is my strength and song*] **My strength and song is Jah.** This name is specially associated with victory by the Psalmist, Ps. lxviii. 4. It was doubtless chosen here by Moses to draw attention to the promise ratified by the name "I am." The form of the word "song" in Hebrew is archaic.

I will prepare Him an habitation] **I will glorify Him.** Scholars agree that the Hebrew word means to celebrate with grateful, loving adoration. In fact this sense is given by most of the ancient Versions. Our Authorised Version is open to serious objection, as suggesting a thought (viz. of erecting a temple) which could hardly have been in the mind of Moses at that time, and unsuited to the occasion. It is one of many instances of undue deference to Rabbinical authorities on the part of our translators. The Targum of Onkelos, who is followed by Kimchi, has "I will build Him a sanctuary." Thus too the interlinear Latin in Walton's Polyglott. The LXX., Vulg. and Syr. render the word correctly. Saadia has "I will take refuge with Him."

3. *a man of war*] Compare Ps. xxiv. 8. The name has on this occasion a peculiar fitness; man had no part in the victory: the battle was the Lord's.

the LORD *is his name*] A pregnant expression, implying that the manifestation of might, by which the salvation of Israel was effected, accorded with the name Jehovah, the most perfect expression of the Divine Essence.

4. *hath He cast*] The Hebrew is very forcible, "hurled," as from a sling. See note on ch. xiv. 27. All the words which describe the fall of the mailed warriors of Egypt are such as one who actually witnessed their overthrow would naturally employ. See note on the next verse.

his chosen captains] The same expression is used in ch. xiv. 7, where see note. It designates officers of the highest rank, chosen specially to attend on the person of Pharaoh: probably commanders of the 2000 Calasirians who alternatively with the Hermotybians formed his body-guard. They may have been for the most part personally known to Moses.

drowned] The original is more graphic, "plunged, submerged," describing the overthrow in the rushing tide.

5. *as a stone*] The warriors on chariots are always represented on the monuments with heavy coats of mail; the corslets of "chosen captains" consisted of plates of highly tempered bronze, with sleeves reaching nearly to the elbow, covering the whole body and the thighs nearly to the knee; see the engraving of the corslet of Rameses III. in Sir G. Wilkinson, 'M. and C.' 1. p. 366. They must have sunk at once like a stone, or as we read in v. 10, like lumps of lead. Touches like these come naturally from an eye-witness.

SECOND DIVISION. 6—10. This division presents the details more fully, and completes the picture by describing the mode in which the destruction was effected, and the arrogance of the Egyptians by which it was provoked.

6. *is become glorious*] The translation is correct, but inadequately represents the force and beauty of the Hebrew word, which is archaic in form and usage.

7. *thy wrath*] lit. Thy burning, *i.e.* the fire of Thy wrath, a word chosen expressly with reference to the effect: it consumed the enemy suddenly, completely, like fire burning up stubble. The simile is not uncommon in Egyptian: thus in the poem of Pentaour addressed to Rameses II. "The people were as stubble before thy chariot:" but the superiority of the Hebrew is obvious—it represents the

the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

9 The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall [1]destroy them.

10 Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

11 Who *is* like unto thee, O LORD, among the [1]gods? who *is* like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful *in* praises, doing wonders?

[1] Or, *repossess.*

[1] Or, *mighty ones?*

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flame going forth from the Presence of God. The Hebrew for stubble is also Egyptian.

8. This description has been strangely misrepresented as though it were irreconcileable with the preceding narrative. It differs from that as lyric poetry differs in its imagery from prose; and as inspired poetry it brings us into contact with the hidden and effectual causes of the natural phenomena, which it still distinctly recognizes. The blast of God's nostrils corresponds to the natural agency, the east wind (ch. xiv. 21), which drove the waters back. On each side the Psalmist describes what he must actually have seen: on the north the waters rising high, overhanging the sands, but kept back by the strong wind: on the south lying in massive rollers, kept down by the same agency in the heart, or deep bed of the Red Sea. In both descriptions we have precisely the same effects; in the former the bearings upon the passage of the Israelites are most prominent; in this the scenery is presented in the form which impressed the seer's imagination most vividly, and which fixes itself most strongly on the spirit of the reader.

as an heap] The LXX. render this "as a wall," ὡσεὶ τεῖχος. The Hebrew word probably means "a dam." It corresponds to wall, xiv. 22.

9. *The enemy said*] The abrupt, gasping utterances; the haste, cupidity and ferocity of the Egyptians, the confusion and disorder of their thoughts, are described in terms recognized by critics of all schools as belonging to the highest order of poetry; it must not be forgotten that they enable us to realize the feelings which induced Pharaoh and his host to pursue the Israelites over the treacherous sandbanks.

destroy them] Thus Vulg., Targ., Saad. and most modern critics. The margin follows the LXX. and is defensible.

10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind*] The solemn majesty of these few words, in immediate contrast with the tumult and confusion of the preceding verse, needs scarcely be noticed: it is important to observe that Moses here states distinctly the natural agency by which the destruction was effected. In the direct narrative, xiv. 28, we read only, "the waters returned," here we are told that it was because the wind blew. A sudden change in the direction of the wind would bring back at once the masses of water heaped up on the north. If the tide rose at the same time, the waters of the Red Sea would meet and overwhelm the host: but this is not said, and the Egyptians, who were close observers of natural phenomena, would probably have been aware of the danger of attempting the passage had flood-time been near at hand. One cause is assigned and it suffices for the effect.

they sank as lead] See note on *v.* 4. The sudden drowning of the charioteers as they fell headlong in their heavy panoply must have been one of the most striking features of the scene: hence the repetition, not without a variation, which gives a more exact simile: they fell like masses of lead, helpless, motionless, unable for a moment to struggle with the waters.

THIRD AND LAST DIVISION. After the ascription of praise the seer turns to the remoter, but certain consequences of this unparalleled event. It was impossible that a man in the position and with the feelings of Moses should not revert to them, and at once present them in clear strong language to His people. The deliverance was the earnest of a complete fulfilment of old promises, it was a pledge also that enemies, whom the Israelites could not but dread as their superiors in the arts and resources of war, would be disheartened, and speedily overcome, and that they themselves would be put in possession of the inheritance of Abraham.

11. *among the gods*] The marg. has "mighty ones," which is a possible rendering, adopted in the Vulg. But the translation is quite correct, and justified by other unmistakeable passages; thus in Ps. lxxxvi. 8, "Among the gods there is none like unto Thee," an expression which by no means admits the substantial power of the objects of heathen worship, in which the Israelite recognized either evil spirits or mere phantoms of superstitious imagination; see especially Deut. xxxii. 16, 17. A Hebrew just leaving the land in which Polytheism attained its highest development, with gigantic statues and temples of incomparable grandeur, might well on such an occa-

12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.

13 Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people *which* thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided *them* in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

14 The [b]people shall hear, *and* be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.

15 Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed; the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them; all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

16 [c]Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be *as* still as a stone; till thy people pass over, O LORD, till the people pass over, *which* thou hast purchased.

[b] Deut. 2. 25, Josh. 2. 9.

[c] Deut. 2. 29. Josh. 2. 9.

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sion dwell upon this consummation of the long series of triumphs by which the "greatness beyond compare" of Jehovah was once for all established.

12. *the earth swallowed them*] The statement is general, not dwelling on the special mode of the Egyptian overthrow, which had already been fully treated, but serving to mark the transition to a different subject, viz. the effects of the deliverance upon Israel.

13. *thou hast guided them*, &c.] Two objections are made to this, as indicating a later origin; (1) the use of the past tense; but Moses naturally and correctly speaks of the guidance as already begun, God had redeemed the Israelites, and placed them in the way towards Canaan. (2) The words "thy holy habitation" are supposed to refer to the temple at Jerusalem. It would not however be an unsuitable designation for Palestine, regarded as the land of promise, sanctified by manifestations of God to the Patriarchs, and destined to be both the home of God's people, and the place where His glory and purposes were to be perfectly revealed. It is clear that no Hebrew writing before the time of Solomon would have introduced a reference to the temple, and improbable that any one writing afterwards would have put an expression with that meaning into the mouth of Moses. But it is possible that Moses had Mount Moriah in his mind, whether in remembrance of Abraham's offering, or as the result of an immediate inspiration. If so it would be an instance of that not uncommon and most interesting form of prediction in which events separated by a wide interval from the seer's time are realized as impending. Of all predictions such are least likely to be attributed to any writer after their long deferred fulfilment.

14. *The people*] or **the peoples**, an expression now justified by usage, and necessary in this passage to give the true meaning.

the inhabitants of Palestina] In Hebrew Pelasheth, *i.e.* the country of the Philistines. They were the first who would expect an invasion, and the first whose district would have been invaded but for the faintheartedness of the Israelites. It is obvious that the order of thoughts would have been very different had the song been composed at a later period, since in fact Philistia was the last district occupied by the Israelites.

15. *the dukes of Edom*] The specific name used in Genesis xxxvi. 15, where see note. It denotes the chieftains, not the kings of Edom: see also Dr W. Smith, 'The Pentateuch,' p. 385.

the mighty men of Moab] The physical strength and great stature of the Moabites are noted in other passages: see Jer. xlviii. 29, 41.

Canaan] The name in this, as in many passages of Genesis, designates the whole of Palestine: and is used of course with reference to the promise to Abraham. It was known to the Egyptians, and occurs frequently on the monuments as Pa-kanana, which according to M. Chabas designates only a large fortress in Syria, but as most Egyptologers hold, and on very solid grounds, applies, if not to the whole of Palestine, yet to the northern district under Lebanon, which the Phœnicians occupied and called Canaan.

16. *shall fall upon them*] Most of the ancient versions use the optative form. Let fear and dread fall upon them, let them be still, *i.e.* motionless, as a stone: thus LXX, Vulg. Such undoubtedly may be the meaning of the Hebrew, but the future is equally, if not more forcible; and the prediction is so general that even those, who reject specific announcements of future events, might accept it as a natural expression of the anticipations of Moses. An objection is taken by some critics to the expression "pass over" as applying specially to the passage over Jordan; the prophecy was doubtless then fulfilled, but that event could not have been in the mind of Moses, since he expected that the entrance would be by the southern frontier; and the term which he uses would be equally applicable to any passing over the physical barriers of Canaan; had indeed the song been composed after that passage it is scarcely possible that some allusion would not have been made to the resemblance between the two miracles.

17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, *in* the place, O LORD, *which* thou hast made for thee to dwell in, *in* the Sanctuary, O Lord, *which* thy hands have established.

18 The LORD shall reign for ever and ever.

19 For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the LORD brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry *land* in the midst of the sea.

20 ¶ And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances.

21 And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

22 So Moses brought Israel from the Red sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water.

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17. *in the mountain of thine inheritance*] See note on v. 13. The expressions in this verse, especially the word Sanctuary; are in favour of the explanation given in the latter part of that note; but some critics (as Smith 'Pentateuch,' p. 403, and Bleek, 'Einleitung,' p. 274) consider that Palestine is meant.

The psalm closes, not with the conquest of Canaan, but with its ultimate and crowning result, the settlement of the people of Jehovah in the inheritance which he had promised, and in the place which he destined for His Sanctuary.

19. *For the horse*, &c.] This verse does not belong to the hymn, but marks the transition from it to the narrative. Writers, who attribute different portions of the book to various authors, consider that it belongs to the original composition. It is however obviously a summary statement of the cause and subject-matter of the preceding hymn, and as such, assumes its existence.

20 *And Miriam the prophetess*] The part here assigned to Miriam and the women of Israel is in accordance both with Egyptian and Hebrew customs. The men are represented as singing the hymn in chorus, under the guidance of Moses; at each interval Miriam and the women sang the refrain, marking the time with the timbrel, and with the measured rhythmical movements always associated with solemn festivities. Compare Judg. xi. 34, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, and 2 Sam. vi. 5. A representation of women dancing, some with boughs in their hand, others playing on timbrels, or tambourines of various shapes, some square and some round, is given by Wilkinson, 'M. and C.' 1. p. 93. The word used in this passage for the timbrel is Egyptian, and judging from its etymology and the figures which are joined with it in the inscriptions, it was probably the round instrument. See Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 1323, and 1534.

Miriam is called a prophetess, evidently, as appears from Numbers xii. 2, because she and Aaron had received divine communications. The word is used here in its proper sense of uttering words suggested by the Spirit of God. On the use and meaning of the word see note on Genesis xx. 7. She is called the sister of Aaron, most probably to indicate her special position as co-ordinate, not with Moses the leader of the nation, but with his chief aid and instrument. It is evident, however, that this designation, most natural in the mouth of Moses, who would be careful to record the names of his brother and sister on such an occasion, was not likely to have been applied to Miriam by a later writer.

22. *So Moses*] Lit. **And Moses.** The word *so* gives the impression of a closer connection with the preceding verse than is suggested by the Hebrew. The history of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai begins in fact with this verse, which would more conveniently have been the commencement of another chapter.

from the Red sea] The station where Moses and his people halted to celebrate their deliverance is generally admitted to be the Ayoun Musa, *i.e.* the fountains of Moses. It is the only green spot near the passage over the Red Sea. There are several wells there (17 according to Dr Stanley, p. 67, 7 according to Robinson, p. 62). Tischendorf, whose description is fuller than that of other travellers and gives a more pleasing impression, counted 19, and observes that the vegetation indicates a still larger number. 'Aus dem heiligen Lande,' p. 22. The water, like all the water on the western coast of the Peninsula, is dark-coloured and brackish, but it is drinkable, and is said to be highly prized by the people of Suez, whose richer inhabitants formerly built country houses, and laid out gardens in the place. At present the German consul has a garden of

23 ¶ And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they *were* bitter: therefore the name of it was called [1] Marah.

[1] That is, *bitterness.*

24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?

25 And he cried unto the LORD; and the LORD shewed him a [d]tree, *which* when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet: there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them,

[d] Ecclus. 38. 5.

26 And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the LORD thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I *am* the LORD that healeth thee.

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considerable extent and beauty, described by Tischendorf. Wellsted found there about twenty clumps of palm-trees, the branches of which were so closely interwoven that they formed a dense impervious shade, affording shelter to the Arabs. According to M. Monge (quoted by Robinson, p. 62) there was formerly an aqueduct extending to the sea so as to form a watering place for ships. In the time of Moses the wells were probably inclosed and kept with great care by the Egyptians, for the use of the frequent convoys to and from their ancient settlements at Sarbut el Khadem and the Wady Mughara.

the wilderness of Shur] This name belongs to the whole district between the north-eastern frontier of Egypt and Palestine. The word is undoubtedly Egyptian, whether derived from the name of the fortress on the frontier, called the Fort of Zor, or more probably from the word Khar, which designated all the country between Egypt and Syria proper. Thus in a papyrus of the 19th dynasty ('Anast.' III. 1, l. 7) we read "The land of Khar from Zor to Aup," a city in Syria. 'Kh' and 'Sh' are constantly interchanged in transcription: see Chabas, 'V. E.' p. 97. In Numbers xxxiii. 8, the more special designation is used, viz. "the wilderness of Etham," a strong corroboration of the view that Etham was not on the west of the Bitter lakes, but at their northern extremity.

three days] The distance between Ayoun Musa and Huwara, the first spot where any water is found on the route, is 33 geographical miles. A small fountain Abu Suweira, near the sea, and another called he Cup of Sudr on the east, some hours distant from the road, were of course known to Moses, but would be of little, if any use to the host. The whole district is a tract of sand, or rough gravel; the wadys are depressions in the desert, with only a few scattered herbs and shrubs, withered and parched by drought: the road afterwards continues through hills of limestone equally destitute of vegetation, some exhibiting an abundance of crystallized sulphate of lime.

23. *Marah*] The identification of Marah with the fount of Huwara, first proposed by Burckhardt, is now generally accepted. The fountain rises from a large mound, a whitish petrifaction, deposited by the water. At present no water flows, but there are traces of a running stream, and in the time of Moses, when the road was kept by the Egyptians and vegetation was more abundant, the source was probably far more copious. The water is considered by the Arabians to be the worst in the whole district. Two stunted palm-trees now stand near it, and the ground is covered by thickets of the ghurkud (Peganum retusum, Forskal), a low bushy thorny shrub, producing a small fruit which ripens in June, not unlike the barberry, very juicy and slightly acidulous; see Robinson, p. 66. Burckhardt, 'Syria,' p. 474, suggested that the juice might possibly be used to sweeten the water, but no such process is known to the Bedouins, and the fruit would not be ripe about Easter, when the Israelites reached the place. Wellsted observes that when he tasted the water and muttered the word "Marah" his Bedouin said "You speak the word of truth: they are indeed Mara." The Arabic word Hawara means "ruin," "destruction" (Freytag); but "bitter" and "deadly" are with the Arabs, as with the Hebrews, convertible terms.

25. *a tree*] The statement evidently points to a natural agency. The miracle was not wrought without the tree. This is in accordance with the whole spirit of the narrative. There may possibly have been some resemblance to a mode of purifying stagnant waters, such as Josephus and Du Boys Aimé describe, by thrusting long sticks into the bottom of a spring and eliciting a fresh supply: but the result was manifestly supernatural.

he made, &c.] The Lord then set before them the fundamental principle of implicit trust, to be shewn by obedience. The healing of the water was a symbol of deliverance from physical and spiritual evils.

[e] Numb. 33. 9.

27 ¶ [e]And they came to Elim, where *were* twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The Israelites come to Sin.* 2 *They murmur for want of bread.* 4 *God promiseth them bread from heaven.* 11 *Quails are sent,* 14 *and manna.* 16 *The ordering of manna.* 25 *It was not to be found on the sabbath.* 32 *An omer of it is preserved.*

AND they took their journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which *is* between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt.

2 And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness:

3 And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, *and* when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.

4 ¶ Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather [†]a certain rate every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no.

[†] Heb. *the portion of a day in his day.*

5 And it shall come to pass, that

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27. *Elim*] At a distance of two hours' journey south of Huwara is the large and beautiful valley of Gharandel (Girondel, Niebuhr, p. 183). In the rainy season a considerable torrent flows through it, discharging its waters in the Red Sea. Even in the dry season water is still found, which though somewhat brackish after long drought (Robinson), is generally good, and according to all travellers the best on the whole journey from Cairo to Sinai. The grass there grows thick and high, there is abundance of brushwood, with tamarisks and acacias; a few palm-trees still remain, relics of the fair grove which once covered this Oasis of the western side of the Peninsula. The only objection to the identification of this valley with Elim is the shortness of the distance, but the inducement for the encampment is obvious, and no other site corresponds with the main conditions of the narrative. The Israelites remained a considerable time in this neighbourhood, since they did not reach the wilderness of Sin till two months and a half after leaving Suez. They would find water and pasturage in the district between Elim and the station on the Red Sea, mentioned in Numbers xxxiii. 10: which appears to have been at the further end of the Wadi Tayibe, a journey of eight hours, near the headland of Ras Selima. The whole valley is said to be beautiful, full of tamarisks and other shrubs, the Tarfa-tree and the Palm. Water is found in it, though far inferior to that in Gharandel. The station at the Red Sea then visited by the Israelites was of considerable importance, the starting point for the roads to the copper-mines of the Wadi Mughara, Sarbut el Khadem, and the Wadi Nasb.

twelve wells] Read **springs**; the Hebrew denotes natural sources. These springs may have been perennial when a richer vegetation clothed the adjacent heights. They certainly supplied copious streams when the Israelites "encamped there by the waters."

CHAP. XVI. 1. *the wilderness of Sin*] The desert tract, called Debbet er Ramleh, extends nearly across the peninsula from the Wady Nasb in a south-easterly direction, between the limestone district of El Tih and the granite of Sinai. The journey from the station at Elim, or even from that on the Red Sea, could be performed in a day: at that time the route was kept in good condition by the Egyptians who worked the copper-mines at Sarbut el Khadim. The text seems to imply that the Israelites proceeded in detachments, and were first assembled as a complete host when they reached the wilderness of Sin.

2. *murmured*] The want of food was first felt after six weeks from the time of the departure from Egypt, see *v.* 1: we have no notice previously of any deficiency of bread.

3. *by the hand of the LORD*] This evidently refers to the plagues, especially the last, in Egypt: the death which befell the Egyptians appeared to the people preferable to the sufferings of famine.

flesh pots, and...bread] These expressions prove that the servile labours to which they had been subjected did not involve privation: they were fed abundantly, either by the officials of Pharaoh, or more probably by the produce of their own fertile district. The word used for flesh-pots is Egyptian, the name and representation are given in Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 1264.

4. *rain bread from heaven*] This marks at the outset the strictly supernatural character of the supply. Without such supply the vast host of the Israelites could not have subsisted

on the sixth day they shall prepare *that* which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.

6 And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall know that the LORD hath brought you out from the land of Egypt:

7 And in the morning, then ye shall see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your murmurings against the LORD: and what *are* we, that ye murmur against us?

8 And Moses said, *This shall be*, when the LORD shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; for that the LORD heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what *are* we? your murmurings *are* not against us, but against the LORD.

9 ¶ And Moses spake unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your murmurings.

10 And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of the LORD [a]appeared in the cloud.

[a] chap. 13. 21.

11 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

12 I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD your God.

13 And it came to pass, that at even [b]the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the host.

[b] Numb. 11. 31. [c] Numb. 11. 7. Psal. 78. 24. Wisd. 16. 20.

14 And when [c]the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of

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for a considerable time in any part of the Peninsula.

a certain rate every day] Lit. as in the margin, "the portion of a day in its day:" *i. e.* the quantity sufficient for one day's consumption: this may be better expressed "a day's portion each day."

that I may prove them] The trial consisted in the restriction to the supply of their daily wants.

5. *it shall be twice as much*] The meaning evidently is that they should collect and prepare a double quantity, not (as has been assumed, in order to make out a contradiction with *v.* 22) that the quantity collected would be miraculously increased afterwards.

7. *the glory of the* LORD] Some commentators understand this to mean the manifestation of His power and goodness in supplying the people with food; but it refers to the visible appearance described in *v.* 10.

8. *not against us*] *i. e.* according to a common Hebrew idiom, not so much against us as against the Lord; the murmuring implied a distrust of the people in the divine mission of their leaders, notwithstanding the previous miracles.

9. The preceding paragraph from *v.* 3 describes the conference between the people and their leaders: the result was a summons to meet Him whom they represented, *i. e.* to assemble in the open space before the tabernacle.

10. *appeared in the cloud*] Or, "was seen in a cloud." The definite article would imply that the cloud was the same which is often mentioned in connection with the tabernacle. The people saw the cloud here spoken of beyond the camp.

12. *flesh...bread*] These expressions refer to the previous murmuring of the people, *v.* 3. God gives them in His own way that which they longed for: this is a clear proof that the narrative is continuous and that the preceding passage is not (as Knobel assumes) an interpolation: see also notes on *vv.* 16 and 27.

13. *quails*] The identification of the Hebrew, "slav," with the common quail may be assumed as certain. The name is applied in Arabic to that bird: it migrates in immense numbers in spring from the south: it is nowhere more common than in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. When exhausted by a long flight it is easily captured even with the hand. The flesh is palatable and not unwholesome when eaten in moderation. In this passage we read of a single flight so dense that it covered the encampment. The miracle consisted in the precise time of the arrival and its coincidence with the announcement. Other explanations of the name have been given, but this alone meets all the conditions.

the dew lay round] Lit. "a lying of dew

the wilderness *there lay* a small round thing, *as* small as the hoar frost on the ground.

15 And when the children of Israel saw *it*, they said one to another, [1]It *is* manna: for they wist not what it *was*. And Moses said unto them, [d]This *is* the bread which the LORD hath given you to eat.

16 ¶ This *is* the thing which the LORD hath commanded, Gather of it every man according to his eating, an omer [†]for every man, *according to* the number of your [†]persons; take ye every man for *them* which *are* in his tents.

17 And the children of Israel did so, and gathered, some more, some less.

18 And when they did mete *it* with an omer, [e]he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating.

19 And Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.

20 Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them

[1] Or, *What is this?* or, *It is a portion.*
[d] John 6. 31. 1 Cor. 10. 3.
[†] Heb. *by the poll*, or, *head.*
[†] Heb. *souls*
[e] 2 Cor. 8. 15.

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round the camp." This is generally understood to mean there was a heavy fall of dew round the encampment. Knobel explains it to be a dense mist, but the usage seems to be that which is recognized by the Authorised Version and all the ancient versions. There are many indications that the season was unusually humid, natural agencies concurring with supernatural interpositions. Manna is found in abundance in wet seasons, in dry seasons it ceases altogether.

On Manna, see note at the end of the chapter.

14. *a small round thing*] The meaning of the Hebrew is questioned (see note below), but there is good authority for our version, which is true to nature: manna appears in small, compact grains. Here we have a resemblance in shape and appearance, but natural manna is not found on the open plain, "the face of the wilderness," but on dry leaves, or the ground under the tamarisk, from the trunk and branches of which it exudes.

15. *It is manna*] This rendering is disputed. The Old Versions concur in rendering the phrase "What is this?" But oriental scholars are generally agreed that this explanation is not borne out by ancient usage, and that the Israelites said "this is *man*." The word "man" they explain by reference to the Arabic, in which it means "gift." The Egyptian language seems to afford the true solution. It has been very lately shown that "man" or man-hut, *i. e.* white manna, was the name under which the substance was known to the Egyptians, and therefore to the Israelites; see note below. When they saw it on the ground they would of course at once recognize it. They wist not what it was: for in fact it was not natural manna, but a heavenly gift. Our Version should therefore be retained, and the passage may be thus explained. When the Israelites saw the small round thing, they said at once "this is manna," but with an exclamation of surprise at finding it on the open plain, in such immense quantities, under circumstances so unlike what they could have expected: in fact they did not know what it really was, only what it resembled.

16. *according to his eating*] This refers to *v.* 4; it was a trial of the faith of the people, since they were to gather just enough for a day's consumption. The reference is noticeable as an additional argument against Knobel's assumption of an interpolation; see note on *v.* 12.

an omer] *i. e.* the tenth part of an Ephah, see *v.* 36. The exact quantity cannot be determined, since the measures varied at different times. Josephus makes the omer equal to six cotylæ, or half-pints. The ephah was an Egyptian measure, supposed to be about a bushel or one-third of a hin. See Brugsch, 'D. H.' pp. 49, 50. The word omer, in this sense, occurs in no other passage. It was probably not used at a later period, belonging, like many other words, to the time of Moses. It is found in old Egyptian, but with the meaning "storehouse" (see Birch, 'D. H.' p. 363. Brugsch does not give it). See Lev. xix. 36.

man...persons] Lit. as in the margin, head, and souls, which should be retained as in many other passages.

17. *some more, some less*] It is evidently implied that the people were in part at least disobedient and failed in this first trial.

18. *had nothing over*] The result is undoubtedly represented as miraculous. The Jewish interpreters understand by this statement that whatever quantity each person had gathered, when he measured it in his tent, he found that he had just as many omers as he needed for the consumption of his family: and this is probably the true meaning. It is adopted by Knobel and Keil.

20. *it bred worms*] This result was super-

left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with them.

21 And they gathered it every morning, every man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted.

22 ¶ And it came to pass, *that* on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for one *man*: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses.

23 And he said unto them, This *is that* which the LORD hath said, To morrow *is* the rest of the holy sabbath unto the LORD: bake *that* which ye will bake *to day*, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.

24 And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein.

25 And Moses said, Eat that to day; for to day *is* a sabbath unto the LORD: to day ye shall not find it in the field.

26 Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, *which is* the sabbath, in it there shall be none.

27 ¶ And it came to pass, *that* there went out *some* of the people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found none.

28 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?

29 See, for that the LORD hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth

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natural: no such tendency to rapid decomposition is recorded of common manna.

21. *it melted*] This refers to the manna which was not gathered. It is noted in all accounts of common manna that it is melted by the heat of the sun.

22. *twice as much bread*] This was in accordance with God's command to Moses *v.* 5, which it is not probable he had omitted to communicate to the people, though the fact is unnoticed in the narrative. The rulers of the congregation appear to have applied to Moses for instructions as to what was to be done under these circumstances, fearing possibly the recurrence of the result mentioned above, *v.* 20. Knobel supposes that the people acted unconsciously, God permitting them to gather a double quantity, but the other explanation is far more natural.

From this passage and from *v.* 5 it is inferred that the seventh day was previously known to the people as a day separate from all others, and if so, it must have been observed as an ancient and primeval institution. No other account of the command (given without any special explanation), or of the conduct of the people, who collected the manna, is satisfactory: thus Rosenmüller, and others. It is at the same time evident that Moses took this opportunity of enforcing a strict and more solemn observance of the day.

23. *To morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto the* LORD] Or, **To-morrow is a rest, a Sabbath holy to Jehovah**: *i.e.* to-morrow must be a day of rest, observed strictly as a sabbath, or festal rest, holy to Jehovah. It is at once a statement, and an injunction. The people knew it as the Sabbath, they were to observe it as a great festival.

bake, &c.] These directions shew that the manna thus given differed essentially from the natural product. Here and in Numbers xi. 8 it is treated in a way which shews it had the properties of corn, could be ground in a mortar, baked and boiled. Ordinary manna is used as honey, it cannot be ground, it melts when exposed to a moderate heat forming a substance like barley sugar, called manna tabulata. In Persia it is boiled with water and brought to the consistency of honey. The Arabs also boil the leaves to which it adheres, and the manna thus dissolved floats on the water as a glutinous or oily substance (Rosenmüller, Niebuhr, &c.). It is obvious that these accounts are inapplicable to the manna from heaven, which had the characteristics and nutritive properties of bread.

25. *Eat that to day*] The practical observance of the Sabbath was thus formally instituted before the giving of the law. The people were to abstain from the ordinary work of every-day life: they were not to collect food, nor, as it would seem, even to prepare it as on other days.

27. *there went out some of the people*] This was an act of wilful disobedience. It is remarkable, being the first violation of the express command, that it was not visited by a signal chastisement: the rest and peace of the "Holy Sabbath" were not disturbed by a manifestation of wrath.

28. *How long*] The reference to *v.* 4 is obvious. The prohibition involved a trial of

you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day.

30 So the people rested on the seventh day.

31 And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it *was* like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it *was* like wafers *made* with honey.

32 ¶ And Moses said, This *is* the thing which the LORD commandeth, Fill an omer of it to be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.

33 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the LORD, to be kept for your generations.

34 As the LORD commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept.

35 And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, *f*until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan. *f* Josh. 5. 12. Neh. 9. 15.

36 Now an omer *is* the tenth *part* of an ephah.

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faith, in which as usual the people were found wanting. Every miracle formed some part, so to speak, of an educational process.

29. *abide ye every man in his place*] This is an additional injunction. They were to remain within the camp. The expression in Hebrew is peculiar and seems almost to enjoin a position of complete repose, "in his place," lit. under himself, as the Oriental sits with his legs drawn up under him. The prohibition must however be understood with reference to its immediate object; they were not to go forth from their place in order to gather manna, which was on other days without the camp. The spirit of the law is sacred rest. The Lord gave them this Sabbath, as a blessing and privilege. It was "made for man." A Jewish sect called Masbothei, *i.e.* Sabbatarians, took this text as a command that no man should change his position from the morning to the evening of the Sabbath; see Routh on 'Hegesippus,' R. S. I. p. 225.

31. *Manna*] This refers of course to their first exclamation, confirmed after a week's experience. It was not indeed the common manna, as they then seem to have believed, but the properties which are noted in this passage are common to it and the natural product: in size, form and colour it resembled the seed of the white coriander, a small round grain of a whitish or yellowish grey. The wafer made with honey is called by the LXX. ἐγκρὶς ἐν μέλιτι, *i.e.* according to Athenæus a cake of meal, oil and honey.

32. *Fill an omer*] This was probably done at the end of the first week; but the order to Aaron may have been repeated when the tabernacle was fitted up with its appurtenances.

33. *a pot*] The word here used occurs in no other passage. It corresponds in form and use to the Egyptian for a casket or vase in which oblations were presented. Br. D. H. p. 1644.

35. *did eat manna forty years*] This does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were fed exclusively on manna, or that the supply was continuous during forty years: but that whenever it might be needed, owing to the total or partial failure of other food, it was given until they entered the promised land. They had numerous flocks and herds, which were not slaughtered (see Numbers xi. 22), but which gave them milk, cheese and of course a limited supply of flesh: nor is there any reason to suppose that during a considerable part of that time they may not have cultivated some spots of fertile ground in the wilderness. We may assume, as in most cases of miracle, that the supernatural supply was commensurate with their actual necessity. Dr W. Smith, p. 365, observes the peculiarity of the expression. Moses gives a complete history of manna till the end of his own life. The manna was not withheld in fact until the Israelites had passed the Jordan. Moses writes as a historian, not as a prophet. What he knew as fact was that it lasted until he penned this passage. A later writer would have been more specific.

36. *an omer*] This definition of an omer has been attributed to a later hand, a gloss inserted to explain an obsolete word, "omer" occurring only in this passage as the name of a measure; on the other hand, it has been argued that Moses, as a legislator, would be careful to define what was probably a new measure; both omer and ephah are Egyptian words.

NOTE ON MANNA.

It is well to bring together the facts which are certainly known from ancient and modern authorities. They leave no doubt, on the one hand, as to the connection between

the manna of Exodus and the natural production: or on the other, as to the supernatural character of the former. Both points are admitted alike by critics who believe, or disbelieve the sacred narrative: the only question between them is the truth of the writer; his intention and meaning are unmistakeable.

The manna of the Peninsula of Sinai is the sweet juice of the Tarfa, a species of tamarisk. It exudes from the trunk and branches in hot weather, and forms small round white grains. In cool weather it preserves its consistency, in hot weather it melts rapidly. It is either gathered from the twigs of the tamarisk, or from the fallen leaves underneath the tree. The colour is a greyish yellow. It begins to exude in May, and lasts about six weeks. The Arabs cleanse it from leaves and dirt, boil it down, strain it through coarse stuff and keep it in leather bags: they use it as honey with bread. Its taste is sweet, with a slight aromatic flavour: travellers generally compare it with honey. According to Ehrenberg it is produced by the puncture of an insect. It is abundant in rainy seasons, many years it ceases altogether. The whole quantity now produced in a single year does not exceed 600 or 700 pounds. It is found in the district between the Wady Gharandel, *i.e.* Elim, and Sinai, in the Wady Sheich, and in some other parts of the Peninsula. For each of these statements we have the concurrent testimony of travellers. Seetzen in 1807 was the first who described the natural product with scientific accuracy: see Kruse's notes on Seetzen, Vol. IV. p. 416. The resemblance in colour, shape, taste, and in the time and place of the appearance is exact. The name is also that now given to the product, well known as its Arabic designation, and, as we have shewn, found also on Egyptian monuments.

The differences however are equally unmistakeable. 1. The manna of Exodus was not found under the tamarisk tree, but on the surface of the wilderness, after the disappearance of the morning dew. 2. The quantity which was gathered in a single day far exceeded the annual produce at present, and probably at the time of Moses. 3. The supply ceased on the Sabbath-day. 4. The properties differed from common manna; it could be ground, baked, and in other respects treated like meal. It was not used merely as a condiment, or medicine, but had the nutritive qualities of bread. 5. It was found after leaving the district where it is now produced, until the Israelites reached the land of Canaan.

It is to be observed that we have all the conditions and characteristics of Divine interpositions. (1) The condition of a recognized necessity: for all writers agree that under any conceivable circumstances the preservation of the Israelites would otherwise have been impossible. (2) The condition of a harmony with a Divine purpose, the preservation of a peculiar people on which the whole scheme of providential government and the salvation of mankind depended. (3) We have the usual characteristics of harmony between the natural order of events and the supernatural transaction. God fed His people not with the food which belonged to other regions, but with such as appertained to the district. The local colouring is unmistakeable. We may not attempt to give an explanation how the change was effected; to such a question we have but to answer that we know nothing. One thing certain is, that if Moses wrote this narrative, it is impossible that he could be deceived, and equally impossible that he could have deceived contemporaries and eye-witnesses. The spiritual bearings of manna are deeply interesting, but belong properly to the exegesis of the New Testament: see Rev. ii. 27.

מחספס. LXX. ὡσεὶ κόριον λευκόν, Vulg. quasi pilo tusum. Ch. מקלף, and Syr. مقلّف, decorticatum. Saad. مدحرج, round. These renderings seem to be conjectural. Gesenius derives the word from حسف, Chal. חקף to peel: and explains the phrase "a small thing, as something peeled." This explanation has in its favour the Egyptian usage, in which "heseb" means "peel." Brugsch, 'D. H.' p. 994. Knobel points out that in that case a particle of comparison would be required, and compares حشف, frost, hoar-frost, understanding it to describe a small compact granular substance. In this he is followed by Keil.

מן is the Chaldaic form for מה, what? but there is no vestige of the use in the ancient language. Thus Gesenius and Knobel; Keil assumes it to be the popular, and old Semitic form, but gives no proof. The meaning "gift" was first suggested by Kimchi, מתנה וחלק, gift and portion. Gesenius derives it from מנה, to distribute or apportion. The Arabic من (mann) is adduced in support of the meaning "gift," but as Keil points out it is probably taken from the Hebrew Manna. Kalisch mentions the conjecture of Rashbam that the word was probably Egyptian, for which, as he observes truly, no proof could be adduced. The conjecture was a happy one, and the proof is now found. Brugsch gives the word, see 'D. H.' p. 655. "Mennu," "identical with the Hebrew מן, Arabic من." It is found among other articles in a basket of oblations at Apollinopolis. Under another form it appears as Mannu-hut, *i.e.* white Manna, and is described as the product of a tree, probably a species of Tamarisk.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *The people murmur for water at Rephidim.* 5 *God sendeth him for water to the rock in Horeb.* 8 *Amalek is overcome by the holding up of Moses' hands.* 15 *Moses buildeth the altar Jehovah-nissi.*

AND all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched in Rephidim: and *there was* no water for the people to drink.

[a] Numb. 20. 4.

2 Wherefore [a] the people did chide with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the LORD?

3 And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore *is* this *that* thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?

4 And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me.

5 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith [b] thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go.

[b] chap. 7. 20.

6 [c] Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.

[c] Numb. 20. 9. Psal. 78. 15. & 105. 41. Wisd. 11. 4. 1 Cor. 10.

7 And he called the name of the place [1] Massah, and [1] Meribah, because of the chiding of the children of Israel,

[1] That is, *Tentation.* [1] That is, *Chiding*, or, *Strife.*

CHAP. XVII. 1. *according to their journeys*] The Israelites rested at two stations before they reached Rephidim, viz. Dophkah and Alush: see Numbers xxxiii. 12—14. According to Knobel, whose view is adopted by Keil, and appears, on the whole, to accord best with the Biblical notices and the accounts of travellers, Dophkah was in the Wady Seih, a day's journey from the Wady Nasb; traces of the ancient name were found by Seetzen at a place called El Tabbacha in a rocky pass, El Kineh, where Egyptian antiquities still remain, indicating the ancient route. The wilderness of Sin properly speaking ends here, the sandstone ceases, and is replaced by the porphyry and granite which belong to the central formation of the Sinaitic group. Alush lay on the way towards Rephidim; the identification with Ash is doubtful, the distance from Horeb exceeding a day's march. Alush may have been near the entrance to the Wady Sheich.

Rephidim] On the identification of Rephidim see note at the end of this book.

2. *tempt the LORD*] It is a general characteristic of the Israelites that the miracles, which met each need as it arose, failed to produce a habit of faith: but the severity of the trial, the faintness and anguish of thirst in the burning desert, must not be overlooked in appreciating their conduct. "I thirst" was the only expression of bodily suffering wrung from our Lord on the Cross.

4. *they be almost ready to stone me*] Lit. **yet a little and they will stone me.** The Authorised Version gives the meaning, but not the liveliness and force of the Hebrew.

6. *the rock in Horeb*] The name Horeb signifies "dry, parched," and evidently points to a distinct miracle. At what point Moses struck the rock cannot be determined; but it would seem to have been in the presence of the Elders as selected witnesses, not in the sight of the people, and therefore not near the summit.

It is questioned whether the water thus supplied ceased with the immediate occasion. St Paul calls it "a spiritual drink," and adds, "that all the Israelites drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ." 1 Cor. x. 4. The interpretation of that passage belongs to the New Testament: but the general meaning appears to be that their wants were ever supplied from Him, of whom the rock was but a symbol, and who accompanied them in all their wanderings. Two traditions of the Rabbins are noticeable: one, that the rock thus smitten actually followed the Israelites, another, that the stream of water went with them. There is no justification for these fables in the sacred narrative. The repetition of the miracle (see Numbers xx. 11) excludes the second, the first needs no refutation.

7. *Massah*] The word is derived from that which is used by Moses, *v.* 2. Meribah, as is stated in the margin, means "chiding," referring also to *v.* 2. The names were retained from that time, nor are Rephidim and Kadesh mentioned by later writers: they belong to the time of Moses. On the im-

and because they tempted the LORD, saying, Is the LORD among us, or not?

[a] Deut. 25. 17. Wisd. 11. 3. [b] Called Jesus, Acts 7. 45.

8 ¶ [a]Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim.

9 And Moses said unto [b]Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand.

10 So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.

11 And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.

12 But Moses' hands *were* heavy; and they took a stone, and put *it* under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun.

13 And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.

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portance of this lesson see our Lord's words, Matt. iv. 7.

8. *Then came Amalek*] The attack upon the Israelites was made under circumstances, at a time and place, fully explained by what is known of the Peninsula. It occurred about two months after the Exodus, towards the end of May or early in June, when the Bedouins leave the lower plains in order to find pasture for their flocks on the cooler heights. The approach of the Israelites to Sinai would of course attract notice, and no cause of warfare is more common than a dispute for the right of pasturage. The Amalekites were at that time the most powerful race in the Peninsula, which from the earliest ages was peopled by fierce and warlike tribes, with whom the Pharaohs, from the third dynasty downwards, were engaged in constant struggles. It may be conjectured that reports of the marvellous supply of water may have reached the natives and accelerated their movements. On this occasion Amalek took the position, recognized in the Sacred History, as the chief of the heathens, Num. xxiv. 20; the first among the heathens who attacked God's people, and as such marked out for punishment, see 1 Sam. xv. 2, especially merited by them as descendants of the elder brother of Jacob, and therefore near kinsmen of the Israelites.

9. *Joshua*] This is the first mention of the great follower and successor of Moses. He died at the age of 110, some 65 years after this transaction. His original name was Hosea, but Moses calls him by the full name, which was first given about forty years afterwards, as that by which he was to be known to succeeding generations. From this it may perhaps be inferred that this portion of Exodus was written, or revised, towards the end of the sojourn in the wilderness. A later writer, mindful of the change of name, would probably have avoided the appearance of an anachronism.

the rod of God] By using the same rod Moses gave the people an unmistakeable and much needed proof that victory over human enemies was to be attributed altogether to the divine power which had delivered them from Egypt, and saved them from perishing in the wilderness. The hill, on which Moses stood during the combat, Knobel supposed to be the height now called Feria on the north side of the plain Er Rahah; on its top is a level tract with good pasturage and plantations. The conjecture may shew the vivid impression of reality made by the narrative upon a critic who believes this very portion to be the product of a later age.

10. *Hur*] Hur is mentioned in one other passage in connection with Aaron, ch. xxiv. 14. He was grandfather of Bezaleel, the great sculptor and artificer of the tabernacle, see ch. xxxi. 2—5, and belonged to the tribe of Judah. From the book of Chronicles we learn that the name of his father was Caleb, of his mother, Ephrath. That he was a person of high station and of advanced years is evident, but the traditions that he was the husband of Miriam (Josephus), or her son by Caleb (Jarchi), would seem to be mere conjecture; such a connection would scarcely have been unnoticed in the account of Bezaleel.

11. The act represents the efficacy of intercessory prayer—offered doubtless by Moses—a point of great moment to the Israelites at that time and to the Church in all ages. This interpretation would seem too obvious to insist upon, but it has been contested by Kurtz, who regards the lifting of Moses' hands as the attitude of a general directing the battle.

12. *until the going down of the sun*] The length of this first great battle indicates the strength and obstinacy of the assailants. It was no mere raid of Bedouins, but a deliberate attack of the Amalekites, who, as we have seen, were thoroughly trained in warfare by their struggles with Egypt.

13. *with the edge of the sword*] This

14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write this *for* a memorial in a book, and rehearse *it* in the ears of Joshua: for ᶠI will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.

15 And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it [1]Jehovah-nissi:

16 For he said, [1]Because [2]the LORD hath sworn *that* the LORD *will have* war with Amalek from generation to generation.

ᶠ Numb. 24. 20. 1 Sam. 15. 3.

[1] That is, *The LORD my banner.*

[1] Or, *Because the hand of Amalek is against the throne of the LORD,* therefore, &c. [2] Heb. *the hand upon the throne of the LORD.*

expression always denotes a great slaughter of the enemy.

14. *in a book*] It should be rendered **in the book**. The plain and obvious meaning is that the account of this battle, and of the command to destroy the Amalekites, was to be recorded in the book which contained the history of God's dealings with His people. In this explanation nearly all critics are agreed. See Introduction to the Pentateuch, p. 1, and note below. Moses was further instructed to impress the command specially on the mind of Joshua, as the leader to whom the first step towards its accomplishment would be entrusted on the conquest of Canaan. The work was not actually completed until the reign of Hezekiah, when 500 of the tribe of Simeon "smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped" and retained possession of Mount Seir, when the book of Chronicles was written, 1 Chron. iv. 43. This is a point to be especially noticed. True prophecy deals often with the remote future, regardless of delays in its fulfilment; but certainly no one writing at a later time, while the Amalekites still existed as a nation, would have invented the prediction.

15. *Jehovah-nissi*] *i.e.* as in the margin, "Jehovah my banner." As a proper name the Hebrew word is rightly preserved. The meaning is evidently that the name of Jehovah is the true banner under which victory is certain; so to speak, the motto or inscription on the banners of the host. Inscriptions on the royal standard were well known. Each of the Pharaohs on his accession adopted one in addition to his official name.

16. *Because the LORD hath sworn*] This rendering is incorrect, but the Hebrew is obscure and the true meaning is very doubtful. As the Hebrew text now stands the literal interpretation is "for hand on throne of Jah," which may mean, as our margin and as Clericus and Rosenmüller explain it, "because his hand (*i.e.* the hand of Amalek) is against the throne of God, therefore the Lord hath war with Amalek from generation to generation;" and this on the whole, seems to be the most satisfactory explanation. It expresses a certain fact, and keeps most closely to the Hebrew. The word rendered "throne" occurs in the exact form in no other passage, but it may be an archaic form of the very common word from which it differs but slightly (כם for כסא), and which is found in the Samaritan. Our translators follow the general sense given by the Targum of Onkelos and Saadia, who agree in regarding the expression as a solemn asseveration by the throne of God. To this however the objections are insuperable; it has no parallel in Scriptural usage: God swears by Himself, not by His Throne.

An alteration, slight in form, but considerable in meaning, has been proposed with much confidence, viz. "Nes," standard for "Kes," throne; thus connecting the name of the altar with the sentence. But conjectural emendations are not to be adopted without necessity, and the obvious a priori probability of such a reading makes it improbable that one so far more difficult should have been substituted for it. One of the surest canons of criticism militates against its reception. The text as it stands was undoubtedly that which was alone known to the Targumists, the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Latin and the Arabic translators. The LXX. appear to have had a different reading, ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ πολεμεῖ.

NOTE on *v.* 14.

Rosenmüller expresses himself without any doubt. In his note on the passage he says "Memoriale in libro quem scribere incepisti:" and in the Prolegg. p. 5, "Moses dicit se divino jussu (insidias) inscripsisse libro, incœpto haud dubie, et in quo jam plura exaraverat, quod cum articulo בַּסֵּפֶר (non בְּסֵפֶר) scripsit, quo innuit se de certo quodam et satis noto libro loqui." Thus Keil, "the book appointed for the record of the glorious works of God;" and Kalisch, who renders it "the book:" he quotes Aben-Ezra to prove that a particular book was referred to, and compares other passages (Exod. xxiv. 4, 7, xxxiv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 1, 2, xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxviii. 61). Knobel however proposes a different interpretation, taking "in the book" to mean simply, "in writing." He refers to Num. v. 23; 1 S. x. 25; Jer. xxxii. 10; and Job xix. 23: which prove that this expression might mean "a book" generally,

provided no particular book were already in existence. It is not however by any means equivalent to our expression "in writing," which would be a strange tautology "write in writing," but in each case a book or schedule is meant: whether a book already begun, or then to be begun, is a question to be determined by the context. The argument for the positive existence of "a book" is not materially affected by the proposed change: but all probability is in favour of the natural and obvious impression that Moses was commanded to record this particular transaction in "the book" which related the history of God's dealings with His people. The evidence for the existence of books of considerable extent is stated in the Introduction to the Pentateuch. To this it may be added that under the ancient Empire, functionaries of the highest rank held the office of governor of the Palace and of the "house of manuscripts;" see De Rougé, 'Recherches,' pp. 73, 85. The tutelary Deity of writing was called Saph or Sapheh (a name apparently connected with the Hebrew "sepher"): a Pharaoh of the 5th Dynasty bears the style "beloved of Saph." l.c. p. 84.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 Jethro bringeth to Moses his wife and two sons. 7 Moses entertaineth him. 13 Jethro's counsel is accepted. 27 Jethro departeth.

[a] chap. 2. 10. WHEN [a]Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, *and* that the LORD had brought Israel out of Egypt;

2 Then Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her back,

3 And her two sons; of which the [b] chap. 2. 22. name of the one *was* [l]Gershom; for he said, I have been an alien in a strange land:

[l] That is, *A stranger there.*

4 And the name of the other *was* [l]Eliezer; for the God of my father, *said he, was* mine help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh:

[l] That is, *My God is an help.*

5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God:

6 And he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.

7 ¶ And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of *their* [t]welfare; and they came into the tent.

[t] Heb. *peace.*

8 And Moses told his father in law all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, *and* all the travail that had [t]come upon them by the way, and *how* the LORD delivered them.

[t] Heb. *found them.*

9 And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the LORD had done

CHAP. XVIII. The events recorded in this chapter could not have occupied many days, fifteen only elapsed between the arrival of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sin and their final arrival at Sinai, see ch. xvi. 1, and xix. 1. This leaves however sufficient time for the interview and transactions between Moses and Jethro.

1. *Jethro*] See note on ch. ii. 18. For "father in law" the Vulgate has cognatus, an indefinite expression. Jethro was in all probability the "brother in law" of Moses. On the parting from Zipporah, see note on ch. iv. 26.

This chapter, which abounds in personal reminiscences (and gives a vivid impression of the affectionate and confiding character of Moses), stands rather apart from the general narrative. It may have been and probably was written on a separate roll. The repetition of particulars well known to the reader is a general characteristic of such distinct portions.

5. *into the wilderness*] *i.e.* according to the view which seems on the whole most probable, on the plain near the northern summit of Horeb, the mount of God. It is described by Robinson, I. p. 88, as a naked desert,—wild and desolate. The exact specification of the locality may indicate a previous engagement between Moses and Jethro to meet at this place. The valley which opens upon Er Rahah on the left of Horeb is called by the Arabs Wady Shueib, *i.e.* the vale of Hobab.

6. The LXX. read, "And it was told to Moses, saying, Lo, thy father in law Jether is come." This suits the context, and is probably the true reading.

7. *did obeisance*] As to an elder, the priest, if not the chief, of a great tribe.

asked each other of their welfare] Or, addressed each other with the customary salutation, "Peace be unto you."

to Israel, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the Egyptians.

10 And Jethro said, Blessed *be* the LORD, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians.

11 Now I know that the LORD *is* greater than all gods: [c] for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly *he was* above them.

[c] chap. 1. 10, 16, 22. & 5. 7. & 14. 18.

12 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God.

13 ¶ And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood by Moses from the morning unto the evening.

14 And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What *is* this thing that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand by thee from morning unto even?

15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to inquire of God:

16 When they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between [†] one and another, and I do make *them* know the statutes of God, and his laws.

[†] Heb. *a man and his fellow.*

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11. *greater than all gods*] This does not prove that Jethro recognized the existence or power of other Deities, for the expression is not uncommon in the mouth of Hebrew monotheists, and corresponds exactly to the terms in which Moses had himself celebrated the overthrow of the Egyptians; see note on ch. xv. 11. It simply indicates a conviction of the incomparable might and majesty of Jehovah.

for in...above them] Lit. **For** (*this is shewn*) **in the matter wherein they dealt proudly against them.** The construction depends upon the previous clause; the meaning is, for I know the greatness of Jehovah by the very transaction wherein the Egyptians dealt haughtily and cruelly against the Israelites. Jethro refers especially to the destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea, and very probably to the words in which Moses himself had celebrated that event; see ch. xv. 11.

12. *a burnt offering and sacrifices*] This verse clearly shews that Jethro was recognized as a priest of the true God. The identity of religious faith could not be more conclusively proved than by the participation in the sacrificial feast. This passage is of great importance in its bearings upon the relation between the Israelites and their congeners, and upon the state of religion among the descendants of Abraham.

13. In the following passage the change in the organization of the people, by which the burden of judicial proceedings was transferred in great part from Moses to subordinate officers, is attributed entirely to the counsel of Jethro. This is important for several reasons. It is certain that no late writer would have invented such a story, and most improbable that tradition would have long preserved the memory of a transaction which to Israelites might naturally seem derogatory to their legislator. Nothing however can be more characteristic of Moses, who combines on all occasions distrust of himself, and singular openness to impressions, with the wisdom and sound judgment which chooses the best course when pointed out. It is remarkable that an institution so novel and important should have preceded the promulgation of the Sinaitic law.

from the morning unto the evening] It may be assumed as at least probable that numerous cases of difficulty arose out of the division of the spoil of the Amalekites: this was moreover the first station at which the Israelites appear to have rested long after their departure from Elim, and causes would of course accumulate during the journey.

15. *to inquire of God*] The decisions of Moses were doubtless accepted by the people as oracles. There is no reason to suppose that he consulted, or that the people expected him to consult, the Lord by Urim and Thummim, which are first mentioned xxviii. 30, where see note. The internal prompting of the Spirit was a sufficient guidance for him, and a sufficient authority for the people.

16. *the statutes of God, and his laws*] This would seem to imply that in deciding each particular case Moses explained the principles of right and justice on which his decision rested. It became, so to speak, a precedent; he can scarcely be supposed to refer to any existing code, the necessity for which must, however, have soon become apparent, preparing the people for the legislation given within a few days at Sinai.

17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest *is* not good.

18 [1]Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that *is* with thee: for this thing *is* too heavy for thee; [d]thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.

19 Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God shall be with thee: Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God:

20 And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do.

21 Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place *such* over them, *to be* rulers of thousands, *and* rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens:

22 And let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, *that* every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear *the burden* with thee.

23 If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee *so*, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people shall also go to their place in peace.

24 So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said.

25 And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.

26 And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.

27 ¶ And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

[1] Heb. *Fading thou wilt fade.*

[d] Deut. 1. 9.

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18. *Thou wilt surely wear away*] This expresses the true sense: the Hebrew word implies decay and exhaustion.

19. *counsel*] In this counsel Jethro draws a distinction, probably not previously recognized, between the functions of the legislator and the judge. Moses as legislator stands between the people and God. He brings the cause to God, and learns from Him the principle by which it is to be determined: and in the next place, sets before the people the whole system of ordinances and laws by which they are to be henceforth guided. As judge Moses decides all difficult cases in the last resort, leaving questions of detail to officers chosen by himself from the people.

to God-ward] lit. "before God," standing between them and God, both as His minister, or representative: and also as the representative of the people, their agent, so to speak, or deputy before God.

20. *teach them*] The Hebrew word is emphatic, and signifies "enlightenment." The text gives four distinct points, (*a*) the "ordinances," or specific enactments, (*b*) "the laws," or general regulations, (*c*) "the way," the general course of duty, (*d*) "the work," each specific act.

21. *able men*] This gives the true force of the Hebrew, literally "men of might;" *i.e.* strength of character and ability. The qualifications are remarkably complete, ability, piety, truthfulness and unselfishness. The recommendation leaves no doubt as to the faith of Jethro, though, with the usual care observed by Moses in relating the words of pious Gentiles, he is represented as using the general expression God, not the revealed name Jehovah. From Deut. i. 13, it appears that Moses left the selection of the persons to the people, an example followed by the Apostles; see Acts vi. 3.

rulers of thousands, &c.] This minute classification of the people is thoroughly in accordance with the Semitic character, and was retained in after ages. The numbers appear to be conventional, corresponding nearly, but not exactly, to the military, or civil divisions of the people. The number "ten" denotes in Arabic, and may have denoted in Hebrew, a family; the largest division 1000 is used as an equivalent of a gens under one head, Num. i. 16, x. 4; Josh. xxii. 14.

The word "rulers," sometimes rendered "princes," is general, including all ranks of officials placed in command. The same word is used regularly on Egyptian monuments of the time of Moses: see note on ch. i. 11.

23. *to their place*] *i.e.* to Canaan, which is thus recognized by Jethro as the appointed and true home of Israel.

27. *into his own land*] Midian. This

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *The people come to Sinai.* 3 *God's message by Moses unto the people out of the mount.* 8 *The people's answer returned again.* 10 *The people are prepared against the third day.* 12 *The mountain must not be touched.* 16 *The fearful presence of God upon the mount.*

IN the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they *into* the wilderness of Sinai.

2 For they were departed from Rephidim, and were come *to* the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount.

[a] Acts 7. 33. 3 And [a]Moses went up unto God, and the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;

4 [b]Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and *how* I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. [b] Deut. 29. 2.

5 Now [c]therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for [d]all the earth *is* mine: [c] Deut. 5. 2. [d] Deut. 10. 14. Psal. 24. 1.

6 And ye shall be unto me a [e]kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These *are* the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. [e] 1 Pet. 2. 9. Rev. 1. 6.

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expression is favourable to the view that the home of Midian was on the east of the Red Sea, and not in the Peninsula of Sinai. If the identity of Jethro with Hobab be assumed, he must have returned and met Moses once more after the departure from Sinai. See Numbers x. 29—32. It seems however far more probable that Hobab was his brother. See note on ch. ii. 18.

CHAP. XIX. 1. *In the third month*] This expression does not determine the exact day: the word "month" is not found in the Pentateuch in the sense of new moon, or the first day of the month, which has been attributed to it in this passage by many eminent critics. Still the natural impression made by this statement is that the arrival of the Israelites coincided with the beginning of the third month.

the wilderness of Sinai] See note at the end of the book.

3. *Moses went up unto God*] This seems to imply that the voice was heard by Moses as he was ascending the mount.

house of Jacob] This expression does not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch. It has a peculiar fitness here, referring doubtless to the special promises made to the Patriarch.

4. *on eagles' wings*] Bochart, after quoting passages from Ælian, Appian and other writers, observes that Moses gives a perfect explanation of the simile in Deuteronomy xxxii. 11. He adds "It is to be observed that both in the law and in the gospel the Church is compared to fledgelings which the mother cherishes and protects under her wings: but in the law that mother is an eagle, in the gospel a hen; thus shadowing forth the diversity of administration under each Covenant: the one of power, which God manifested when He brought His people out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and led them into the promised land; the other of grace, when Christ came in humility and took the form of a servant and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross." Bochart however, remarks, that the simile of an eagle is applied to Christ when He vindicates His people from the Dragon, Rev. xii. 14. See Hierozoicon, lib. II. ch. 22, § 3 and 4.

5. *a peculiar treasure*] This expresses the true sense of the Hebrew word, which designates a costly possession acquired with exertion, and carefully guarded. The peculiar relation in which Israel stands, taken out of the Heathen world and consecrated to God, as his slaves, subjects, and children, determines their privileges, and is the foundation of their duties. The same principle applies even in a stronger sense to the Church. See Acts xx. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

all the earth is mine] This is added, as we may believe, to impress upon the Jews that their God was no mere national Deity, a point of great practical importance.

6. *a kingdom of priests*] The exact meaning of this expression, as it was understood by all the ancient translators, and as it is explained in the New Testament, is that Israel collectively is a royal and priestly race: a dynasty of priests, each true member uniting in himself the attributes of a king and priest. The word "kingdom" is not taken in the modern sense, as a collective name for the subjects of a king, but in the old Hebrew sense of "royalty," or "dynasty." Thus nearly all ancient and modern commentators explain the words. (The LXX. βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, Targum Onk. kings and priests; Jonathan, crowned kings and ministering priests.)

7 ¶ And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the LORD commanded him.

f chap. 24. 3, 7. Deut. 5. 27. & 26. 17. 8 And f all the people answered together, and said, All that the LORD hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the LORD.

9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD.

10 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes,

11 And be ready against the third day: for the third day the LORD will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.

12 And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed to yourselves, *that ye* go *not* up into the mount, or touch the border of it: g whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death:

g Heb. 12. 20.

13 There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether *it be* beast or man, it shall not live: when the h trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount.

h Or, *cornet.*

14 ¶ And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their clothes.

15 And he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day: come not at *your* wives.

16 ¶ And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that *was* in the camp trembled.

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an holy nation] The holiness of Israel consisted in its special consecration to God: it was a sacred nation, sacred by adoption, by covenant, and by participation in all means of grace. The radical meaning of the Hebrew "Khodesh" appears to be "pure, clean, clear from all pollution bodily or spiritual," rather than, as many critics have assumed, "separate and set apart." The distinction between official consecration, and internal holiness is secondary, and scarcely seems to have lain within the scope of the Hebrew mind: the ideas were inseparable.

8. *All that the* LORD, &c.] By this answer the people accepted the covenant. It was the preliminary condition of their complete admission into the state of a royal priesthood.

9. *in a thick cloud*] Or "in the darkness of cloud," *i.e.* in the midst of the dense cloud which indicated the Presence of Jehovah. The people were to hear the voice of God, distinctly announcing the fundamental principles of the eternal law.

10. *sanctify them*] The injunction involves bodily purification and undoubtedly also spiritual preparation. Thus Heb. x. 22, "our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water." The washing of the clothes was an outward symbol well understood in all nations. The supply of water in the region about Sinai is repeatedly stated by Burckhardt and other travellers to be abundant. In Deut. ix. 21, we read of the brook descending from the mount.

11. *the third day*] The significance of the expression "third day" scarcely needs to be pointed out; whether this third day fell on the Jewish or Christian Sabbath is quite uncertain; but it can scarcely have corresponded to the day of Pentecost, as Bp. Wordsworth holds on the authority of an ancient and widely accredited tradition: more than 60 days had elapsed since the Passover. See the article on Pentecost in Smith's 'Dict.'

12. *set bounds unto the people*] The access to the base of the mountain is evidently shewn to have been otherwise unimpeded. Dr Stanley speaks of the low line of alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff of Ras Safsafeh as exactly answering to the bounds which were to keep the people off from touching the mount: but the bounds here spoken of were to be set up by Moses.

13. *touch it*] Rather "touch him." The person was not to be touched, since the contact would be pollution. He was to be stoned or shot with an arrow; or probably with a javelin, as was customary in later times.

when the trumpet, &c.] When the trumpet sounded those who were specially called might ascend.

17 And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount.

[h] Deut. 4. 11. 18 And [h] mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.

19 And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice.

20 And the LORD came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the LORD called Moses *up* to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.

[f] Heb. *contest.* 21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go down, [f] charge the people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them perish.

22 And let the priests also, which come near to the LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon them.

23 And Moses said unto the LORD, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.

24 And the LORD said unto him, Away, get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth upon them.

25 So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *The ten commandments.* 18 *The people are afraid.* 20 *Moses comforteth them.* 22 *Idolatry is forbidden.* 24 *Of what sort the altar should be.*

AND God spake all these words, saying,

[a] Deut. 5. 6. Psal. 81. 10. 2 [a] I *am* the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of [f] bondage. [f] Heb. *servants.*

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17. *out of the camp*] The encampment must have extended far and wide over the plain in front of the mountain. From one entrance of the plain to the other there is space for the whole host of the Israelites. This is a point which has been determined by accurate measurement of the valley. See note at the end of Exodus.

18. *a furnace*] The word is Egyptian, and occurs only in the Pentateuch.

22. *the priests also*] The Levitical priesthood was not yet instituted, but sacrifices had hitherto been offered by persons who were recognized as having the right or authority: according to the very probable account of Rabbinical writers these were the firstborn, or the heads of families, until they were superseded by the Aaronic priesthood.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. CHAP. XX. 1—17.

On the Ten Commandments, taken as a whole, see Note after *v.* 21. The account of the delivery of them in chap. xix. and in *vv.* 18—21 of this chap. is in accordance with their importance as the recognized basis of the Covenant between Jehovah and His ancient people (Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28; Deut. iv. 13; 1 K. viii. 21, &c.), and as the Divine testimony against the sinful tendencies in man for all ages. Jewish writers have speculated as to the mode in which the Divine communication was made to the people (Philo, 'de Orac.' c. 9; Palestine Targum, &c.). It may be noticed that, while it is here said that "God spake all these words," and in Deut. v. 4, that He "spake face to face," in the New Testament the giving of the Law is spoken of as having been through the ministration of angels (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2). We can only reconcile these contrasts of language by keeping in mind that God is a Spirit, and that He is essentially present in the agents who are performing His will. A similar difficulty was felt by some in St Augustin's time in reconciling Gen. i. 1 with John i. 3. ('Cont. Adimant. Man.' c. 1.)—Josephus appears as the only witness for the superstition, which was probably common amongst the Pharisees of his day, that it was not lawful to utter the very words in which the Ten Commandments were originally expressed ('Ant.' III. 5, § 4). It is remarkable that there seems to be no trace of this in the rabbinists.—The Two Tables of stone on which the Commandments were inscribed are mentioned ch. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18.

2. *which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage*] It was a rabbinical question, Why, on this occasion, was not THE LORD rather proclaimed as "the Creator of Heaven and Earth"? The true answer evidently is, That the Ten Commandments were at this time addressed by Jehovah

3 Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

4 [b] Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth:

[b] Lev. 26. 1. Psal. 97. 7.

5 Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me;

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not merely to human creatures, but to the people whom He had redeemed, to those who had been in bondage, but were now free men. (Exod. vi. 6, 7, xix. 5.) The Commandments are expressed in absolute terms. They are not sanctioned by outward penalties, as if for slaves, but are addressed at once to the conscience, as for free men. The well-being of the nation called for the infliction of penalties, and therefore statutes were passed to punish offenders who blasphemed the name of Jehovah, who profaned the Sabbath, or who committed murder or adultery. (See on Lev. xviii. 24—30.) But these penal statutes were not to be the ground of obedience for the true Israelite according to the Covenant. He was to know Jehovah as his Redeemer, and was to obey Him as such. (Cf. Rom. xiii. 5; see Note after *v.* 21, § V.)

3. *before me*] Literally, *before my face*. The meaning is that no god should be worshipped in addition to Jehovah. Cf. *v.* 23. The rendering in our Prayer-Book, *but me*, with that of the LXX. πλὴν ἐμοῦ, does not so well represent the Hebrew. The polytheism which was the besetting sin of the Israelites in later times did not exclude Jehovah, but it associated Him with false deities. See Note on xxxiv. 13.

4. *graven image*] Any sort of image is here intended. The Hebrew word (*pesel*) strictly means a carved image, mostly denoting one of wood or stone, and in some places it is distinguished from a molten image of metal (*massēkāh*): but as molten images were finished up with a graver or carving tool, *pesel* is sometimes applied to them (Is. xl. 19, xliv. 10; Jer. x. 14, &c.), and is frequently used, as it is here, for a general name for images of all sorts.

or any likeness] This may be rendered, **even any likeness**. What follows in the verse expresses the whole material creation; it is expanded in detail in Deut. iv. 16—19.

5. *Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them*] The antecedent to *them* in each clause appears to be the likenesses of things in heaven and earth spoken of in the preceding verse. It has been observed that, according to the Hebrew idiom, these clauses may have a strict grammatical connection with "Thou shalt not make," &c. in *v.* 4. The meaning certainly is to prohibit the making of the likeness of any material thing, *in order to* worship it. For a similar form of expression, see Num. xxii. 12. As the First Commandment forbids the worship of any false god, seen or unseen, it is here forbidden to worship an image of any sort, whether the figure of a false deity or one in any way symbolical of Jehovah (see on xxxii. 4). The spiritual acts of worship were symbolized in the furniture and ritual of the Tabernacle and the Altar, and for this end the forms of living things might be employed as in the case of the Cherubim (see on xxv. 18): but the presence of the invisible God was to be marked by no symbol of Himself, but by His words written on stones, preserved in the Ark in the Holy of Holies and covered by the Mercy-seat. On the repudiation of images of the Deity by the ancient Persians, see Herodot. I. 131; Strabo, XV. p. 732; and by the earliest legislators of Rome, see Plut. 'Numa,' 8; Augustin. 'de Civ. Dei,' IV. 31.

The Jews, not recognizing the connection between *vv.* 4 and 5, have imagined *v.* 4 to be a prohibition of the exercise of the arts of painting and sculpture. Considering the Cherubim of the Mercy-seat and of the curtains of the Tabernacle, the pomegranates of the High-priest's robe, and the fruits and flowers of the Candlestick, to say nothing of the sculptures of the Temple in later times (1 K. vi. 23 sq., vii. 27 sq.), any such notion as this must show the prejudiced and fragmentary way in which they were tempted to study the Scriptures. Philo declares that Moses condemned to perpetual banishment the cheating arts (ἐπιβούλοι τέχναι) of painters and sculptors ('Quis div. rer. heres.' c. 35; 'de Orac.' c. 29). Josephus charges Solomon with a breach of the Law, on account of the oxen which supported the brazen sea, and the lions which adorned his throne ('Ant.' VIII. 7, § 5): and in direct contradiction of Exod. xxvi. 31, he denies that the vail which concealed the Most Holy Place was ornamented with living creatures. ('Ant.' III. 6, § 4.) This prejudice, from the time when the pharisaic tendency began to work on the mind of the nation, must have effectually checked the progress of the imitative arts.

for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God] Deut. vi. 15; Josh. xxiv. 19; Is. xlii. 8, xlviii. 11; Nahum i. 2. This reason applies to the First, as well as to the Second Commandment. The truth expressed in it was declared more fully

6 And shewing mercy unto thou-
c Lev. 19. 12 Deut. 5. 11. Matt. 5. 33. sands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

7 c Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

8 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.

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to Moses when the name of Jehovah was proclaimed to him after he had interceded for Israel on account of the golden calf (xxxiv. 6, 7; see note).

visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children] The visitation here spoken of can hardly be any other than that which we are accustomed to witness in the common experience of life. (Cf. xxxiv. 7; Jer. xxxii. 18.) Sons and remote descendants inherit the consequences of their fathers' sins, in disease, poverty, captivity, with all the influences of bad example and evil communications. (See Lev. xxvi. 39; Lam. v. 7 sq.) The "inherited curse" seems to fall often most heavily on the least guilty persons, as is abundantly proved in all history and is pointedly illustrated in Greek tragedy. But such suffering must always be free from the sting of conscience; it is not like the visitation for sin on the individual by whom the sin has been committed. The suffering, or loss of advantages, entailed on the unoffending son, is a condition under which he has to carry on the struggle of life, and, like all other inevitable conditions imposed upon men, it cannot tend to his ultimate disadvantage, if he struggles well and perseveres to the end. He may never attain in this world to a high standard of knowledge, or of outward conduct, compared with others, but the Searcher of hearts will regard him with favour, not in proportion to his visible conduct, but to his unseen struggles. As regards the administration of justice by earthly tribunals, the Law holds good, "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin" (Deut. xxiv. 16). The same principle is carried out in spiritual matters by the Supreme Judge. The Israelites in a later age made a confusion in the use of their common proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." There would have been truth in this saying had it been used only in reference to the mere natural consequences of their fathers' sins. In this sense their teeth were set on edge by the sour grapes their fathers had eaten. But the Prophets pointed out the falsehood involved in the proverb as it was understood by the people. They showed that it was utterly false when applied to the spiritual relation in which each person stands in the judgment of Him who is no respecter of persons. (Jer. xxxi. 29, 30; Ezek. xviii. 2—4 sq.)

Another explanation of the words appears in the Targums, and is favoured by some of the Fathers and other commentators, Christian and Jewish. It assumes that the words refer only to the children who go on sinning so as to fill up the measure of their fathers' iniquities in the manner spoken of Lev. xxvi. 39; Is. lxv. 7; Jer. xvi. 10—13; Matt. xxiii. 29—32. (See Hengst. 'Pent.' Vol. II. p. 446.) But this seems unworthily to reduce the Divine words to a mere truism. It makes them say in an awkward mannner no more than that the guilty sons shall be punished as well as the guilty fathers.

6. *unto thousands*] **unto the thousandth generation.** Jehovah's visitations of chastisement extend to the third and fourth generation, his visitations of mercy to the thousandth; that is, for ever. That this is the true rendering seems to follow from Deut. vii. 9. Cf. 2 S. vii. 15, 16. So Syr., Onk., Leo Juda, Geneva French, Rosen., Zunz, Schott., Knobel, Keil, Herx., and Wogue. Our version is supported by the LXX., Vulg., Saadia, Luther, and de Wette.

7. Our translators have followed the LXX., Aquila, the Vulgate, Augustin ('Serm.' VIII.), and Theodoret ('Quæst. in Exod.' 41), in making the Third Commandment bear upon any profane and idle utterance of the name of God. Saadia, the Syriac, some of the Rabbinists, and the greater number of the critics of our day, give it the sense, *Thou shalt not swear falsely by the name of Jehovah thy God.* The Hebrew word which answers to *in vain* may be rendered either way. The two abuses of the sacred name seem to be distinguished in Lev. xix. 12. Our Version is probably right in giving the rendering which is more inclusive. To swear falsely is undoubtedly a profanation of the name of God; and looking at the matter on its practical side, the man who, in a right spirit, avoids the idle use of the Name will be incapable of swearing falsely. Hence there may be a reference to this Commandment, as well as to Lev. xix. 12, in Matt. v. 33. The caution that a breach of this Commandment incurs guilt in the eyes of Jehovah is especially appropriate, in consequence of the ease with which the temptation to take God's name in vain besets men in their common intercourse with each other.

8. *Remember the sabbath day*] These words have been taken to refer to the observance of the Sabbath day as an old usage dating back

[d] chap. 23. 12. Ezek. 20. 12. Luke 13. 14.

9 [d] Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work:

10 But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the LORD thy God: *in it* thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates:

11 For [e] *in* six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

[e] Gen. 2. 2.

12 ¶ [f] Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

[f] Deut. 5. 16. Matt. 15. ‡ Eph. 6. 2.

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to the Patriarchs, or even to the creation of the world. There is however no distinct evidence that the Sabbath, as a formal ordinance, was recognized before the time of Moses. The expressions of Nehemiah (ix. 14), of Ezekiel (xx. 10, 11, 12), and, perhaps, of Moses himself (Deut. v. 15), may be taken to intimate that the observance was regarded as originating in the Law given on Mount Sinai. The most ancient testimonies favour this view. See Note after *v.* 21; also note on Gen. ii. 2. It is now generally admitted that the attempts to trace the observance in heathen antiquity have failed. It has been alleged that the word *remember* may be reasonably explained in one of two ways without adopting the inference that has been mentioned; it may either be used in the sense of *keep in mind* what is here enjoined for the first time, or it may refer back to what is related in ch. xvi. where the Sabbath day is first noticed, in giving the law for collecting the manna.

to keep it holy] See Note after *v.* 21, § I.

10. *the sabbath of the* LORD *thy God*] **a Sabbath to Jehovah thy God.** It may be observed that the word *sabbath* (more properly, *shabbath*) has no etymological connection with *sheba'*, the Hebrew for *seven*. The proper meaning of *sabbath* is, *rest after labour*.

thy stranger that is within thy gates] The Hebrew word *geer* does not mean a *stranger* (that is an unknown person), but, according to its mere derivation, a *lodger*, or *sojourner*. In this place it denotes one who had come from another people to take up his permanent abode among the Israelites, and who might have been well known to his neighbours. Our word *foreigner*, in its common use, seems best to answer to it here. The LXX. renders *geer* by προσήλυτος (*proselyte*), πάροικος, and ξένος. That the word did not primarily refer to foreign domestic servants (though all such were included under it) is to be inferred from the term used for gates (*sha'arim*), signifying not the doors of a private dwelling, but the gates of a town or camp. See on Lev. xvi. 29.

11. *wherefore the* LORD *blessed the sabbath day*] Our Communion Service and Catechism follow the reading of the LXX. and the earlier English Versions, in calling this the *seventh day* instead of the *sabbath day*. On the meaning of the verse, see Note after *v.* 21.

12. *Honour thy father and thy mother*] According to our usage, the Fifth Commandment is placed as the first in the second table; and this is necessarily involved in the common division of the Commandments into our duty towards God and our duty towards men. But the more ancient, and probably the better, division allots five Commandments to each Table. The connection between the first four Commandments and the Fifth exists in the truth that all faith in God centres in the filial feeling. Our parents stand between us and God in a way in which no other beings can. It is worthy of note that the honouring of parents and the keeping of the Sabbath day, which is the same as honouring God, are combined in one precept in Lev. xix. 3.—In connection with this, it may be observed that the Fifth Commandment and the first part of the Fourth are the only portions of the Decalogue which are expressed in a positive form. See Note after *v.* 21, § IV. On the maintenance of parental authority, see xxi. 15, 17; Deut. xxi. 18—21.

that thy days may be long upon the land] Filial respect is the ground of national permanence. When the Jews were about to be cast out of their land, the rebuke of the prophet was, that they had not walked in the old paths and had not respected the voice of their fathers as the sons of Jonadab had done (Jer. vi. 16, xxxv. 18, 19). And when in later times the land had been restored to them, and they were about to be cast out of it a second time, the great sin of which they were convicted was, that they had set aside this Fifth Commandment for the sake of their own traditions. (Matt. xv. 4—6; Mark vii. 10, 11.) Every other nation that has a history bears witness to the same truth. Rome owed her strength, as well as the permanence of her influence after she had politically perished, to her steady maintenance of the *patria potestas* (Maine, 'Ancient Law,' p. 135). China has mainly owed her long duration to the simple way in which she has uniformly acknowledged the authority of fathers. The Divine words were addressed emphatically to Israel, but they

g Matt. 5. 21. 13 g Thou shalt not kill.
14 Thou shalt not commit adultery.
15 Thou shalt not steal.
16 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
h Rom. 7. 7. 17 h Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbour's.
18 ¶ And i all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw *it*, they removed, and stood afar off.
i Heb. 12. 18.
19 And they said unto Moses, k Speak thou with us, and we will
k Deut. 5. 27. & 18. 16.

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set forth a universal principle of national life. St Paul calls this Commandment, "the first commandment with promise" (Eph. vi. 2); the promise is fulfilled in God's government of the whole world. The narrow view which Selden and others have taken of the Commandment, that it implied no more than a prediction that the children of Israel should possess the land of Canaan on the condition stated, is alien to the spirit of the Decalogue. (See Note after *v.* 21, § VI.)

13, 14. The Sixth and Seventh Commandments are amongst those utterances of the Law which our Saviour, in the Sermon on the Mount, took to illustrate the relation in which the Gospel stands to the Law. Whatever range of meaning we are to give to the expression in Matt. v. 17, that Christ came not to destroy but to *fulfil* (πληρῶσαι), we can hardly exclude from it, in its bearing on the discourse that follows in *vv.* 18—48, the sense, to *set forth perfectly* in the way of teaching. (Cf. Rom. xv. 19; Col. i. 25.) The Scribes and Pharisees failed perfectly to set forth the Law, in their teaching as well as in their practice; they taught the mere words in their dry external relations; "they gave the husk without the kernel." Their righteousness, both that which they taught and that which they practised, therefore fell short of the true standard (Matt. v. 20). If this view of the word *fulfil* is admitted, our Saviour's words respecting these Commandments (*vv.* 21—32) cannot be taken as an external supplement to the Law, or as a new adaptation of it to a changed order of things, but as a perfect unfolding, in the most practical form, of the meaning which the Commandments had from the beginning, and which had been, with different degrees of distinctness, shadowed forth to all who wisely and devoutly obeyed the Law under the Old Dispensation. The passage in St Matthew (v. 21—32) is therefore the best comment on these two Verses of Exodus. St Augustin says that the purpose of Christ's coming was, *non ut Legi adderentur quæ deerant, sed ut fierent quæ scripta erant.* 'Cont. Faust.' XVII. 6.

15. The right of property is sanctioned in the Eighth Commandment by an external rule: its deeper meaning is involved in the Tenth Commandment.

17. As the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Commandments forbid us to injure our neighbour in deed, the Ninth forbids us to injure him in word, and the Tenth, in thought: No human eye can see the coveting heart; it is witnessed only by him who possesses it and by Him to whom all things are naked and open. But it is the root of all sins against our neighbour in word or in deed (Jam. i. 14, 15). The man who is acceptable before God, walking uprightly, not backbiting with his tongue, nor doing evil to his neighbour, is he who "speaketh the truth IN HIS HEART." Ps. xv. 2, 3. St Paul speaks of the operation of this Commandment on his own heart as the means of revealing to him the holiness of the Law (Rom. vii. 7). The direct connection of the Commandments of the Second Table with the principle of love between man and man, is affirmed Matt. xxii. 39, 40; Rom. xiii. 9, 10; Gal. v. 14.—On the variations between this and the parallel place in Deut. v. 21, see Note after *v.* 21, § II.

There is a curious interpolation in the Samaritan text following the Tenth Commandment. The Israelites are commanded to set up on Mount Gerizim two great plastered stones with the words of the Law inscribed on them, to build there an Altar, and to sacrifice upon it Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings. The passage is evidently made up from Deut. xxvii. 2—7, with some expressions from Deut. xi. 30, Gerizim being substituted for Ebal. See on Deut. xxvii. 2—7.

18—21. This narrative is amplified in Deut. v. 22—31. The people had realized the terrors of the voice of Jehovah in the utterance of the Ten Words of the Testimony, and they feared for their lives. Though Moses encouraged them, they were permitted to withdraw and to stand afar off, at their tent doors (see Deut. v. 30). It would appear, according to xix. 24, that Aaron on this occasion accompanied Moses in drawing near to the thick darkness. Cf. xxiv. 18.

hear: but [d] let not God speak with us, lest we die.

20 And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not.

21 And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God *was*.

NOTE on CHAP. XX. *vv.* 1—17.

ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

I. *The Name.* II. *What was written on the Stones?* III. *The Division into Ten.* IV. *The Two Tables.* V. *The Commandments as* A TESTIMONY. VI. *Breadth of their meaning.*

§ I.

The Hebrew name which is rendered in our Version THE TEN COMMANDMENTS (עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים) occurs in Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4. It literally means *the Ten Words*, as it stands in the margin of our Bible; LXX. οἱ δέκα λόγοι, or τὰ δέκα ῥήματα; Vulg. *decem verba*. But the Hebrew substantive דָּבָר often denotes a *mandate* (Josh. i. 13; Esth. i. 19); and the common English rendering may be therefore justified. In Ex. xxiv. 12, the Ten Commandments are called **the Law, even the Commandment**: the latter word (מִצְוָה) occurs in its plural form in the Second Commandment, Ex. xx. 6; Deut. v. 10. They are elsewhere called THE WORDS OF THE COVENANT (Ex. xxxiv. 28, where the strict rendering would be, *the Words of the Covenant, even the Ten Words*), THE TABLES OF THE COVENANT (Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15), and simply THE COVENANT (Deut. iv. 13: 1 K. viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 11); also THE TWO TABLES (Deut. ix. 10, 17). But the most frequent name for them in the Old Testament is, THE TESTIMONY[1] (הָעֵדוּת, LXX. τὸ μαρτύριον or τὰ μαρτύρια), or THE TWO TABLES OF THE TESTIMONY[2]. In the New Testament they are called simply THE COMMANDMENTS[3] (αἱ ἐντολαί). The name DECALOGUE (ὁ δεκάλογος) is found first in Clement of Alexandria, and was commonly used by the Fathers who followed him.

We thus know that the Tables were two, and that the Commandments were ten, in number. But the Scriptures do not, by any direct statements, enable us to determine with precision how the Ten Commandments are severally to be made out, nor how they are to be allotted to the Two Tables. On each of these points various opinions have been held.

[1] Ex. xvi. 34, xxv. 16, 21, xxx. 6, xl. 20; Lev. xvi. 13, &c. &c.

[2] Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29.

[3] Matt. xix. 17; Mark x. 19; Luke xviii. 20; Rom. xiii. 9.

§ II.

But there is a question which rightly claims precedence of these: What actually were the Words of Jehovah that were engraven on the Tables of Stone? We have two distinct statements, one in Exodus (xx. 1—17) and one in Deuteronomy (v. 6—21), apparently of equal authority, but differing from each other in several weighty particulars. Each is said, with reiterated emphasis, to contain the words that were actually spoken by the LORD, and written by Him upon the stones[4].

The variations which are of most importance are in the Commandments which we commonly call the Fourth, the Fifth, and the Tenth. The two copies of these are here placed side by side. The expressions in Deuteronomy which differ in the original Hebrew from the corresponding ones in Exodus, are in italics, and the additional clauses are in brackets.

EXODUS XX.	DEUT. V.
IV. (*vv.* 8—11.)	IV. (*vv.* 12—15.)
Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.	*Keep* the sabbath day to sanctify it, [*as the* LORD *thy God hath commanded thee.*] Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, [*nor thine ox, nor thine ass,*] nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; [*that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou.*] *And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the* LORD *thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out*

[4] Ex. xx. 1, xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, 16; Deut. v. 4, 5, 22, iv. 13, ix. 10.

	arm: therefore the LORD *thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.*
V. (*v.* 12.) Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.	V. (*v.* 16.) Honour thy father and thy mother, [*as the* LORD *thy God hath commanded thee*]; that thy days may be prolonged, [*and that it may go well with thee*], in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
X. (*v.* 17.) Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.	X. (*v.* 21.) *Neither* shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, *neither* shalt thou *covet* thy neighbour's house, [*his field*], or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

In the Fourth Commandment, it will be seen that in Deuteronomy:—

(1) "Keep (שָׁמוֹר) the Sabbath day," is read instead of "Remember (זָכוֹר) the Sabbath day."

(2) Three fresh clauses are inserted:—

"As the LORD thy God hath commanded thee."

"Nor thine ox nor thine ass."

"That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou."

(3) A different reason is given for the Commandment, referring to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, instead of the rest of God after the six works of Creation.

In the Fifth, Deuteronomy inserts the same expression as it does in the Fourth, "as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee;" and also the words, "that it may go well with thee."

In the Tenth, it transposes "thy neighbour's house," and "thy neighbour's wife;" it inserts "his field," and it makes the two parts of the Commandment more distinct by the use of a different verb in the imperative mood in each. The verb rendered *desire* (חָמַד) is the same that is rendered *covet* in Exodus, but the one here rendered *covet* is a different one (אָוָה).

It should also be observed that, in Deut. v. verses 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 are linked together by the copulative conjunction. The few other slight variations do not affect the sense.

It has been generally assumed that the whole of one or other of these copies was written on the Tables. Most commentators have supposed that the original document is in Exodus, and that the author of Deuteronomy wrote from memory, with variations suggested at the time. Others have conceived that Deuteronomy must furnish the more correct form, since the Tables must have been in actual existence when the book was written. But neither of these views can be fairly reconciled with the statements in Exodus and Deuteronomy to which reference has been made. If either copy, as a whole, represents what was written on the Tables, it is obvious that the other cannot do so.

A conjecture which seems to deserve respect has been put forth by Ewald. He supposes that the original Commandments were all in the same terse and simple form of expression as appears (both in Exodus and Deuteronomy) in the First, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth, such as would be most suitable for recollection, and that the passages in each copy in which the most important variations are found were comments added when the Books were written. It is not necessary to involve this theory with any question as to the authorship of the Books, or with any doubt as to the comments being the words of God[1] given by Moses as much as the Commandments, strictly so called, that were written on the Tables. In reference to the most important of the differences, that relating to the reason for the observance of the Sabbath day, the thoughts are in no degree discordant, and each sets forth what is entirely worthy of, and consistent with, the Divine Law[2]. Slighter verbal or literal variations, with no important difference of meaning (such as *keep* for *remember*), may perhaps be ascribed to copyists[3].

It may be supposed then that the Ten Words of Jehovah, with the prefatory sentence, were to this effect, assuming that each Table contained Five Commandments. See § IV.

I am Jehovah thy God who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

FIRST TABLE.

i. *Thou shalt have no other God*[4] *before me.*
ii. *Thou shalt not make to thee any graven image.*
iii. *Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.*
iv. *Thou shalt remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.*
v. *Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother.*

[1] See Ex. xx. 1.

[2] See the following Note, § III.

[3] What is assumed, on the theory here stated, to be the comment on both the First and Second Commandments ("For I the LORD thy God am a jealous God," &c. See on Ex. xx. 5) occurs in a somewhat different and more diffuse form in Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. Does not a comparison of the two passages tend to confirm the supposition that the words are not a part of the original Ten Commandments, but that they were quoted here in a condensed form by Moses, as bearing on the two Commandments, when the book of Exodus was put together?

[4] See on Ex. xx. 3.

SECOND TABLE.

vi. *Thou shalt not kill.*
vii. *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*
viii. *Thou shalt not steal.*
ix. *Thou shalt not bear false witness.*
x. *Thou shalt not covet.*

A practical illustration from the usage of different ages may tend to shew the probability that the Ten Commandments were familiarly known in such a compendious form as this, at a time when they were used not only as the common watchwords of duty, but as the axioms of the Law in its actual operation. In those copies of the Commandments which have been used in different branches of the Church for the instruction of its members, the form has almost always been more or less abbreviated of a part, or the whole, of those which are the most expanded in Exodus and Deuteronomy; namely, the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Tenth[1]. The earliest book of Christian instruction in which they are given at full length as they stand in Exodus, appears to be "the Prymer in English," of about A.D. 1400, printed in Maskell's 'Monumenta Ritualia" (Vol. II. p. 177). They are also given in full in the Primer of Edward VI. (A.D. 1553). When they were first introduced into our Communion Service in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (A.D. 1552), the words in the introductory sentence, "which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," were unfortunately omitted, and have not been restored in succeeding editions. But they are not only retained in our Catechism, but are made a special topic of instruction in connection with the Commandments in Nowell's larger Catechism[2].

§ III.

The mode in which the Commandments are divided into Ten in our own Service Book agrees with the most ancient authorities, Jewish as well as Christian, and the usage of the Eastern Church. It appears to be based on the clearest view of the subject matter, as it is set forth in the sacred text[3].

But another arrangement, which is first found distinctly stated in St. Augustin[4], demands attention from its having been universally adopted by the Western Church until the Reformation. The Second Commandment is added to the First (or, in some of the abridged forms, omitted altogether), and the number ten is made out by treating the Tenth as two Commandments. St Augustin, following Deuteronomy, and the LXX. in Exodus (see below), make the Ninth "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," and the Tenth "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," &c.: while others, following the Hebrew text of Exodus, reverse this order. In some forms used by the Western Church the whole paragraph on coveting is kept entire, but it is headed as "the Ninth and Tenth Commandments[5]." The general arrangement here spoken of was used by the Church in Britain before the Reformation[6], and is still retained by the Lutheran as well as the Romish Church.

An arrangement probably of very early date, unlike either of these, is found in the common text of the Targum of Palestine, and has been adopted by Maimonides, Aben-Ezra, and other Jewish authorities down to the present day. The First *Word* is identified with "I am the LORD thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt" (which cannot of course be properly called a *Commandment*), and the Second Word is made, as in the arrangement last mentioned, to include what is divided in our Prayer-Book into the First and Second Commandments.

The subject matter itself seems to suggest grave and obvious objections to the two latter arrangements. There is a clear distinction between polytheism and idolatry which entitles each to a distinct Commandment: and the sin of coveting our neighbour's possessions is essentially the same in its nature, whatever may be the object coveted.

It is worthy of notice in regard to the sequence of the Commandments, that the LXX. in Ex. xx. (according to the Vatican text) and Suidas (s. πλαξὶν) place vii. and viii. before vi., and transpose the *house* and the *wife* in x.; and that Philo places vii. before vi. according to

[1] Sulp. Sev. 'Sac. Hist.' lib. I. 'Synopsis Sac. Script.' ascribed to St Athanasius. Suidas s. πλαξὶν. King Alfred's 'Laws.' 'The Lutheran Cat.' (in which what are here called the sacred writers' comments are named *appendices*). 'The Institution,' &c. and 'The Erudition,' &c. of Henry VIII. The Catechism of Edward VI. The Douay Catechism. The Catechism of the Greek Church, &c. &c.

[2] p. 23. Edit. Jacobson.

[3] This division is recognized in Philo, 'de Orac.' c. 12, 22, 31; 'Quis rer. div. heres.' c. 35. Joseph. 'Ant.' III. 5, § 5. Origen 'Hom. in Exod.' VIII. Jerome 'in Ephes.' VI. 2. Sulp. Sev. 'Sac. Hist.' I. 'Synopsis S.S.' ascribed to Athanasius. Suidas s. πλαξίν. The Catechism of the Greek Church. 'The Institution,' &c. and 'The Erudition,' &c. of Henry VIII. The Primer of 1553, &c. &c.—The testimony of Clement of Alexandria, 'Stromat.' VI. § 137, is ambiguous, and has been quoted both for and against the arrangement; see Suicer s. δεκάλογος, and Kurtz, 'Old Covenant,' III. 124.

[4] 'Quæst. in Exod.' LXXI. Serm. VIII. IX. &c.

[5] The Trent and Lutheran Catechisms.

[6] King Alfred's 'Laws.'—The 'Speculum' of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (1234—1242), and the 'Treatises' of Richard Hampole (circ. 1340), published by the Early English Text Society.—The Primer of 1400, &c. &c.

the order recognized in Mark x. 19; Luke xviii. 20; Rom. xiii. 9; James ii. 11. The usual order is preserved by the other ancient versions in Exodus, and by the LXX. in Deut. v.; as it is also, as regards vi. and vii., in Matt. v. 21, 27, xix. 18.

§ IV.

The distribution of the Commandments between the Two Tables which is most familiar to us, allotting four to the First Table and six to the Second, is first mentioned by St Augustine, though it is not approved by him. It is based on a distinction that lies on the surface, and that easily adapts itself to modern ethical systems, between our duty towards God and our duty towards our neighbour[1]. The division approved by St Augustine was, in relation to the matter in each Table, the same; but as he united the First and Second Commandments into one, and divided the Tenth into two, he made the First Table to comprise three Commandments, and the Second Table, seven. He mystically associated the first of these numbers with the Persons of the Trinity, and the latter with the Sabbatical institution[2].

But the more symmetrical arrangement which allots five Commandments to each Table is supported by the most ancient authorities[3], and is approved by several modern critics. It is also countenanced by Rom. xiii. 9, where the complete Second Table appears to be spoken of as not including the Fifth Commandment.

Philo places the Fifth Commandment last in the First Table, and calls it a link between the Two Tables. On the reason of this designation of his, see on Ex. xx. 12. The real distinction between the Tables appears to be that the First relates to the duties which arise from our Filial relations, the Second to those which arise from our Fraternal relations[4]. But as the Commandments represent the essence of law, they assume the strict form of law. They are expressed, almost exclusively, in the prohibitory form, because it belongs to law to say what a man shall not do, rather than what he shall do. The Commandments therefore set forth neither of the relations that have been mentioned on the positive side. They contain no injunctions to love God, like that in Deut. vi. 5, x. 12, &c.; nor to love our brethren, like that in Lev. xix. 18; nor do they tell us to *love* our parents.

[1] See on Exod. xx. 12.

[2] 'Quæst. in Exod.' 71. The notion is adopted in the 'Speculum' of St Edmund. See p. 337, note 6.

[3] Philo, 'de Orac.' 25; 'Quis rer. div. heres.' 35. Josephus 'Ant.' III. 5, § 8 and § 5. Irenæus, 'Adv. hæres.' II. 24, § 4. Gregor. Naz. 'Carm. Var.' XXXV.

[4] Knobel observes that the subject of the First Table is *pietas*, that of the Second Table, *probitas*.

§ V.

The name most frequently used by Moses for the Decalogue (העדות) signifies something strongly affirmed, literally, *something spoken again and again:* it is therefore properly rendered in our version THE TESTIMONY (see § I.). Taking this in connection with the prohibitory form of the Commandments, the name must have been understood as the Testimony of Jehovah against the tendency to transgress in those to whom the document was addressed. When Moses laid up the completed Book of the Law, of which the Commandments were the central point, by the side of the Ark of the Covenant, his declared purpose was "that it may be there for a witness against thee; for I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck" (Deut. xxxi. 26, 27)[5].

It was by the Law, as it was represented in these Commandments, that there came "the knowledge of sin[6]." The disturbance of the conscience which results from doing wrong, when there is no expressed law, is a vague discomfort to the person with no clear apprehension as to its cause. But when the voice of the Lord has given forth the Law in words intelligible to the mind, then comes *the knowledge* of sin, as the transgression of righteous obligation to a gracious God[7].

And this knowledge of sin necessarily involves a consciousness of condemnation. Hence the Tables given to Moses were "a ministration of condemnation"—"a ministration of death written and engraven on stones" (2 Cor. iii. 7, 9; cf. Eph. ii. 15). Yet was this ministration of condemnation a true revelation of Him who had redeemed His people in love, and it is, in the truest sense, a demand on them for the tribute of their love[8]. It is love in the creature which alone can obey the Law in reality and with acceptance[9].

The relation in which the condemning strictness of the Law stood to the forgiving mercy of Jehovah was distinctly shewn in the

[5] Hengstenberg takes nearly the same view as is here given of the application of the word עדות, and of the relation of the Mercy seat to the Decalogue. 'Pentateuch,' Vol. II. p. 524.

[6] Rom. iii. 20, vii. 7; cf. note on Ex. xx. 17.

[7] On the mode in which this was figured in the Sacrifices of the Law, see notes on Lev. iv.

[8] "For though the Law, being love, may seem to reveal God who is love, yet is it rather a demand for love than a revelation of love; and though it might have been, in the light of high intelligence, and where there was no darkening of sin, concluded that love alone could demand love, yet does the mere demand never so speak to sinners; but 'by the Law is the knowledge of sin:' wherefore 'the Law worketh wrath.'" Campbell, 'The Nature of the Atonement,' p. 41. Cf. Rom. vii. 7—14.

[9] Matt. xxii. 37—40; Mark xii. 29—31; Luke x. 26, 27; Rom. xiii. 8, 10; Gal. v. 14; Jam. ii. 8. See on Ex. xx. 2.

symbolism of the Sanctuary. When the Tables of the Law were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant, they were covered by the Mercy seat, which, in accordance with its name, was the sign of the Divine lovingkindness (see Note on ch. xxv. 17). The Cherubim which were on the Mercy seat appear to have figured the highest condition of created intelligence in the act of humble adoration and service, and so to have expressed the condition on which were obtained forgiveness, deliverance from the letter that killeth (2 Cor. iii. 6), and communion with Jehovah. This view of the significance of the Ark and what pertained to it seems aptly to suit the words in which the arrangement of the symbols is prescribed; "and thou shalt put the mercy seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee. And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony," Ex. xxv. 21, 22.

The Ark, as the outward and visible sign of the Covenant between Jehovah and His people, thus expressed, in a way suited to the time and the occasion, the Divine purpose in the Atonement. The Law was the characteristic feature in the dispensation which was then present; and accordingly the essence of the Law was expressed, not in a symbol, but in plain words written by the finger of God. But the sentence of condemnation implied in the Commandments could not be exhibited in its naked severity as the basis of the Covenant. It was enclosed in the Ark, and over it the Divine mercy was symbolized in such shadowy outline as was to edify the faithful believers until the fulness of the time came, when the Son was sent "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation (ἱλαστήριον, *a mercy seat*)[1] through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time His righteousness: that He might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus" (Rom. iii. 25, 26).

The significance of the whole Sanctuary may be said to be concentrated in the Tables of the Law, and the Mercy seat. The other holy things, with every external arrangement, were subordinated to them[2]. And hence the place in which they were deposited was the Holy of Holies, closely shut off by the vail, entered by no one but the High-priest, and by him only once in the year, Ex. xl. 20, 21; Lev. xvi. 2.

§ VI.

It is to be observed that the Decalogue, in respect to its subject-matter, does not set forth what is local, or temporary, or peculiar to a single nation[3]. Its two Tables are a standing declaration of the true relation between morality and religion for all nations and ages[4]. The Fourth Commandment is, in its principle, no exception to this[5]. The Decalogue belonged to the Israelites, not because the truths expressed in it were exclusively theirs, but because it was revealed to them in a special manner (see on Ex. xx. 2). The breadth of meaning which rightly belongs to it may be compared to that of the Lord's Prayer, which, though it was especially given by Christ to His followers for their own use, contains nothing unsuitable for any believer in One God.

NOTE on CHAP. XX. *v.* 8.

ON THE SABBATH DAY.

I. *The Sabbath according to the Law;* II. *according to Tradition.* III. *Its connection with the Creation.* IV. *Its relation to Sunday.* V. *Its connection with the deliverance from Egypt.* VI. *Its compass of meaning.*

§ I.

That the formal observance of the Sabbath day originated in the Law of Moses appears to have been the opinion of Philo and of most of the Fathers and Rabbinists[6], and is held by many modern critics[7]. But see note on Gen. ii. 3.

In what way was the Sabbath day to be kept holy in accordance with the Fourth Commandment? It is expressly said that the ordinary work of life should be intermitted by the whole community, not only the masters, servants, and foreign residents[8], but also the cattle; and the period of this intermission

[1] See Note on ch. xxv. 17.

[2] See Note at the end of ch. xl. § III.

[3] Philo seems to have been impressed with this when he lays an emphasis on the fact that the Ten Commandments were given by Him who was *the Father of the Universe* (ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων), *the God of the World* (Θεὸς κόσμου), 'de decem Orac.' 9, 10.

[4] "It was the boast of Josephus ('Cont. Ap.' II. 17), that whereas other legislators had made religion to be a part of virtue, Moses had made virtue to be a part of religion." Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Vol. I. 175.

[5] See Note 'On the Sabbath day,' § IV.

[6] Philo, 'de Orac.' c. 20. Justin Martyr, 'Dialog. cum Tryph.' § 19. Irenæus, IV. 16. Tertullian, 'Adv. Jud.' 2, 4. Otho, 'Rabb. Lex.' p. 603.

[7] See Hengst. 'On the Lord's Day,' p. 7; Ewald, 'Alterthüm.' p. 3; 'Hist. of Israel,' I. 576. Hessey, 'Sunday,' Lect. IV., &c. On the word *Remember* in Ex. xx. 8, see note.

[8] See on Ex. xx. 10.

was from the evening of the sixth day of the week to the evening of the seventh[1]. The following occupations are expressly mentioned as unlawful in different parts of the Old Testament; sowing and reaping (Ex. xxxiv. 21), pressing grapes, and bearing burdens of all kinds (Neh. xiii. 15; Jer. xvii. 21), holding of markets and all kinds of trade (Neh. xiii. 15; Amos viii. 5), gathering wood, and kindling a fire for cooking (Ex. xxxv. 3; Num. xv. 32). The Sabbath was to be a day of enjoyment like other festivals (Isa. lviii. 13; Hos. ii. 11), and such restrictions as were imposed could have been unacceptable to none but the disobedient and the avaricious, such as are spoken of in Amos viii. 5, 6.

In the service of the Sanctuary, the Morning and Evening Sacrifices were doubled[2], the Shewbread was changed[3], and, after the courses of the Priests and Levites had been instituted by David, each course in its turn commenced its duties on the Sabbath day[4]. When the Temple was built, there is reason to believe that there was a special musical service for the day[5].

The term *Holy Convocation*, which belongs to the Sabbath day in common with certain other Festival days, would seem to imply that there was a meeting together of the people for a religious purpose[6]. From the mode in which the commands to keep the Sabbath day and to reverence the Sanctuary are associated, it may be inferred with probability that there was such a meeting in the Court of the Sanctuary[7]. At later periods, in places remote from the Temple, we know that it was a custom to resort on this day to public teachers, and to hear the reading of the Old Testament, with addresses of exposition and exhortation, in the Synagogues[8]. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some usage of this kind may have been observed at the Sanctuary itself from the very first[9].

[1] See Lev. xxiii. 32.

[2] Num. xxviii. 9; 2 Chro. xxxi. 3; Ezek. xlvi. 4.

[3] Lev. xxiv. 8; 1 Chro. ix. 32; Matt. xii. 4, &c.

[4] 2 K. xi. 5; 2 Chro. xxiii. 4; cf. 1 Chro. ix. 25.

[5] This is favoured by a comparison of the heading of Ps. lxxxi. with *v.* 3 of the Psalm itself, as well as by the Talmud.

[6] Lev. xxiii. 2, 3.

[7] Lev. xix. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 38.

[8] 2 K. iv. 23; Luke iv. 15, 16; Acts xiii. 14, 15, 27. xv. 21.

[9] There may be references to such a custom Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxiii. 10. The earliest and best Jewish traditions state that one great object of the Sabbath day was to furnish means and opportunity for spiritual edification. Philo, 'de Orac,' c. 20. 'Vit. Mos.' III. 27. Jos. 'Ant.' XVI. 2. § 3. 'Cont. Ap.' I. 20, II. 18. For rabbinical authorities to the same effect, see Cartwright on Ex. xx. 8, in the 'Critici Sacri.'

Such are the particulars that can be gathered out of the Scriptures as to the mode of observing the Sabbath day. In the time of the Legislator an entire rest from the work of daily life was to reign throughout the Camp: and it may be conjectured that the people assembled before the Altar at the hours of the Morning and Evening Sacrifices for prayer and contemplation, and to listen to the reading of portions of the Divine Law, perhaps from the lips of Moses himself.

The notices of the Sabbath day in the Prophets are most frequently accompanied by complaint or warning respecting its neglect and desecration[10]. But in the time of Isaiah (i. 13) a parade of observing it had become a cloak for hypocrisy, probably under a kindred influence to that which turned the public fasts into occasions for strife and debate (Isa. lviii. 4). These diverse abuses may have co-existed as belonging to two opposite parties in the community, both being in the wrong.

§ II.

In another age, after the Captivity, the Pharisees multiplied the restraints of the Sabbath day to a most burdensome extent. It was forbidden to pluck an ear of corn and rub out the grains to satisfy hunger in passing through a cornfield (Matt. xii. 2); or to relieve the sick (Matt. xii. 10; Luke xiii. 14). It was however permitted to lead an ox or an ass to water, or to lift out an animal that had fallen into a pit (Matt. xii. 11; Luke xiv. 5), to administer circumcision, if the eighth day after the birth of a child fell on a Sabbath (Joh. vii. 22), and to invite guests to a social meal (Luke xiv. 1). According to rabbinical authorities, it was forbidden to travel more than 2000 cubits on the Sabbath[11], to kill the most offensive kinds of vermin, to write two letters of the alphabet, to use a wooden leg or a crutch, to carry a purse, or, for a woman, to carry a seal-ring or a smelling bottle, to wear a high head-dress or a false tooth. Amongst other restraints laid upon animals, the fat-tailed sheep was not allowed to use the little truck on which the tail was borne to save the animal from suffering. These are a portion of 39 prohibitions of the same kind[12].

[10] Is. lvi. 2—6, lviii. 13; Jer. xvii. 21, 27; Ezek. xx. 13, 16, 20; Amos viii. 5, &c.

[11] On the Sabbath-day's journey, see Joseph. 'Ant.' XIII. 8. § 4 with the Note on Ex. xvi. 29: also Walther, 'de Itin. Sabb.' in 'Thes. Philolog.' II. p. 417. Winer, 'R. B.' s. 'Sabbathsweg.'

[12] Mishna, 'de Sabbatho.' We are told by a eulogist of the Talmud that the rabbinical Sabbath was not "a thing of grim austerity" ('Quarterly Rev.' Dec. 1867.) Its austerity was indeed somewhat mitigated by qualifying regulations. Though the Jew could not light a fire on the Sabbath, he was formally permitted, at the latest moment of the eve of the Sabbath, to pack

Connected with this trifling of the Pharisees and the Rabbinists, is the notion that the intention of the Law was, that the Sabbath should be, as nearly as possible, a day of mere inaction. This has been held not only by Jewish writers[1], but by some Christians in the time of S. Chrysostom[2], and by critics of more modern date (Spencer, Vitringa, Le Clerc). Our Lord decides this very point by declaring that there is a kind of work which is proper for the Sabbath day[3]. See the next section.

§ III.

In examining the two distinct grounds for the observance of the Sabbath day which are assigned by Moses[4], the first step is to trace the nature of the connection between the Day and the Creation of the world. What is clearly stated is, that the Day was hallowed by the Divine Law as a memorial of the rest of God when the Creation of the world was completed[5]. Man was to rest because God had rested. But the rest of man can only partially resemble the rest of God. "The Creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary[6]." His work in the world did not cease at the close of the six days, nor has it ever been remitted since[7]. His hand must be ever holding the corners of the earth and the strength of the hills[8]. His rest cannot therefore be like that inaction which belongs to night and sleep, which man, in common with all animals, requires for the restoration of his wasted powers. But yet a man may have conscious experience, after well performed work, of a restful condition which bears an analogy to the occasion on which "God saw every thing that He had made, and, behold, it was very good[9]." And this Sabbath feeling is only to be enjoyed by those whose work, performed in a spirit of trustful dependence, has kept pace with the day during the week; those who obey not only the command, "Remember the Sabbath day," but also the command, "Six days shalt thou labour[10]."

The true rest of man then is so far like the rest of the Creator, that it is as remote in its nature from the sleep of insensibility as it is from the ordinary struggle of the world. The weekly Sabbath, as representing that state, was "a shadow of things to come[11]," a foretaste of the life in which there is to be no more *toilsome fatigue* (πόνος[12]), that life which is the true *keeping of Sabbath* (σαββατισμός) into which our Saviour entered as our forerunner when He ceased from His works on earth, as God had ceased from His works on the seventh day (Heb. iv. 9, 10).

The works of the Creation are described as culminating in the creation of man. The Sabbath crowned the completed works, and as it was revealed to the Israelite, it reminded him of "the fact of his relation to God, of his being made in the image of God; it was to teach him to regard the universe not chiefly as under the government of sun or moon, or as regulated by their courses; but as an order which the unseen God had created, which included Sun, Moon, Stars, Earth, and all the living creatures that inhabit them. The week, then, was especially to raise the Jew above the thought of Time, to make him feel that though he was subject to *its* laws, he yet stood in direct connection with an *eternal* law; with a Being who is, and was, and is to come[13]." Philo aptly calls the day *the imaging forth* (ἐκμαγεῖον) *of the first beginning*. Some of the wisest Jewish teachers (Aben-Ezra, Abarbanel) have said that he who breaks the Sabbath denies the Creation. The Sabbath, in this connection, became to the Israelite the central point of religious observance, and represented every appropriation of time to the public recognition of Jehovah. Hence the injunction to observe it appears to be essentially connected with the warning against idolatry[14].

§ IV.

But this great idea did not exclusively belong to the Israelite, although it was revealed to him, above all men, in its true relation to God and man. Real worship for every man, always and everywhere, is of course based on the truth of a Creator distinct from the Creation. And thus the Law of the Sabbath was the expression of a universal truth. Hence, the Commandment bears its meaning for all mankind. The day which we observe, in accordance with ecclesiastical usage, holds another place in the week, and its connection with

up hot food in such a way as to keep it hot as long as possible ('de Sabb.' IV. 1. 2). Under particular conditions, the sick might be relieved (Mish. 'Joma,' VIII. 6). Fasting on the Sabbath was strictly prohibited (Otho, 'Rab. Lex.' p. 608; cf. Judith viii. 6). Whether or not a Sabbath regulated by rabbinical rules was, on the whole, grimly austere, we need not scruple to call the rules themselves grossly absurd.

[1] Buxtorf. 'Synag. Jud.' CXVI.

[2] 'Hom. in Matt.' XXXI.

[3] Matt. xii. 12; Mark iii. 4, &c.

[4] See Ex. xx. 11; Deut. v. 15; Note 'On the Ten Commandments,' § II.

[5] Ex. xx. 11, xxxi. 17. Cf. Gen. ii. 3.

[6] Is. xl. 28.

[7] See John v. 17.

[8] Ps. xcv. 4, 5.

[9] Gen. i. 31.

[10] Moses (says Philo) ἐκώλευσεν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐν ταύτῃ ζῆν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ κατὰ τοῦθ' ἕπεσθαι θεῷ, πρὸς μὲν ἔργα τρεπομένους ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἕξ, ἀνέχοντας δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ θεωρίαις μὲν τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζοντας, κ.τ.λ. 'de decem Orac.' c. 20.

[11] Col. ii. 16, 17.

[12] Cf. Rev. xiv. 13.

[13] Maurice 'On the Old Testament,' Serm. I.

[14] See Lev. xix, 3. 4; Ezek. xx. 16, 20.

the Creation of the world has thus been put into the background. But the meaning of the Lord's day cannot be separated from the great meaning of the Sabbath. As the Sabbath reminded the believer under the Old Covenant that God had rested after He had created man and breathed into him the breath of life before sin had brought death into the world, so the Sunday now reminds the believer that Christ rested after He had overcome death, that he might restore all who believe in Him to a new life, that they may become the sons of God by adoption[1]. What therefore the Sunday, as a commemoration of the Resurrection, is to the dispensation of Christ, the Sabbath, in respect to its connection with the rest of God, was to the dispention of Moses. On this ground then there is reason enough why the Fourth, as well as the other Commandments, should be addressed to Christian congregations and should hold its place in our Service.

§ V.

It was at a later period that the inspired Legislator set forth a second ground on which obedience to the Commandment was required. It was said to the Israelite that he should observe the Day in order that his manservant and his maidservant might rest as well as he; and the words were added; "and remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and a stretched out arm: therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day[2]." By the command that the manservants and the maidservants were to rest on the Day as well as their masters, witness was borne to the equal position which every Israelite might claim in the presence of Jehovah. The Sabbath was thus made a distinguishing badge, a sacramental bond, for the whole people, according to the words, "it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD that doth sanctify you[3]." The wealthy Israelite, in remembrance of what he himself, or his forefathers, had suffered in Egypt, was to realize the fact on this Day that the poorest of his brethren had enjoyed the same deliverances, and had the same share in the Covenant, as himself. The whole nation, as one man, was to enjoy rest. He who outraged the Sabbath, either by working himself, or by suffering his servants to work, broke the Covenant with Jehovah, and at the same time cut himself off from his people so as to incur the sentence of death[4].

This latter ground for the observance of the Sabbath day furnishes a not less strict analogy with the Sunday than that which has been noticed. What the Sabbath was to "the kingdom of priests, the holy nation[5]," on the score that they had been redeemed from the bondage of Egypt and made free men, such the Sunday is to "the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people[6]," as those whom Christ has redeemed from the bondage of corruption, and brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God[7].

§ VI.

In order rightly to apprehend the compass of the Fourth Commandment in reference to the public worship of the Israelites, it should be kept in view that the Sabbath did not stand by itself, as an insulated observance. Not only did the original ground of the Weekly Sabbath connect it with all true worship, but it formed the centre of an organized system including the Sabbatical year, and the Jubilee year[8]. Besides this, the recurrence of the Sabbatical number in the cycle of yearly festivals is so frequent and distinct, as plainly to indicate a set purpose. Without laying stress on the mystical meaning of the number *seven*, as Philo, Bähr, and others have done, it is evident that the number was the Divinely appointed symbol, repeated again and again in the public services, suggesting the connection between the entire range of the Ceremonial Law and the consecrated Seventh Day. And this may be compared with the important remark of Bähr, that the ritual of the Sabbath day, in spite of the superlative sanctity of the Day, was not, like that of other Festivals, distinguished by offerings or rites of a peculiar kind, but only by a doubling of the common daily sacrifices. It was thus not so much cut off from the Week as marked out as *the Day of Days*, and as such it symbolized the sanctification of the daily life of the people. It can hardly be doubted that the Fourth Commandment stood to the Israelite as an injunction in the broadest sense to maintain the national Worship of Jehovah.

[1] Rom. iv. 25, vi. 4, viii. 13, 15.
[2] Deut. v. 14, 15.
[3] Ex. xxxi. 13, 17; cf. Lev. xx. 8; Is. lvi. 2, 4; Ezek. xx. 12. 20, xxii. 8, 26.
[4] Ex. xxxi. 14, 15—xxxv. 2; Jer. xvii. 21—27.
[5] Ex. xix. 6.
[6] 1 Pet. ii. 9.
[7] Rom. viii. 21.
[8] Lev. xxv.

22 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.

23 Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.

24 ¶ An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.

[f] Deut. 27. 5. Josh. 8. 31. [†] Heb. *build them* with *hewing*.

25 And [f] if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not [†] build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.

26 Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Laws for menservants.* 5 *For the servant whose ear is bored.* 7 *For womenservants.* 12 *For manslaughter.* 16 *For stealers of men.* 17 *For cursers of parents.* 18 *For smiters.* 22 *For a hurt by chance.* 28 *For an ox that goreth.* 33 *For him that is an occasion of harm.*

NOW these *are* the judgments which thou shalt set before them.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

Ch. xx. 22—xxiii. 33.

Introductory Note.

Now follows a series of laws, some of them addressed simply to the conscience, like the Ten Commandments, and others having the sanction of a penalty attached. The context seems to make it clear that we may identify this series with what was written by Moses in the book called the BOOK OF THE COVENANT, and read by him in the audience of the people (see xxiv. 4, 7). There has been a difference of opinion as to the compass of matter contained in this Book. But the weight of authority is in favour of its comprising the last five verses of ch. xx. with chaps. xxi, xxii, xxiii (de Wette, Ewald, Hupfeld, Knobel, Keil, Herxheimer, &c.). A few would add the Ten Commandments (Hengst., Kurtz, &c.). Some Jewish Commentators imagine that the BOOK OF THE COVENANT included very considerable portions of Genesis and of the earlier part of Exodus.

Adopting the conclusion as by far the most probable one, that the Book of the Covenant included from ch. xx. 22 to xxiii. 33, it is evident that the document cannot be regarded as a strictly systematic whole. Portions of it were probably traditional rules handed down from the Patriarchs, and retained by the Israelites in Egypt. Probable traces of præ-Mosaic antiquity may be seen in xx. 24—26, xxi. 6, xxiii. 19, &c. Some of the laws relate to habits of fixed abode, not (at least if taken in their strict form) to such a mode of life as that of the Israelites in their march through the Wilderness (see xxii. 5, 6, 29, xxiii. 10, 11): some, especially those relating to slavery, would seem to have been modifications of ancient usages (see on xxi. 20, 21). These more or less ancient maxims may have been associated with notes of such decisions on cases of difference as had been up to this time pronounced by Moses and the judges whom he had appointed by the advice of Jethro. See xviii. 13—26.

In whatever way these laws may have originated, as they are here brought together, they are clearly enforced by Jehovah as conditions of conduct for the covenanted people. The adoption of Patriarchal maxims accords with the spirit of the Mosaic legislation, as expressed in the Fifth Commandment.

CHAP. XX. 22—26. Nothing could be more appropriate as the commencement of the Book of the Covenant than these regulations for public worship.

23. Assuming this to be an old formula, its meaning is brought out more comprehensively in the Second Commandment, and is strengthened by the fact declared in *v.* 22, that Jehovah had now spoken from Heaven.

24—26. These must have been old and accepted rules for the building of altars, and they are not inconsistent with the directions for the construction of the Altar of the Court of the Tabernacle, ch. xxvii. 1—8. There is no good reason to doubt that they were observed in "the Brazen Altar," as it is called, although no reference is made to them in connection with it. That Altar, according to the directions that are given, must indeed have been rather *an altar case*, with a mass of earth or stone within, when it was put to use. See notes on xxvii. 1—8, and cf. Josh. xxii. 26—28.

CHAP. XXI. The Book of the Covenant, continued.

1. *judgments*] *i.e.* decisions of the Law. It is worthy of remark that these judgments

[a] Lev. 25. 41. Deut. 15. 12. Jer. 34. 14.

2 [a] If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.

[†] Heb. *with his body.*

3 If he came in [†] by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him.

4 If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself.

[†] Heb. *saying shall say.*

5 And if the servant [†] shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free:

6 Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an aul; and he shall serve him for ever.

7 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do.

[†] Heb. *be evil in the eyes of, &c.*

8 If she [†] please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

9 And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.

10 If he take him another *wife;* her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.

11 And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money.

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begin with some that relate to slavery (*vv.* 2—16); other judgments on the same subject occur in *vv.* 20, 21, 26, 27.

2. A Hebrew might be sold as a bondman in consequence either of debt (Lev. xxv. 39) or of the commission of theft (Ex. xxii. 3). But his servitude could not be enforced for more than six full years. The law is more fully expressed in Deut. xv. 12—18, where it enjoins that the bondman should not be sent away at the end of his period of service without a liberal supply of provisions; and it is further supplemented by other regulations, especially in reference to the Jubilee, in Lev. xxv. 39—43, 47—55. Foreign slaves are expressly spoken of Lev. xxv. 44, 46.

3. If a married man became a bondman, his rights in regard to his wife were respected: but if a single bondman accepted at the hand of his master a bondwoman as his wife, the master did not lose his claim to the woman, or her children, at the expiration of the husband's term of service. Such wives, it may be presumed, were always foreign slaves.

5, 6. But if the bondman loved his wife so as to be unwilling to give her up, or if he was strongly enough attached to his master's service, he might, by submitting to a certain ceremony, prolong his term "for ever;" that is, most probably, till the next Jubilee, when every Hebrew was set free. So Josephus ('Ant.' IV. 8, § 28) and the Rabbinists understood the phrase. See Lev. xxv. 40, 50. The custom of boring the ear as a mark of slavery appears to have been a common one in ancient times, observed in many nations. See Xenoph. 'Anab.' III. 1, § 31; Plaut. 'Pœnul.' v. ii. 21; Juvenal, I. 104; Plut. 'Cicero,' c. 26, &c.

6. *unto the judges*] Literally, *before the gods* (*elohim*). The word does not denote *judges* in a direct way, but it is to be understood as the name of God, in its ordinary plural form, God being the source of all justice. (So Gesen., de Wette, Knobel, Fürst, Herxh., &c.) LXX. πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ. The name in this connection always has the definite article prefixed. See xxii. 8, 9, &c. Cf. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6; John x. 34.

7. A man might, in accordance with existing custom, sell his daughter to another man with a view to her becoming an inferior wife, or concubine. In this case, she was not "to go out," like the bondman; that is, she was not to be dismissed at the end of the sixth year. But women who were bound in any other way, would appear to have been under the same conditions as bondmen. See Deut. xv. 17.

8. *shall he let her be redeemed*] More strictly, **he shall cause her to be redeemed.** The meaning seems to be that he should either return her to her father as set free, or find another Hebrew master for her who would grant her the same privileges as she would have had if she had remained with himself. The latter sentence of the verse appears to signify that, although he was not forced to keep literal faith with the woman by making her his concubine, he was not permitted to sell her to a foreigner. Even in the case of a foreign captive who had been accepted as a concubine, and had displeased her master, she could not be sold as a slave,

[b] Lev. 24. 17.

12 ¶ [b] He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death.

13 And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver *him* into his hand; [c] Deut. 19. 3. then [c] I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.

14 But if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

15 ¶ And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16 ¶ And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17 ¶ And [d] he that [‖] curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

[d] Lev. 20. 9. Prov. 20. 20. Matt. 15. 4. Mark 7. 10.

18 ¶ And if men strive together, and one smite [‖] another with a stone, or with *his* fist, and he die not, but keepeth *his* bed:

[‖] Or, *revileth.* [‖] Or, *his neighbour.*

19 If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote *him* be quit: only he shall pay *for* [†] the loss of his time, and shall cause *him* to be thoroughly healed.

[†] Heb. *[his] ceasing.*

20 ¶ And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely [†] punished.

[†] Heb. *avenged.*

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but was entitled to her freedom. See Deut. xxi. 14.

11. *if he do not these three unto her*] Most commentators refer these three things to the food, raiment, and duty of marriage, mentioned in *v.* 10. But Knobel and others prefer the interpretation of most of the Rabbinists, which seems on the whole best to suit the context, that the words express a choice of one of three things, in which case their sense is, *if he do neither of these three things.* The man was to give the woman, whom he had purchased from her father, her freedom, unless (i) he caused her to be redeemed by a Hebrew master (*v.* 8); or, (ii) gave her to his son, and treated her as a daughter (*v.* 9); or, (iii) in the event of his taking another wife (*v.* 10), unless he allowed her to retain her place and privileges. These rules (*vv.* 7—11) are to be regarded as mitigations of the then existing usages of concubinage. The form in which they are expressed confirms this view.

12. No distinction is expressly made here or elsewhere between the murder of a free man and that of a bondman. See on *v.* 20. The law was afterwards expressly declared to relate also to foreigners, Lev. xxiv. 17, 21, 22; cf. Gen. ix. 6.

13, 14. There was no place of safety for the guilty murderer, not even the Altar of Jehovah. Thus all superstitious notions connected with the right of sanctuary were excluded. Adonijah and Joab appear to have vainly trusted that the vulgar feeling would protect them, if they took hold of the horns of the Altar on which atonement with blood was made (1 K. i. 50, ii. 28; Lev. iv. 7). But for one who killed a man "at unawares," that is, without intending to do it, the Law afterwards appointed places of refuge, Num. xxxv. 6—34; Deut. iv. 41—43, xix. 2—10; Josh. xx. 2—9. It is very probable that there was some provision answering to the Cities of Refuge, that may have been based upon old usage, in the Camp in the Wilderness.

15, 16, 17. The following offences were to be punished with death:—

Striking a parent, cf. Deut. xxvii. 16.

Cursing a parent, cf. Lev. xx. 9.

Kidnapping, whether with a view to retain the person stolen, or to sell him, cf. Deut. xxiv. 7.

18, 19. If one man injured another in a quarrel so as to oblige him to keep his bed, he who had inflicted the injury was set free from the liability to a criminal charge (such as might be based upon *v.* 12) when the injured man had so far recovered as to be able to walk with a staff: but he was required to compensate the latter for the loss of his time until his recovery was complete, and for the cost of his healing.

20, 21. The Jewish authorities appear to be right in referring this law, like those in *vv.* 26, 27, 32, to foreign slaves (see Lev. xxv. 44—46). All Hebrew bondmen were treated, in regard to life and limb, like freemen, and the Law would take this for granted. The master was permitted to retain the power of chastising his alien slave with a rod, but the indulgence of unbridled temper was so far kept in check by his incurring punishment if the slave died under his hand. If however the slave survived the castigation a day or two, it was assumed that the offence of the master had not been so heinous, and he did not become amenable to the law, because the loss of the slave who, by old custom, was recognized as his property, was accounted, under the circumstances, as a punish-

21 Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he *is* his money.

22 ¶ If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart *from her*, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely punished, according as the woman's husband will lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges *determine*.

23 And if *any* mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life,

[e] Lev. 24. 20. Deut. 19. 21. Matt. 5. 38.

24 [e] Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,

25 Burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26 ¶ And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.

27 And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

28 ¶ If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then [f] the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox *shall be* quit.

[f] Gen. 9. 5.

29 But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death.

30 If there be laid on him a sum of money, then he shall give for the ransom of his life whatsoever is laid upon him.

31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgment shall it be done unto him.

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ment. It is not said how the master was to be treated in the event of the immediate death of the slave. It may have been left to the decision of the judges as to whether the case should come under the law of *v.* 12, or some secondary punishment should be inflicted.—The protection here afforded to the life of a slave may seem to us but a slight one; but it is the very earliest trace of such protection in legislation, and it stands in strong and favourable contrast with the old laws of Greece, Rome, and other nations. The same may be said of *vv.* 26, 27, 32. These regulations were most likely, as much as was feasible at the time, to mitigate the cruelty of ancient practice; they were as much as the hardness of the hearts of the people would bear, Matt. xix. 8. See Mr Goldwin Smith's admirable essay, "Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?"

22—25. The sense is rather obscure. The rule would seem to refer to a case in which the wife of a man engaged in a quarrel interfered. If the violence did no more than occasion premature birth, he who inflicted it was punished by a fine to be proposed by the husband, and approved by the magistrates. But if the injury was more serious, so as to affect life or limb, a penalty was to be inflicted in accordance with the law of suffering like for like, the *jus talionis*.—This law is repeated in substance, Lev. xxiv. 19, 20, 21; Deut. xix. 21; cp. Gen. ix. 6. It has its root in a simple conception of justice, and is found in the laws of many ancient nations. It was ascribed to Rhadamanthus (Arist. 'Ethic.' v. 5). It was recognized in the laws of Solon (Diog. Laert. I. 57), in the Laws of the Twelve Tables (Aul. Gell. x. 1; Festus, s. *talio*), by the ancient Indians (Strab. xv. p. 710), and by the Thurians (Diod. Sic. xii. 17). It appears to be regarded in this place as a maxim for the magistrate in awarding the amount of compensation to be paid for the infliction of personal injury. The sum was to be as nearly as possible the worth in money of the power lost by the injured person. This view appears to be in accordance with Jewish tradition (Mishna, 'Baba Kama,' viii. 1). Michaelis has some good remarks on the *jus talionis* ('Laws of Moses,' Vol. iii. p. 448).—Our Lord quotes *v.* 24 as representing the form of the Law, in order to illustrate the distinction between the Letter and the Spirit (Matt. v. 38). The tendency of the teaching of the Scribes and Pharisees was to confound the obligations of the conscience with the external requirements of the Law. The Law, in its place, was still to be "holy and just and good," but its direct purpose was to protect the community, not to guide the heart of the believer, who was not to exact eye for eye, tooth for tooth, but to love his enemies, and to forgive all injuries.

26, 27. When a master inflicted a permanent injury on the person of his bondservant, freedom was the proper equivalent for the disabled or lost member.

28—31. If an ox killed a person, the animal was slain as a tribute to the sanctity of human life (Gen. ix. 6; cf. Gen. iv. 11). It

32 If the ox shall push a man-servant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33 ¶ And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit, and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein;

34 The owner of the pit shall make *it* good, *and* give money unto the owner of them; and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35 ¶ And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money of it; and the dead *ox* also they shall divide.

36 Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox; and the dead shall be his own.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Of theft.* 5 *Of damage.* 7 *Of trespasses.* 14 *Of borrowing.* 16 *Of fornication.* 18 *Of witchcraft.* 19 *Of beastiality.* 20 *Of idolatry.* 21 *Of strangers, widows, and fatherless.* 25 *Of usury.* 26 *Of pledges.* 28 *Of reverence to magistrates.* 29 *Of the first-fruits.*

IF a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and [a] four sheep for a sheep. [1] Or, *goat.* [a] 2 Sam. 12. 6.

2 ¶ If a thief be found breaking up, and be smitten that he die, *there shall* no blood *be shed* for him.

3 If the sun be risen upon him, *there shall be* blood *shed* for him; *for* he should make full restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.

4 If the theft be certainly found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall restore double.

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was stoned, and its flesh was treated as carrion. In ordinary cases, the owner suffered only the loss of his beast. But if the ox had been previously known to be vicious, the guilty negligence of its owner, in not keeping it under restraint, was reckoned, *prima facie*, as a capital offence. His life might however be commuted for a fine to be determined by the judges; and, as we may infer with probability, to be agreed to by the parents or near relations of the slain person.

32. If the slain person was a slave, the ox was to be stoned to death, and its owner was to pay to the master of the slain person what appears to have been the standard price of a slave, thirty shekels of silver. See on Lev. xxv. 44—46, xxvii. 3.

33, 34. If a man either left his pit (or well) exposed, or dug a new one without protecting it, and an animal fell therein, he was to pay the value of the animal to its owner, but was allowed to appropriate the carcase. The usual mode of protecting a well was probably then, as it is now in the East, by building round it a low circular wall.

35, 36. The dead ox in this case, as well as in the preceding one, must have been worth no more than the price of the hide, as the flesh could not be eaten. See Lev. xvii. 1—6. There is here the same sort of prudent restraint laid upon the owners of vicious animals as in *v.* 29.

CHAP. XXII. The Book of the Covenant, continued.

1. The theft of an ox appears to have been regarded as a greater crime than the theft of a sheep, not from the mere consideration of value, but because it shewed a stronger purpose in wickedness to take the larger and more powerful animal. It may have been on similar moral ground that the thief, when he had proved his persistency in crime by adding to his theft the slaughter, or sale, of the animal, was to restore four times its value in the case of a sheep (cf. 2 S. xii. 6), and five times its value in the case of an ox; but if the animal was still in his possession alive (see *v.* 4) he had to make only twofold restitution.

2. *breaking up*] **breaking in.**

3, 4. If a thief, in breaking into a dwelling in the night, was slain, the person who slew him did not incur the guilt of blood; but if the same occurred in daylight, the slayer was guilty in accordance with xxi. 12. The distinction may have been based on the fact that in the light of day there was a fair chance of identifying and apprehending the thief, or, at least, his design would be apparent: but in the darkness of night there could be no reckoning as to how far his purpose might extend, and there would be a great probability of his escaping unrecognized. When a thief was apprehended in the act, he could be forced to make restitution if he had the means, and if not he was to be sold as a bondslave. The latter punishment may be likened to our penal servitude; and, in the case of a Hebrew, it could not be prolonged beyond six years. See xxi. 2.

5 ¶ If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6 ¶ If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed *therewith;* he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

7 ¶ If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, let him pay double.

8 If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges, *to see* whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.

9 For all manner of trespass, *whether it be* for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, *or* for any manner of lost thing, which *another* challengeth to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges; *and* whom the judges shall condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour.

10 If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing *it:*

11 *Then* shall an oath of the LORD be between them both, that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner of it shall accept *thereof*, and he shall not make *it* good.

12 And [b] if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof. [b] Gen. 31. 39.

13 If it be torn in pieces, *then* let him bring it *for* witness, *and* he shall not make good that which was torn.

14 ¶ And if a man borrow *ought* of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof *being* not with it, he shall surely make *it* good.

15 *But* if the owner thereof *be* with it, he shall not make *it* good: if it *be* an hired *thing*, it came for his hire.

16 ¶ And [c] if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife. [c] Deut. 22. 28.

17 If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall [f] pay money according to the dowry of virgins. [f] Heb. *weigh.*

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4. See on *v.* 1.

5. *shall put in his beast, and shall feed*] Rather, **shall let his beast go loose, and it shall feed.** (Thus the LXX., Vulg., Syr., Luther, Zunz, &c.) He who had allowed his beast to stray and consume the pasture or the grapes of his neighbour, had to restore out of the best of his possessions a like quantity of produce, without regard to the quality of that which had been consumed.

7. *pay double*] Cf. *v.* 4.

8. It would appear that if the master of the house could clear himself of imputation, the loss of the pledged article fell upon its owner.

judges] See on xxi. 6.

9. *all manner of trespass*] In every case of theft, he who was accused, and he who had lost the stolen property, were both to appear before the judges (xviii. 25, 26): the convicted thief, under ordinary circumstances, was to pay double. See *vv.* 4, 7.

10—13. This law appears to relate chiefly to herdsmen employed by the owners of cattle. It implies that, if he to whom the creatures were entrusted could prove that he had taken all reasonable care and precaution, the risk of loss or injury fell upon the owner: and if no witness could be produced, the oath of the herdsman himself that he had performed his duty was accepted. But when an animal was stolen (*v.* 12), it was presumed either that the herdsman might have prevented it, or that he could find the thief and bring him to justice (see *v.* 4). When an animal was killed by a wild beast, the keeper had to produce the mangled carcase, not only in proof of the fact, but to shew that he had, by his vigilance and courage, deprived the wild beast of its prey.

14, 15. If a man borrowed, or hired, an animal, it was at his risk, unless the owner accompanied it.

15. *it came for his hire*] These words are obscure, but they probably mean that the sum paid for hiring was regarded as covering the risk of accident.

16, 17. The man who seduced a girl that was not betrothed had to forfeit for her bene-

18 ¶ Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

19 ¶ Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

[d] Deut. 13. 13, 14, 15. 1 Mac. 2. 24. 20 ¶ [d] He that sacrificeth unto *any* god, save unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed.

[e] Lev. 19. 33. 21 ¶ [e] Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

[f] Zech. 7. 10. 22 ¶ [f] Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child.

23 If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry;

24 And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.

[g] Lev. 25. 37. Deut. 23. 19. Psal. 15. 5. 25 ¶ [g] If thou lend money to *any* *of* my people *that is* poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.

26 If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down:

27 For that *is* his covering only, it *is* his raiment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I *am* gracious.

28 ¶ [h] Thou shalt not revile the ‖ gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.

[h] Acts 23. 5. ‖ Or, *judges.* † Heb. *thy fulness.* † Heb. *tear.* [i] chap. 13. 2, 12. & 34. 19.

29 ¶ Thou shalt not delay *to offer* the † first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy † liquors: [i] the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me.

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fit a proper sum for a dowry (see on Deut. xxii. 28, 29), and to marry her, if her father would allow him to do so. The seducer of a betrothed girl was to be stoned. See Deut. xxii. 23, 27.

18. *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live*] The practice of witchcraft by both sexes is condemned in Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 9—12. Wizards alone are mentioned Lev. xix. 31. The witch is here named to represent the class. This is the earliest denunciation of witchcraft in the Law. In every form of witchcraft there is an appeal to a power not acting in subordination to the Divine Law. From all such notions and tendencies true worship is designed to deliver us. The practice of witchcraft was therefore an act of rebellion against Jehovah, and, as such, was a capital crime. The passages bearing on the subject in the Prophets, as well as those in the Law, carry a lesson for all ages. Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3, xliv. 25, xlvii. 12, 13, Micah v. 12 &c.

19. See Lev. xviii. 23.

20. This was probably an old formula, the sense of which, on its ethical side, is comprised in the First and Second Commandments.

shall be utterly destroyed] The Hebrew word here used is *cherem* (*i.e. devoted*). See on Lev. xxvii. 28.

21. *a stranger*] More properly, **a foreigner** (Heb. *geer*), one who dwells in a land to which he does not belong. See on xx. 10. The command is repeated xxiii. 9. See also Lev. xix. 33, 34; Deut. x. 17—19.

22—24. The meaning of the word rendered *afflict*, includes all cold and contemptuous treatment. See Deut. x. 18. The same duty is enforced with the promise of a blessing, Deut. xiv. 29.

25. See on Lev. xxv. 35—43; cf. Deut. xxiii. 19.

26, 27. The law regarding pledges is expanded Deut. xxiv. 6, 10—13.

28. *the gods*] Heb. *elohim*. See on xxi. 6. This passage has been understood in three different ways: (1) Some of the best modern authorities take it as the name of **God** (as in Gen. i. 1), and this certainly seems best to represent the Hebrew, and to suit the context. So de Wette, Knobel, Schott, Keil, Benisch, &c. (2) Our Version follows the LXX., Vulg., Luther, Cranmer, &c.; it is also countenanced by Philo ('Vit. Mos.' III. 26), and Josephus ('Ant.' IV. 8. § 10; 'Contr. Ap.' II. 34), who make a boast of the liberality of the sentiment as regards the gods of other nations. (3) The word is rendered as *judges* by the Targums, Saadia, the Syriac, Theodoret, Geneva Fr. and Eng., Zunz, Herxh., &c., and this makes good sense, but it is rightly objected that *elohim*, to have the meaning according to which alone it could be so rendered, should have the article prefixed. See on xxi. 6.

curse the ruler, &c.] Acts xxiii. 5.

29, 30. The offering of Firstfruits appears to have been a custom of primitive antiquity, and was connected with the earliest acts of sacrifice. See Gen. iv. 3, 4. The references to it here and in xxiii. 19 had probably been handed down from patriarchal times. The specific law relating to the firstborn of

30 Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, *and* with thy sheep; seven days it shall be with his dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.

31 ¶ And ye shall be holy men unto me: [k] neither shall ye eat *any* flesh *that is* torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

[k] Lev. 22. 8. Ezek. 44. 31.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 Of slander and false witness. 3, 6 Of justice. 4 Of charitableness. 10 Of the year of rest. 12 Of the sabbath. 13 Of idolatry. 14 Of the three feasts. 18 Of the blood and the fat of the sacrifice. 20 An Angel is promised, with a blessing, if they obey him.

THOU shall not ‖ raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness,

‖ Or, *receive.*

2 ¶ Thou shalt not follow a multitude to *do* evil; neither shalt thou [†] speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest *judgment:*

† Heb. *answer.*

3 ¶ Neither shalt thou countenance a poor man in his cause.

4 ¶ If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again.

5 [a] If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, [4] ‖ and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.

[a] Deut. 22. 4. ‖ Or, *wilt thou cease to help him?* or, *and wouldest cease to leave* thy business *for him: thou shalt surely leave* it to join *with him.*

6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of thy poor in his cause.

7 Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not justify the wicked.

8 ¶ And [b] thou shalt take no gift: for the gift blindeth [†] the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous.

[b] Deut. 16. 19. Ecclus. 20. 29. † Heb. *the seeing.*

9 ¶ Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the [†] heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

† Heb. *soul.*

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living creatures was brought out in a strong light in connection with the deliverance from Egypt (xiii. 2, 12, 13). Regarding "the eighth day," see Lev. xxii. 27. The form for offering Firstfruits is described Deut. xxvi. 2—11. But besides these usages exclusively referring to Firstfruits, there were others embodying the same religious idea in the rites of the festivals of the Passover and Pentecost. See on Lev. xxiii.

the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors] The literal rendering of the Hebrew is given in the margin ("thy fulness and thy tear"), and is retained in Luther's version. Firstfruits (בכורים, xxiii. 19) are not here mentioned by name; but the connection clearly shows that they are meant. The latter of the two Hebrew substantives (דמע) does not occur elsewhere. But according to its etymology, it means that which drops like a tear. The LXX. has ἀπαρχὰς ἅλωος καὶ ληνοῦ σου. Vulg. *decimas tuas et primitias tuas.* These renderings, as well as that in our Bible (which nearly follows Onk. and the Syr.), are of course paraphrases rather than versions.

31. The sanctification of the nation was emphatically symbolized by strictness of diet as regards both the kind of animal, and the mode of slaughtering. See Lev. chaps. xi. and xvii.

CHAP. XXIII. The Book of the Covenant, concluded.

1—3. These four commands, addressed to the conscience without sanction of punishment, are so many illustrations of the Ninth Commandment, mainly in reference to the giving of evidence in legal causes. It is forbidden:—

1. To circulate a false report (cf. Lev. xix. 16).

2. To join hand in hand with another in bearing false witness.

3. To follow a majority in favouring an unrighteous cause.

4. To shew partiality to a man's cause because he is poor (cf. Lev. xix. 15).

2. This verse might be more strictly rendered, *Thou shalt not follow the many to evil; neither shalt thou bear witness in a cause so as to incline after the many to pervert justice.*

3. *countenance*] Rather, **to show partiality to.**

4, 5. So far was the spirit of the Law from encouraging personal revenge that it would not allow a man to neglect an opportunity of saving his enemy from loss. On the apparently different spirit expressed in Deut. xxiii. 6, and on the reference to the subject in Matt. v. 43, see in loc. Cf. Deut. xxii. 1—4.

5. *wouldest forbear to help him*, &c.] The words are rather difficult, but the sense appears to be:—*If thou see the ass of thine enemy lying down under his burden, thou shalt forbear to pass by him; thou shalt help him in loosening the girths of the ass.* The passage is rendered to this effect by Saadia, Gesenius, Knobel, &c.

6—9. These verses comprise four precepts, which are evidently addressed to those in authority as judges:—

[c] Lev. 25. 3.

10 And [c] six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof:

11 But the seventh *year* thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, *and* with thy ‖ oliveyard.

‖ Or, *olive trees.*

[d] chap. 20. 8. Deut. 5. 13. Luke 13. 14.

12 [d] Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.

13 And in all *things* that I have said unto you be circumspect: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.

14 ¶ [e] Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.

[e] Deut. 16. 16.

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1. To do justice to the poor.—Comparing *v.* 6 with *v.* 3, it was the part of the judge to defend the poor against the oppression of the rich, and the part of the witness to take care lest his feelings of natural pity should tempt him to falsify his evidence.

2. To be cautious of inflicting capital punishment on one whose guilt was not clearly proved.—A doubtful case was rather to be left to God Himself, who would "not justify the wicked," nor suffer him to go unpunished though he might be acquitted by an earthly tribunal. *v.* 7.

3. To take no bribe or present which might in any way pervert judgment (*v.* 8); cf. Num. xvi. 15; 1 S. xii. 3.

4. To vindicate the rights of the stranger (*v.* 9)—rather, the **foreigner**. See on xx. 10. This verse is a repetition of xxii. 21, but the precept is there addressed to the people at large, while it is here addressed to the judges in reference to their official duties. This is Knobel's explanation; but Bleek and others, overlooking the very distinct contexts, take the repetition as merely redundant.—The word rendered *heart* is more strictly *soul* (נֶפֶשׁ), and would be better represented here by **feelings**. Cf. on xxviii. 3 and on. Lev. xvii. 11.

10—12. This is the first mention of the Sabbatical year; the law for it is given at length Lev. xxv. 2. Both the Sabbatical year and the weekly Sabbath are here spoken of exclusively in their relation to the poor, as bearing testimony to the equality of the people in their Covenant with Jehovah. In the first of these institutions, the proprietor of the soil gave up his rights for the year to the whole community of living creatures, not excepting the beasts: in the latter, the master gave up his claim for the day to the services of his servants and cattle. See Note 'On the Sabbath day,' § V. after ch. xx.

11. *thou shalt let it rest and lie still*] Some understand this expression to relate to the crops, not to the land, so as to mean, *thou shalt leave them* (*i.e.* the crops) *and give them up to the poor*, &c. (Kranold, Hupfeld, Davidson.) The words, if they stood by themselves, might bear this interpretation as well as that given in our version, and neither interpretation is opposed to Lev. xxv. 2—5, where it is said that the land was to remain untilled. But it has been presumed without the least authority that the writer of Leviticus made a mistake, and that the original law, as it is here given, was not intended to prevent the land from being tilled as usual, but only to forbid that the crops should be harvested by the proprietor, in order that the poor might gather them for themselves. See on Lev. xxv. 2. It has also been objected that this original law could not have been written by Moses in the wilderness, where, of course, it could not have been observed, and that this difficulty occurred to the writer of Leviticus, and induced him to prefix the words "when ye come into the land which I give you." But surely this difficulty, if we admit it to have a real existence, would have been avoided by any one writing a clever fictitious narrative with a view to deceive his own, or later ages. It seems easier and more reasonable to regard Moses as having legislated and written with the deep conviction ever in his mind that the promise of the possession of the land made to Abraham was sure of fulfilment. See on *vv.* 20, 31.

12. *may be refreshed*] Literally, *may take breath.*

13. Cf. Deut. iv. 9, vi. 13, 14; Josh. xxii. 5.

14—17. This is the first mention of the three great Yearly Festivals. The Feast of Unleavened Bread, in its connection with the Paschal Lamb, is spoken of in ch. xii., xiii.: but the two others are here first named. The whole three are spoken of as if they were familiarly known to the people. The points that are especially enjoined are that every male Israelite should attend them at the Sanctuary (cf. xxxiv. 23), and that he should take with him an offering for Jehovah. He was, on each occasion, to present himself before his King with his tribute in his hand. That the latter condition belonged to all the Feasts,

15 [f] Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: (thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt: [g] and none shall appear before me empty:)

16 And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field: and the feast of ingathering, *which is* in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field.

17 Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord GOD.

18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my [i] sacrifice remain until the morning.

19 [h] The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the

[f] chap. 13. 3. & 34. 18.
[g] Deut. 16. 16. Ecclus. 35. 4.
[i] Or, *feast.*
[h] chap. 34. 26.

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though it is here stated only in regard to the Passover, cannot be doubted. See Deut. xvi. 16.

15, 16. On the Feast of Unleavened Bread, or the Passover, see xii. 1—28, 43—50, xiii. 3—16, xxxiv. 18—20; Lev. xxiii. 4—14. On the Feast of the Firstfruits of Harvest, called also the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Pentecost, see xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 15—21. On the Feast of Ingathering, called also the Feast of Tabernacles, see Lev. xxiii. 34—36, 39—43.

16. *in the end of the year*] Cf. xxxiv. 22. The year here spoken of must have been the civil or agrarian year, which began after harvest, when the ground was prepared for sowing. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 39; Deut. xvi. 13—15. The sacred year began in spring, with the month Abib, or Nisan. See on Exod. xii. 2, and on Lev. xxv. 9.

when thou hast gathered] Rather, **when thou gatherest in.** The Hebrew does not imply that the gathering in was to be completed before the Feast was held. In some years the harvest must have fallen later than in others. It was perhaps rarely completed before the time appointed for the Feast. And hence the fitness of the expression, "which is in the end of the year," as explained in the preceding note.

18, 19. These verses comprise three maxims, each of which, according to the best interpretation, appears to relate to one of the Festivals, in due order, as named in *vv.* 14—17.

18. *the blood of my sacrifice*] It is generally considered that this must refer to the Paschal Lamb. The blood that was sprinkled on the door-posts, or (after the first occasion) on the Altar, emphatically represented "the sacrifice of the LORD'S passover." See xii. 7, 11, 13, 22, 23, 27.

the fat of my sacrifice] Strictly, **the fat of my feast.** In the parallel passage xxxiv. 25, what appears to be the equivalent expression is, "the sacrifice of the feast of the passover." It has been inferred with great probability that the *fat of my feast* means not literally the *fat* of the Paschal Lamb, but the *best part* of the feast, that is, the Paschal Lamb itself (Knobel, Keil). This explanation best accords with xii. 10, where there is no mention of the fat. If we take the words in their mere literal sense, they must refer to the fat of the sacrifices in general, which, when the ritual of the sacrifices was arranged, was burnt upon the Altar by the Priests (Lev. i. 8, iii. 3—5).

19. *The first of the firstfruits of thy land*] This most probably means the *best*, or *chief* of the Firstfruits, &c. As the preceding precept appears to refer to the Passover, so it is likely that this refers to Pentecost, as especially to the offering of what are called in *v.* 16 "the firstfruits of thy labours;" that is, the two wave loaves described Lev. xxiii. 17. They are called in Leviticus, "the firstfruits unto the LORD;" and it is reasonable that they should here be designated the *chief* of the Firstfruits. If, with Keil and others, we suppose the precept to relate to the offerings of Firstfruits in general, the command is no more than a repetition of xxii. 29.

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk] This precept is repeated xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21. There has been much discussion as to its meaning. St Augustine and some more recent commentators have given up the explanation of it in despair. If we are to connect the first of the two preceding precepts with the Passover, and the second with Pentecost, it seems reasonable to connect this with the Feast of Tabernacles. The only explanation which accords with this connection is one which refers to some sort of superstitious custom connected with the harvest. Abarbanel speaks of such a custom, in which a kid was seethed in its mother's milk to propitiate in some way the deities. But the subject is more pointedly illustrated in an ancient commentary on the Pentateuch by a Karaite Jew, from the manuscript of which a quotation is given by Cudworth ('On the Lord's Supper,' p. 36). It is there said to have been a prevalent usage to boil a kid in its

house of the LORD thy God. [i]Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.

[i] ch. 34. 26. Deut. 14. 21.

20 ¶ [k]Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.

[k] chap. 33. 2.

21 Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name *is* in him.

22 But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and [l]an adversary unto thine adversaries.

[l] Or, *I will afflict them that afflict thee.*

23 [l]For mine Angel shall go before thee, and [m]bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, *and* the Hivites, and the Jebusites: and I will cut them off.

[l] chap. 33. 2.

[m] Josh. 24. 11.

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mother's milk, when all the crops were gathered in, and to sprinkle with the milk the fruit trees, fields and gardens, as a charm to improve the crops of the coming year. The explanation based upon this is preferred by Bochart, John Gregory, Grotius, Knobel and others. The command, so understood, is a caution against the practice of magic. See on xxii. 18. But in a matter so doubtful, it is but fair to give such other explanations as seem most worthy of notice.

1. It has been taken as a prohibition of the eating of flesh and milk together (the Targums, Erpenius). This is countenanced by the traditional custom of the Jews ('Mishna,' Cholin VIII. 1; Maimon. 'de Cit. Vel.' 9; Buxtorf, 'Syn. Jud.' p. 596).

2. It has been supposed to forbid the eating of a kid before it has been weaned from its mother—Luther, Calvin, Fagius, &c.

3. It has been referred to a custom now existing among the Arabs, which is certainly of great antiquity, of preparing a gross sort of food by stewing a kid in milk, with the addition of certain ingredients of a stimulating nature, which is commonly called in Arabic, "a kid in his mother's milk." Aben-Ezra, Keil, Thomson ('The Land and the Book,' ch. VIII.), &c.

4. It has been brought into connection with the prohibitions to slaughter a cow and a calf, or a ewe and her lamb, on the same day (Lev. xxii. 28), and to take a bird along with her young in the nest (Deut. xxii. 6). It is thus understood as a protest against cruelty and outraging the order of nature (*ne commisceatur germen cum radicibus*). Theodoret, Vatablus, Ewald, &c. See Bochart, 'Hieroz.' l. II. c. 52.

20—33. These verses appear to form the conclusion of the Book of the Covenant. They contain promises of the constant presence and guidance of Jehovah (*vv.* 20—22), of the driving out of the nations of the Canaanites by degrees (23—30), and of the subsequent enlargement of Hebrew dominion (*v.* 31). But these promises are accompanied by solemn exhortations and threatenings.—Cf. xxxiv. 10—17, where similar promises and warnings are prefixed to the shorter compendium of Law which was written down after the renewal of the Tables.

20, 21. *an Angel...for my name is in him*] The Angel appears to mean the presence and the power of Jehovah Himself, manifested in the work of leading and delivering His people, and maintaining His Covenant with them. Cf. xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, 15, 16, and the notes; see also on Gen. xii. 7.

20. *the place which I have prepared*] The promise of the Land may be seen to inspire the legislation and conduct of Moses throughout his career. There is no trace of uncertainty as to the ultimate aim of his mission. He had been called to lead the people to the home prepared for them, according to the promise first made to Abraham, and to discipline them in their passage through the wilderness to become a strong nation.

22. *and an adversary unto thine adversaries*] The rendering in the margin is the better one. Cf. Deut. xx. 4.

23. The nations here mentioned are those only that inhabited the land strictly called the Land of Canaan, lying between the Jordan and the Great Sea. See Num. xxxiv. 2; cf. Exod. xxxiv. 11.

I will cut them off] It has been too absolutely taken for granted that it was the Divine will that the inhabitants of Canaan should be utterly exterminated. We know that, as a matter of fact, great numbers of the Canaanite families lived on, and intermarried with the Israelites (see Judg. i., ii., with such cases as those of the Sidonians, of Araunah, of Uriah, of the family of Rahab, &c.). The national existence of the Canaanites was indeed to be *utterly* destroyed, every trace of their idolatries was to be blotted out, no social intercourse was to be held with them while they served other gods, nor were alliances of any kind to be formed with them. These commands are emphatically repeated and expanded in Deuteronomy (vii.; xii. 1—4, 29—31).

24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do
n Deut. 7. 25. after their works: n but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images.

25 And ye shall serve the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee.

o Deut. 7. 14. 26 ¶ o There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.

27 I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their
† Heb. neck. † backs unto thee.

28 And p I will send hornets before p Josh. 24. 12. thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee.

29 I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee.

30 By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land.

31 And I will set thy bounds from the Red sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee.

They were often broken by the Israelites, who had to suffer for their transgression (Num. xxxiii. 55; Judg. ii. 3). But it is alike contrary to the spirit of the Divine Law, and to the facts bearing on the subject scattered in the history, to suppose that any obstacle was put in the way of well disposed individuals of the denounced nations who left their sins and were willing to join the service of Jehovah. The Law, as it was addressed to the Israelites, never forgets the stranger (rather, **the foreigner**, LXX. προσήλυτος) who had voluntarily come within their gates. See xx. 10. The spiritual blessings of the Covenant were always open to those who sincerely and earnestly desired to possess them. Lev. xix. 34, xxiv. 22. A narrowness and cruelty in this and other respects has been very generally ascribed to the Law of Moses, from which it has been justly vindicated by Salvador, 'Histoire des Institutions de Moïse,' Vol. I. p. 447.

24. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. vii. 5, 16, xii. 29, 30, xx. 18.

27. *destroy*] Rather, **overthrow**. See on *v.* 23; cf. xv. 14; Deut. ii. 25; Josh. ii. 11.

28. *hornets*] Cf. Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12. The Hebrew word is in the singular number, used for the species—**the hornet**. Bochart ('Hieroz.' lib. IV. c. 13) has collected instances from ancient authorities of large bodies of men being driven away by noxious insects and other small creatures; and the author of the Book of Wisdom (xii. 8, 9) with some of the commentators have supposed that hornets are literally meant (see 'Crit. Sac.'). But there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the word is used figuratively for a cause of terror and discouragement. Bees are spoken of in the like sense, Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12. The passage has been thus understood by most critics.

29. *beast of the field*] The term is applied to any wild animal; here it means a destructive one, as it does also Deut. vii. 22: cf. Lev. xxvi. 22; 2 K. xvii. 25; Job v. 22; Ezek. xiv. 15.

31. In *v.* 23, the limits of the Land of Canaan, strictly so called, are indicated; to this, when the Israelites were about to take possession of it, were added the regions of Gilead and Bashan on the left side of the Jordan (Num. xxxii. 33—42; Josh. xiii. 29—32). These two portions made up the Holy Land, of which the limits were recognized, with inconsiderable variations, till the final overthrow of the Jewish polity. But in this verse the utmost extent of Hebrew dominion, as it existed in the time of David and Solomon, is set forth. The kingdom then reached to Eloth and Ezion-geber on the Ælanitic Gulf of the Red Sea (1 K. ix. 26), and to Tiphsah on the "River," that is, the River Euphrates (1 K. iv. 24), having for its western boundary "the Sea of the Philistines," that is, the Mediterranean, and for its southern boundary "the desert," that is, the wildernesses of Shur and Paran (cf. Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7, xi. 24; Josh. i. 4). Hengstenberg thinks that these broad descriptions of the Land are to be taken as rhetorical, and not as the strict terms of the promise ('Pentateuch,' II. p. 217). He considers this to be the right way of meeting those who reject the genuineness of the narrative on the ground of the improbability that Moses should have foretold the extent of the conquests of David and Solomon. But the cavils of such objectors may be met more simply and effectively by urging that if Moses

32 [q] Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.

33 They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, [r] it will surely be a snare unto thee.

[q] chap. 34. 15. Deut. 7. 2.

[r] Deut. 7. 16. Josh. 23. 13. Judg. 2. 3.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 Moses is called up into the mountain. 3 The people promise obedience. 4 Moses buildeth an altar, and twelve pillars. 6 He sprinkleth the blood of the covenant. 9 The glory of God appeareth. 14 Aaron and Hur have the charge of the people. 15 Moses goeth into the mountain, where he continueth forty days and forty nights.

AND he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off.

2 And Moses alone shall come near the LORD: but they shall not come nigh; neither shall the people go up with him.

3 ¶ And Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, [a] All the words which the LORD hath said will we do.

[a] chap. 19. 8. & 24. 3, 7. Deut. 5. 27.

4 And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel.

5 And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the LORD.

6 And Moses took half of the blood, and put *it* in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar.

7 And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, [b] All that the LORD hath said will we do, and be obedient.

[b] ver. 3.

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was acquainted with the geography of the region (which can hardly be called in question), he might certainly have foreseen that the Hebrew power, when it became very strong in the Land of Canaan, could not fail to exercise domination over all the country from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Sealing of the Covenant.
1—8.

1, 2. It is not easy to trace the proper connection of these two verses as they stand here. Ewald, with great probability, thinks that their right place is between verses 8 and 9 in this chapter ('Hist. of Israel,' p. 529).—It has been suggested that they may relate to what was said to Moses immediately after the utterance of the Ten Commandments, ch. xx. 19 (Knobel).—If they are here placed in due order of time (as Rosenmüller, Keil and others suppose), the direction to Moses contained in them was delivered on the mount (see xx. 21), but its fulfilment was deferred till after he had come down from the mount and done all that is recorded in *vv.* 3—8.

3, 4. The narrative in these verses seems naturally to follow the end of the preceding chapter. Moses leaves the mount and repeats the words of the Book of the Covenant to the people, they give their assent, and the next morning he arranges the ceremony for the formal ratification of the Covenant.

4. *twelve pillars*] As the altar was a symbol of the presence of Jehovah, so these twelve pillars represented the presence of the Twelve Tribes with whom He was making the Covenant. Keil suggests that the pillars were perhaps arranged as boundary stones for the spot consecrated for the occasion.

5. *young men of the children of Israel*] The Targums and Saadia call these *the firstborn sons*. There is no fair ground for this interpretation. Moses was on this occasion performing the office of a priest (the family of Aaron not being yet consecrated), and he employed young men whose strength and skill qualified them to slaughter and prepare the sacrifices. The Law did not regard these acts as necessarily belonging to the priests, and it is probable that they were regarded in the same way in earlier times, when the sacerdotal character belonged especially to the firstborn sons. See on Lev. i. 5, and Exod. xxviii. 1.

burnt offerings...peace offerings] The Burnt offerings figured the dedication of the nation to Jehovah, and the Peace offerings their communion with Jehovah and with each other.

6. *he sprinkled*] Rather, **he cast**. See on Lev. i. 5. The same word is used *v.* 8.

7. *the book of the covenant*] See *v.* 4, and Introd. note on xx. 22. The people had to repeat their assent to the Book of the Covenant before the blood was thrown upon them. Cf. 2 K. xxiii. 2, 21; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30.

8 And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled *it* on the people, and said, [c] Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you concerning all these words.

[c] 1 Pet. 1. 2. Heb. 9. 20.

9 ¶ Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel:

10 And they saw the God of Israel: and *there was* under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in *his* clearness.

11 And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink.

12 ¶ And the LORD said unto Mo-

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8. *the blood of the covenant*] It should be observed that the blood which sealed the Covenant was the blood of Burnt offerings and Peace offerings. The Sin offering had not yet been instituted. That more complicated view of human nature which gave to the Sin offering its meaning, had yet to be developed by the Law, which was now only receiving its ratification. The Covenant between Jehovah and His people therefore took precedence of the operation of the Law, by which came the knowledge of sin. Rom. iii. 20; Note on the Ten Commandments, § V.

Half of the blood had been put into basins, and half of it had been cast upon the Altar. The Book of the Covenant was then read, and after that the blood in the basins was cast "upon the people." It was cast either upon the elders, or those who stood foremost; or, as Abarbanel and others have supposed, upon the twelve pillars representing the Twelve Tribes, as the first half had been cast upon the altar, which witnessed the presence of Jehovah. The blood thus divided between the two parties to the Covenant signified the sacramental union between the Lord and His people. Cf. Ps. l. 5; Zech. ix. 11.

The instances from classical antiquity adduced as parallels to this sacrifice of Moses by Bähr, Knobel and Kalisch, in which animals were slaughtered on the making of covenants, are either those in which the animal was slain to signify the punishment due to the party that might break the covenant (Hom. 'Il.' III. 298, XIX. 252; Liv. 'Hist.' I. 24, XXI. 45); those in which confederates dipped their hands, or their weapons, in the same blood (Æsch. 'Sept. c. Theb.' 43; Xenoph. 'Anab.' II. 2, § 9); or those in which the contracting parties tasted each other's blood (Herodot. I. 74, IV. 70; Tac. 'Annal.' XII. 47). All these usages are based upon ideas which are but very superficially related to the subject; they have indeed no true connection whatever with the idea of sacrifice as the seal of a covenant between God and man. See on Ex. xxix. 20.

The Feast of the Peace offerings.
9—11.

9. It would appear that Moses, Aaron with his two sons, and seventy of the elders (xix. 7) went a short distance up the mountain to eat the meal of the Covenant (cf. Gen. xxxi. 43—47), which must have consisted of the flesh of the Peace offerings (*v.* 5.). Joshua is not named here, but he accompanied Moses as his servant. See *v.* 13.

10. *And they saw the God of Israel*] As they ate the sacrificial feast, the presence of Jehovah was manifested to them with special distinctness. In the act of solemn worship, they perceived that he was present with them, as their Lord and their Deliverer. It is idle to speculate, as Keil and others have done, on the mode of this revelation. That no visible form was presented to their bodily eyes, we are expressly informed, Deut. iv. 12; see on xxxiii. 20; cf. Isa. vi. 1.

there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness] Rather, *under His feet, it was like a work of bright sapphire stone, and like the heaven itself in clearness.* On the sapphire, see xxviii. 18; cf. Ezek. i. 26. The pure blue of the heaven above them lent its influence to help the inner sense to realize the vision which no mortal eye could behold.

11. *he laid not his hand*] *i.e.* he did not smite them. It was believed that a mortal could not survive the sight of God (Gen. xxxii. 30; Ex. xxxiii. 20; Judg. vi. 22, xiii. 22): but these rulers of Israel were permitted to eat and drink, while they were enjoying in an extraordinary degree the sense of the Divine presence, and took no harm. "When the heads of the people venture to draw near their God, they find his presence no more a source of disturbance and dread, but radiant in all the bright loveliness of supernal glory; a beautiful sign that the higher religion and state of conformity to law, now established, shall work onwards to eternal blessedness." Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' Vol. I. p. 529.

Moses goes up to receive the Tables.
12—18.

12. *tables of stone, and a law, and commandments*] Maimonides and many of the Jews understand *the tables of stone* to denote the Ten Commandments; *the law*, the Law written in the Pentateuch; and *the command-*

ses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.

13 And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God.

14 And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur *are* with you: if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them.

15 And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount.

16 And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.

17 And the sight of the glory of the LORD *was* like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.

18 And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and [d] Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

[d] chap. 34. 28. Deut. 9. 9.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *What the Israelites must offer for the making of the tabernacle.* 10 *The form of the ark.* 17 *The mercy seat, with the cherubims.* 23 *The table, with the furniture thereof.* 31 *The candlestick, with the instruments thereof.*

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

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ments (it should be *the commandment*), the oral or traditional law which was in after ages put into writing in the Mishna and the Gemara. Ewald takes the words to mean the Ten Commandments, and "other sacred books of the Law" ('H. of I.' I. p. 606). But it is more probable that the Ten Commandments alone are spoken of, and that the meaning is, *the Tables of stone with the Law, even the Commandment*. So Knobel, Keil, Herx. See Note on the Ten Commandments, § I.

that thou mayest teach them] More strictly, **to teach them**. The promise of the Tables is fulfilled after the directions for the Tabernacle have been given, xxxi. 18.

13. *Joshua*] See on *v.* 9; cf. xxxii. 17; xxxiii. 11.

mount of God] See on iii. 1.

14. It need not be supposed that the Elders were required to remain on the very spot where Moses parted with them, but simply that they were to advance no further. Aaron and Hur were to represent the authority of Moses during his absence.

15. *Moses went up*] Moses appears to have left Joshua and gone up alone into the cloud. See *v.* 2.

16. Cf. xix. 18 sq.

18. During this period of forty days, and the second period when the Tables were renewed, Moses neither ate bread nor drank water. Deut. ix. 9; Exod. xxxiv. 28. Elijah in like manner fasted for forty days, when he visited the same spot (1 K. xix. 8). The two who met our Saviour on the Mount of Transfiguration, the one as representing the Law, the other as representing the Prophets, thus shadowed forth in their own experience the Fast of Forty days in the wilderness of Judæa.

THE ARK AND THE TABERNACLE. CHAP. XXV. XXVI.

Jehovah had redeemed the Israelites from bondage. He had made a Covenant with them and had given them laws. He had promised, on condition of their obedience, to accept them as His own "peculiar treasure," as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (xix. 5, 6). And now He was ready visibly to testify that He made his abode with them. He claimed to have a dwelling for Himself, which was to be in external form a tent of goats' hair, to take its place among their own tents, formed out of the same material (on Ex. xxvi. 7). The special mark of His presence within the Tent was to be the Ark or chest containing the Ten Commandments on two tables of stone (Ex. xxxi. 18), symbolizing the divine Law of holiness, covered by the Mercy seat, the type of reconciliation.—Moses was divinely taught regarding the construction and arrangement of every part of the Sanctuary. The directions which were given him are comprised in Ex. xxv. 1—xxxi. 11. The account of the performance of the work, expressed generally in the same terms, is given Ex. xxxv. 20—xl. 33.

The meaning of the Tabernacle, with the relation in which it stood to the Tables of the Law, is considered more at length in the Note at the end of ch. xl.

CHAP. XXV. 1—9. Moses is commanded to invite the people to bring their gifts for the construction and service of the Sanctuary and for the dresses of the Priests.

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they † bring me an ‖ offering: [a] of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering.

3 And this *is* the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass,

4 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and ‖ fine linen, and goats' *hair*,

† Heb. *take for me.* ‖ Or, *heave offering.* [a] chap. 35. 5.

‖ Or, *silk.*

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2. *an offering*] The Hebrew word is *tĕrumāh*, which occurs here for the first time. On the marginal rendering "heave offering," see note on Ex. xxix. 27. The word in this place appears to denote no more than *offering*, in its general sense, being equivalent to *korban*. It is used with the same compass of meaning Ex. xxx. 13, xxxv. 5, &c. In Num. xviii. 24, tithes are called a *tĕrumah*.

that giveth it willingly with his heart] Literally, **whose heart shall freely give it.** The public service of Jehovah was to be instituted by freewill offerings, not by an enforced tax. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 9, 14; Ezra ii. 68, 69; 2 Cor. viii. 11, 12, ix. 7. On the zeal with which the people responded to the call, see Ex. xxxv. 21—29, xxxvi. 5—7.

my offering] The recipient of the offering is here denoted by the possessive case, according to the common Hebrew idiom. Ex. xxx. 13, xxxv. 5, 21, 24, &c.

3. *gold, and silver, and brass*] The supply of these metals possessed by the Israelites at this time probably included what they had inherited from their forefathers, what they had obtained from the Egyptians (Ex. xii. 35), and what may have been found amongst the spoils of the Amalekites (Ex. xvii. 8—13). But with their abundant flocks and herds, it can hardly be doubted that they had carried on important traffic with the trading caravans that traversed the wilderness, some of which, most likely, in the earliest times were furnished with silver, with the gold of Ophir (or gold of Sheba, as it seems to have been indifferently called), and with the bronze of Phœnicia and Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28; Deut. xxxiii. 25; 1 K. ix. 28, x. 15; 1 Chron. xxix. 4; 2 Chron. ix. 14; Job xxii. 24, xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 9).—Cf. note on Ex. xxxviii. 24.

brass] The Hebrew word *nĕhosheth* [see on 2 K. xviii. 4] must mean pure copper in such passages as Deut. viii. 9, xxxiii. 25; Job xxviii. 2. But it commonly denotes (as it does most likely in this place) the hardened alloy of copper and tin, more strictly called **bronze** than brass, which was so largely used for weapons and implements before the art of working iron was well understood. On the bronze of the Egyptians see Wilkinson's 'Popular Account,' Vol. I. p. 148, II. p. 152, and De Rougemont, 'Age du Bronze,' p. 180. The latter writer proves that the Egyptians were well acquainted with bronze and with the art of working in all the common metals, except iron, under the fourth dynasty, ages before the time of Abraham.

4. *blue, and purple, and scarlet*] The names of the colours are used for the material which was dyed with them. The Jewish tradition has been very generally received that this material was wool. Cf. Heb. ix. 19 with Lev. xiv. 4, 49, &c. But the question is not quite without difficulty. See on xxviii. 5, and Lev. xix. 19.—The material, having been spun and dyed by the women, appears to have been delivered in the state of yarn. The Egyptians were well skilled in the art of dyeing (Wilkinson, II. p. 83). The weaving and embroidering were left to Aholiab and his assistants, Ex. xxxv., cf. *v.* 25 with *v.* 35. The Egyptians in like manner used to dye the threads of their stuffs before weaving them, and to employ women in spinning, and men in weaving and embroidering. (Wilkinson, 'Ancient Egyptians,' II. p. 79 sq.). Respecting the names of the colours, see Note at the end of the chapter.

fine linen] The word *shēsh*, which is here used, is Egyptian (Birch in Bunsen's 'Egypt,' Vol. V. p. 571). It is rendered by the LXX. βύσσος, which must be allied to *butz*, the name of the "fine linen" of Syria, in Ezek. xxvii. 16, which was that used in the time of Solomon for the hangings of the Temple and for other purposes (1 Chron. xv. 27; 2 Chron. ii. 14, iii. 14, v. 12). That the word *shēsh* denoted the fine flax, or the manufactured linen, for which Egypt was famous [see Ezek. xxvii. 7, where the original word is *shēsh:* but in Prov. vii. 16 "fine linen of Egypt" is a mistranslation, see note in loc.], and which the Egyptians were in the habit of using for dresses of state (Gen. xli. 42); and not *cotton*, as some have imagined, nor *silk* [as the word *shēsh* is rendered Prov. xxxi. 22, and in the margin here and elsewhere], is now clearly proved. Wilkinson, 'Pop. Account,' &c. II. p. 73, and his note to Herodot. II. 86. The *linen cloth* of Persia is mentioned, Esth. i. 6, by its Persian name *karpas* (the parent of κάρπασος and *carbasus*), which in our version is wrongly rendered *green*, as the name of a colour. The occurrence of these three native names, *shēsh*, *butz*, and *karpas*, for the same article produced in three different countries, in strict consistency with the narratives in which they occur, is worthy of remark. The LXX. translates each of the three by βύσσος. Cf. notes on Ex. ix. 31, xxxix. 28. The estimation in which fine linen was held in differ-

5 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,

6 Oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense,

ent ages, before silk was generally known, may be seen 1 Chron. xv. 27; Prov. xxxi. 22; Ezek. xvi. 10, 13; Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xix. 8, 14. If silk is anywhere spoken of in the Hebrew Bible, it is only in Ezek. xvi. 10, where the word is not *shēsh* but *meshi*, which Fuerst thinks may be of Chinese derivation.—It would seem that, for the use of the Tabernacle, the flax was spun by the women, like the coloured wools, and was delivered in the state of thread to be woven by Aholiab and his assistants (Ex. xxxv. 25, 35). The fine linen appears to have been used as the groundwork of the figured curtains of the Tabernacle as well as of the embroidered hangings of the Tent and the Court. See on xxxv. 35.

goats' hair] The hair of the goat has furnished the material for tents to the Roman armies (Virg. 'Georg.' III. 313) and to the Arabs and Eastern Nomads of all ages, as it did to the Israelites in the wilderness. The tent which was to be the chosen dwelling-place of Jehovah was to be formed of the same material as the tents of His people. See Introd. Note.

5. *rams' skins dyed red*] These skins may have been tanned and coloured like the leather now known as red morocco, which is said to have been manufactured in Libya from the remotest antiquity. On the manufacture of leather by the Egyptians, see Wilkinson, 'Pop. Account,' II. pp. 102—106.

badgers' skins] The skins here spoken of were certainly not those of the badger, as was supposed by Luther and Gesenius. That animal is often found in the Holy Land, but it is very rare in the wilderness, if it exists there at all (Tristram, 'N. H.' p. 44). The Hebrew name here used, *tachash*, occurs in the Old Testament only in connection with these skins, which were employed for the outer covering of the Tent of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 14), and in wrapping up the holy things when they were moved (Num. iv. 8, 10, &c.), and which are mentioned as the material of the shoes of the prophetic impersonation of Jerusalem by Ezekiel (xvi. 10). The word bears a near resemblance to the Arabic *tuchash*, which appears to be the general name given to the seals, dugongs and dolphins found in the Red Sea (Tristram), and, according to some authorities, to the sharks and dog-fish (Fürst). The substance spoken of would thus appear to have been leather formed from the skins of marine animals, which was well adapted as a protection against the weather. Pliny speaks of tents made of seal skins as proof against the stroke of lightning ('H. N.' II. 56), and one of these is said to have been used by Augustus whenever he travelled (Sueton. 'Octav.' 90). The skins of the dolphin and dugong are cut into sandals by the modern Arabs, and this may explain Ezek. xvi. 10. The question seems thus to be determined on pretty certain grounds. But it is remarkable that the LXX., with Josephus, the Vulgate, the Targums, and most of the ancient versions, treat the word *tachash* as the name of ordinary leather, distinguished only by a particular colour. But there is a difference as to whether the colour was black, red, violet, or blue. Most of the ancient authorities, followed by Bochart and Rosenmüller, imagine the colour to have been *hyacinthine*, the first of the three colours in the embroidered work of the Tabernacle [see Note at the end of the Chapter]. From Josephus speaking of the colour of these skins, such as he conceived it to be, as like the heavens ('Ant.' III. 6, § 4), we may infer with confidence that he conceived *hyacinthine* to be *sky-blue*. [Note, § Π.]

shittim wood] The word *shittim* is the plural form of *shittah*, which occurs as the name of the growing tree Is. xli. 19. The tree is satisfactorily identified with the *Acacia seyal*, "a gnarled and thorny tree, somewhat like a solitary hawthorn in its habit and manner of growth, but much larger. [See note on Ex. xxvi. 15.] It flourishes in the driest situations, and is scattered more or less numerously over the Sinaitic Peninsula" (Tristram). It is rare in the Holy Land except in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, where it appears to have given its name to two places in ancient times. See Num. xxv. 1; Joel iii. 18. It grows in Egypt in some regions at a distance from the coast. The timber is hard and close-grained, of an orange colour with a darker heart, well adapted for cabinet work. The LXX. call it *wood that will not rot*, ξύλα ἄσηπτα. It appears to be the only good wood produced in the wilderness. No other kind of wood was employed in the Tabernacle or its furniture. In the construction of the Temple cedar and fir took its place (1 K. v. 8, vi. 18; 2 Chron. ii. 8). A distinct species of Acacia is mentioned by Dr Robinson, Dr Royle and others, as *A. gummifera*. But Mr Tristram states that the gum arabic of commerce is obtained from the *A. seyal*, and forms an important article of traffic on the shores of the Red Sea, as it did in ancient times. See also Bunsen, v. 414. As the plural form, *shittim*, is always applied to the wood, never being used like the singular *shittah* (Is. xli. 19) for the growing tree, the conjecture will hardly stand that the plural name is to be accounted for from "the tangled thicket into which its stem expands." (Tristram 'H. N.' p. 390; Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 20; 'Jewish Ch.' I. p. 163; Houghton,

7 Onyx stones, and stones to be set
[b] chap. 28. in the [b] ephod, and in the [c] breastplate.
[c] chap. 28. 8 And let them make me a sanc-
15. tuary; that I may dwell among them.
9 According to all that I shew thee,
after the pattern of the tabernacle,
and the pattern of all the instruments
thereof, even so shall ye make *it*.
10 ¶ [d] And they shall make an ark
[d] chap. 37. 1. *of* shittim wood: two cubits and a
half *shall be* the length thereof, and
a cubit and a half the breadth thereof,

'Smith's Dict.' III. 1295; Royle, 'Kitto's Cycl.' III. 841.) See also on Ex. iii. 2.

6. *Oil for the light*] The oil was to be "pure olive oil beaten," see on Ex. xxvii. 20.

spices for anointing oil] What these spices were see Ex. xxx. 22—25.

sweet incense] See Ex. xxx. 34, 35.

7. On the materials and construction of the ephod and breastplate, see ch. xxviii.

8. *sanctuary*] Heb. *mikdash*, *i.e.* a hallowed place. This is the most comprehensive of the words that relate to the place dedicated to Jehovah. It included the Tabernacle with its furniture, its Tent and its Court.

that I may dwell among them] The purpose of the Sanctuary is here definitely declared by the Lord Himself. It was to be the constant witness of His presence amongst His people. xxix. 42—46, xl. 34—38, &c.

9. *According to all that I shew thee*] The Tabernacle and all that pertained to it were to be in strict accordance with the ideas revealed by the Lord to Moses: nothing in the way of form or decoration was to be left to the taste or judgment of the artificers. The command is emphatically repeated *v.* 40, xxvi. 30; cf. Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5.—The word here translated *pattern* is also used in Chronicles to denote the plans for the Temple which were given by David to Solomon (1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12, 19); it is elsewhere rendered *form*, *likeness*, *similitude*, Deut. iv. 16, 17; Ezek. viii. 3, 10. The revelation to the mind of Moses was, without doubt, such as to suggest the exact appearance of the work to be produced. But there is no need to adopt the materialistic notion of some of the rabbinists, that a Tabernacle in the heavens was set forth before the bodily eyes of the Legislator.

the tabernacle] The Hebrew word *hammishkān*, signifies the dwelling-place. It here denotes the wooden structure, containing the holy place and the most holy place, with the tent which sheltered it. See on xxvi. 1.

The Ark of the Covenant.

xxv. 10—16 (cf. xxxvii. 1—5).

The ARK is uniformly designated in Exodus the ARK OF THE TESTIMONY (xxv. 22, xxvi. 34, xxx. 6, 26, xxxi. 7, xl. 3, &c.); it is so called also Num. iv. 5, vii. 89; Josh. iv. 16: it is called simply THE TESTIMONY Ex. xvi. 34, xxvii. 21; Lev. xvi. 13, xxiv. 3; Num. xvii. 10. But in Num. x. 33 it is named THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, and this is its most frequent name in Deuteronomy and the other books of the Old Testament. In some places it is named THE ARK OF THE LORD (Josh. iii. 13, iv. 11, vii. 6; 1 S. iv. 6; 2 S. vi. 9, &c.), THE ARK OF GOD (1 S. iii. 3, iv. 11, v. 1, &c.), THE ARK OF THE STRENGTH OF THE LORD (2 Chron. vi. 41; Ps. cxxxii. 8), and THE HOLY ARK (2 Chron. xxxv. 3). Cf. note on *v.* 16.

The Ark of the Covenant was the central point of the Sanctuary. It was designed to contain the Testimony (xxv. 16, xl. 20; Deut. xxxi. 26), that is, the Tables of the Divine Law, the terms of the Covenant between Jehovah and His people: and it was to support the Mercy seat with its Cherubim, from between which He was to hold communion with them (Ex. xxv. 22). On this account, in these directions for the construction of the Sanctuary, it is named first of all the parts. But on the other hand, in the narrative of the work as it was actually carried out, we find that it was not made till after the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxvii. 1—9). It was more suitable that the receptacle should be first provided to receive and shelter the most sacred of the contents of the Sanctuary as soon as it was completed. The practical order of the works seems to be given in Ex. xxxi. 7—10, and xxxv. 11—19.—On the Golden Altar, see on xxx. 1.—The completion of the Ark is recorded xxxvii. 1—5. On its history, see concluding note on ch. xl.

10. *an ark*] The Hebrew name is *arōn*, which means a box, or coffer (Gen. l. 26; 2 K. xii. 9, 10; 2 Chro. xxiv. 8, &c.). The word *ark* exactly answers to it; but our translators have employed the same to render quite a different word (*tēbāh*), which is used nowhere in the Hebrew Bible except to denote what we familiarly call "the ark" of Noah, and the "ark of bulrushes" (Gen. vi. 14; Ex. ii. 3). In the first instance, there is the same confusion in both the LXX. and the Vulgate, but not in the latter one. The word *tēbāh* is Egyptian, having nearly the same meaning. See on Ex. ii. 3.—Taking the cubit at eighteen inches (see on Gen. vi. 15), the Ark of the Covenant was a box 3 ft. 9 in. long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and 2 ft. 3 in. deep.

of shittim wood] It is well observed that if the Ark, which appears to have been preserved till the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Chro. xxxv. 3; Jer. iii. 16), had originated

and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

11 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about.

12 And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it, and put *them* in the four corners thereof; and two rings *shall be* in the one side of it, and two rings in the other side of it.

13 And thou shalt make staves *of* shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.

14 And thou shalt put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, that the ark may be borne with them.

15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it.

16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee.

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in Palestine, it would not have been made of shittim wood, the wood of the Wilderness (see on v. 5), but either of oak, the best wood of the Holy Land, or of cedar, which took the place of shittim wood in the construction of the Temple (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' I. p. 163).

11. *overlay it with pure gold*] According to the rabbinists, the Ark was lined and covered with plates of gold. But there is nothing in the original which might not aptly denote the common process of gilding. The Egyptians in early times were acquainted with both the art of gilding and that of covering a substance with thin plates of gold. (Wilkinson's 'Pop. Acc.' II. 145.)

a crown of gold] That is, an edging or **moulding** of gold round the top of the Ark, within which the cover or Mercy seat (*v.* 17) may have fitted (cf. Ex. xxxvii. 2). There were golden mouldings, called by the same name, to the Table of Shewbread (*v.* 24, xxxvii. 11, 12) and to the Golden Altar (xxx. 3, xxxvii. 26). The Heb. word *zeer* signifies, according to its etymology, a band, or cincture, and is naturally applied to a crown. Our Version in here rendering it *crown*, follows the Vulgate and some other ancient Versions. But the renderings of the LXX., Josephus, the Targums, Luther, de Wette, Zunz, Wogue, &c., more nearly agree with our word **moulding**, *i.e.* a small cornice, and this answers to the radical meaning of *zeer* as well as *crown* does. See Reland, 'De Spoliis Templi,' c. VII.

12. *four corners thereof*] Rather, **its four bases**, or feet. The Hebrew substantive is rendered *corners* in most of the ancient versions. But the LXX. have κλίτη (which appears to be rather vaguely used to denote *extremities*, cf. *vv.* 12, 19), and there seems no doubt that the original means *feet* (Aben-Ezra, Abarbanel, Gesen., Fürst, Knobel, &c.). The word may possibly denote the lowest part of each corner: but it is not unlikely that there were low blocks, or plinths, placed under the corners to which the rings were attached (see on *v.* 26), and that it is to them the word is here applied. The Ark, when it was carried, must thus have been raised above the shoulders of the bearers. The rings of the Golden Altar were placed immediately under the golden moulding (xxx. 4); but those of the Table of Shewbread were fastened to the feet of the four legs. It has been imagined by some Jewish and other authorities that the Ark was raised on high when it was carried in order to display the most sacred symbol of the Sanctuary. But we may infer, from there being a similar arrangement of the rings on the Table of Shewbread, as well as from the distinctive character of the Ark itself, that this could not have been the case. The Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah was never carried about like the arks of the gentile nations, for display. See Note at the end of chap. xl.

15. *they shall not be taken from it*] This direction was probably given in order that the Ark might not be touched by the hand (cf. 2 S. vi. 6). There is no similar direction regarding the staves of the Table of Shewbread (*v.* 27), those of the Golden Altar (xxx. 5), nor those of the Altar of Burnt offering (xxvii. 7). These were of less sanctity than the Ark and might be touched.—The formula in Num. iv. 6, 8, 11, 14, as it is rendered in our version, may seem to contradict the direction here given in regard to the Ark But it might rather be translated in a more general sense, as, *put the staves in order* (see note in loc.).

16. *the testimony which I shall give thee*] The stone Tables of the Ten Commandments (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1, 28) are called the Testimony, or, the Tables of the Testimony (xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29), as the Ark which contained them is called the Ark of the Testimony (see Introd. note), and the Tabernacle in which the Ark was placed, the Tabernacle of the Testimony (Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, &c.); they are also called the Tables of the Covenant (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15), as the Ark is called the Ark of the Covenant. The meaning of the latter name admits of no doubt: the

17 And thou shalt make a mercy seat *of* pure gold: two cubits and a half *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

18 And thou shalt make two cherubims *of* gold, *of* beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy seat.

19 And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end: *even*[1] of the mercy seat shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

[1] Or, *of the matter of the mercy seat.*

20 And the cherubims shall stretch forth *their* wings on high, covering the mercy seat with their wings, and their faces *shall look* one to another; toward the mercy seat shall the faces of the cherubims be.

Ten Commandments contained "the word of the Covenant" between Jehovah and His people (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13). But there has been a difference regarding the interpretation of the former name, which derives additional importance from its being the name used here and in ch. xl. 20 in immediate connection with the first placing of the Tables within the Ark and under the Mercy seat. The reasons for taking the word Testimony, in its application to the Ten Commandments, as signifying the direct testimony of Jehovah against sin in man, and thus bringing it into connection with Deut. xxxi. 26, 27, is given elsewhere. See Note on the Ten Commandments, after ch. xx. 21.

The Mercy Seat.

xxv. 17—22. (Cf. xxxvii. 6—9.)

17. *a mercy seat of pure gold*] In external form, the Mercy seat was a plate of gold with the cherubim standing on it, the whole beaten out of one solid piece of metal (xxxvii. 7); it was placed upon the Ark and so took the place of a cover. Its Hebrew name is *kapporeth*, and on the true meaning of this word there is a very important difference of opinion. The greater number of recent translators and critics, Jewish and others, with the Arabic amongst the ancient versions, render it as simply *cover*. Our version, following the general voice of antiquity, with Luther, Cranmer, and others of the early translators in modern languages, gives, as we believe, the truer rendering, calling it the Mercy seat. [See Note at the end of the chapter.]

18—20. The way in which the Cherubim of the Mercy seat are here mentioned, with reference to their faces, wings and posture, is in favour of the common Jewish tradition (Otho, 'Rabb. Lex.' p. 129), that they were human figures, each having two wings. They must have been of small size, proportioned to the area of the Mercy seat. On the other notices of Cherubim in the Scriptures, see Note on Gen. iii. 24. Comparing the different references to form in this place, in 2 Sam. xxii. 11 (Ps. xviii. 10), in Ezek. ch. i., x. and in Rev. ch. iv., it would appear that the name *Cherub* was applied to various combinations of animal forms. Similar combinations were made by most ancient peoples in order to represent conceivable combinations of powers, such as are denied to man in his earthly state of existence. It is remarkable that amongst the Egyptians, the Assyrians and the Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, the creatures by very far most frequently introduced into these composite figures, were man, the ox, the lion, and the eagle. These are evidently types of the most important and familiarly known classes of living material beings. The rabbinists recognized this in the Cherubim as described by Ezekiel, which they regarded as representing the whole creation engaged in the worship and service of God (Schoettgen, 'Hor. Heb.' p. 1108). Cf. Rev. iv. 9—11, v. 13. It would be in harmony with this view to suppose that the more strictly human shape of the Cherubim of the Mercy seat represented the highest form of created intelligence engaged in the devout contemplation of the divine Law of love and justice. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 12. They were thus symbols of worship rendered by the creature in the most exalted condition (See Augustin. 'Quæst. in Exod.' cv.).—It is worthy of notice that the golden Cherubim from between which Jehovah spoke to His people bore witness, by their place on the Mercy seat, to His redeeming mercy; while the Cherubim that took their stand with the flaming sword at the gate of Eden, to keep the way to the tree of life, witnessed to His condemnation of sin in man. The most perfect finite intelligence seems thus to be yielding assent to the divine Law in its twofold manifestation. See Note on chap. xx. 1—17, § V.

18. *of beaten work*] *i.e.* elaborately wrought with the hammer.

19. *even of the mercy seat*] Rather, **out of the Mercy seat.** The sense appears to be that the Cherubim and the Mercy seat were to be wrought out of one mass of gold. (Cf. xxxvii. 7.) This meaning agrees with Onkelos, Saadia, and most modern interpreters. But the LXX., Vulg. and Syr. translate the words in question as if the second clause of the verse were, in sense, only a repetition of the first clause.

20. See on *v.* 18.

21 And thou shalt put the mercy seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee.

22 And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from [e] between the two cherubims which *are* upon the ark of the testimony, of all *things* which I will give thee in command-ment unto the children of Israel.

23 ¶ [f] Thou shalt also make a table *of* shittim wood: two cubits *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

24 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about.

25 And thou shalt make unto it a border of an hand breadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about.

26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that *are* on the four feet thereof.

[e] Numb. 7. 89.

[f] chap. 37. 10.

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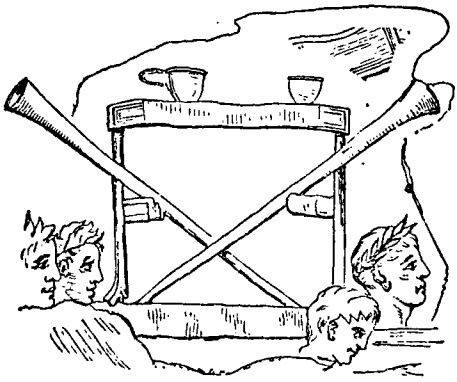
21. *the testimony*] See on *v.* 16. Cf. xl. 20.

22. *I will commune with thee*] See Note on the Ten Commandments, § V.

The Table of Shewbread.

23—30. (Cf. xxxvii. 10—16.)

23. *a table of shittim wood*] This Table is one of the most prominent objects in the triumphal procession sculptured in relief on the Arch of Titus. The most important of the sculptures of the Arch were carefully copied under the direction of Reland in 1710. Since that time they have gone on to decay, so that the engravings of them in his work 'De Spoliis Templi,' &c., are now of great interest and value. Reland has interpreted the sculptures with his accustomed learning and sagacity.



The Shewbread Table with its incense cups and the two Silver Trumpets (Num. x. 2).

The Table which is here represented could not, of course, have been the one made for the Tabernacle. The original Ark of the Testimony was preserved until it disappeared when Jerusalem was captured by the Babylonians: it was never replaced by an Ark of more modern construction. See concluding note on ch. xl. But the Shewbread Table, the Golden Altar, and the Golden Candlestick, were renewed by Solomon for the Temple. Of the Candlestick, ten copies were then made. (1 K. vii. 48, 49; 2 Chro. iv. 19). From the omission of them amongst the spoils carried home from Babylon (Ezra i. 9—11) we may infer that the Table and the Golden Altar with a single Candlestick were re-made by Zerubbabel (see 1 Macc. i. 21, 22), and again by the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 49). There cannot therefore be a doubt that the Table and the Candlestick figured on the Arch are those of the Maccabæan times: and it must have been these which are described, and must have been seen, by Josephus ('Ant.' III. 6. § 6, 7; 'B. J.' VII. 5. § 5). It is however most likely that the restorations were made as nearly as possible after the ancient models. In representing the Table it will be seen that the sculptor has exhibited its two ends, in defiance of perspective. The details and size of the figure, and the description of Josephus, appear to agree very nearly with the directions here given to Moses, and to illustrate them in several particulars. Josephus says that the Table was like the so-called Delphic tables, richly ornamented pieces of furniture in use amongst the Romans, which were sometimes, if not always, covered with gold or silver (Martial, XII. 67; Cicero, 'in Verr.' IV. 59; cf. Du Cange, Art. 'Delphica').

24. *overlay it*] See on *v.* 11.

a crown of gold] Rather, **a moulding of gold.** See on *v.* 11. The moulding of the Table is still seen at the ends of the sculptured figure.

25. *a border*] Rather **a framing**, which reached from leg to leg so as to make the Table firm, as well as to adorn it with a second moulding of gold. Two fragments of such a framing are still seen in the sculpture attached to the legs half-way down.

26. *in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof*] The word here rendered *feet* is

27 Over against the border shall the rings be for places of the staves to bear the table.

28 And thou shalt make the staves *of* shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them.

29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and spoons thereof, and covers thereof, and bowls thereof, [1] to cover withal: *of* pure gold shalt thou make them.

[1] Or, *to pour out withal.*

30 And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway.

31 ¶ [e] And thou shalt make a candlestick *of* pure gold: *of* beaten work shall the candlestick be made: his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his

[e] chap. 37 17.

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the common name for the feet of men or animals. Josephus says that the feet of the Table were like those that the Dorians used to put to their couches, which appear to have been famous for their splendour (Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' XII. 29; Athenæus, II. 47). Comparing this with the sculpture, it would seem that the legs terminated in something like the foot of an animal, such as in modern furniture is called *a claw*. The like device often occurs in the ancient Egyptian furniture (Wilkinson, I. pp. 59, 60, 62, &c.). The word here rendered *corner* is not the same as that so rendered in *v.* 12, and it may denote any extreme part. We might thus render the words, **upon the four extremities that are at the four feet.** Josephus speaks of the rings as having been in part attached to the claws themselves. But there is no trace of the rings in the sculpture.

27. *Over against the border*] Rather, **Over against the framing**; that is, the rings were to be placed not upon the framing itself, but at the extremities of the legs answering to each corner of it.

29. *dishes*] The Hebrew word is the same as is employed to denote the large silver vessels which were filled with fine flour and formed part of the offerings of the Princes of Israel in Num. vii. 13 sq., where it is rendered *chargers*. According to its probable etymology, it denoted a deep vessel, and therefore neither of the English words answers well to it: perhaps *bowls* would be nearer the mark. Knobel conjectures that these vessels, which belonged to the Shewbread Table, were used to bring the bread into the Sanctuary; but it is hard to imagine that vessels of sufficient size for such a purpose (Lev. xxiv. 5) were formed of gold. They may possibly have been the measures for the meal used in the loaves.

spoons] The Hebrew word is that used for the small gold **cups** that were filled with frankincense in the offerings of the Princes, Num. vii. 14 sq. The LXX. render it *θυίσκαι = incense cups*. See on Lev. xxiv. 7. These must be the only vessels which are mentioned by Josephus in connection with the Table—*δύο φιάλαι χρύσεαι λιβανωτοῦ πλήρεις* ('Ant.' III. c. 6. § 6. c. 10. § 7), and which are represented on the Table in the sculpture.

covers...bowls] According to the best authority these were **flagons** and **chalices**, such as were used for Drink offerings. LXX. *σπονδεῖα* and *κύαθοι*. See the next note.

to cover withal] More correctly rendered in the margin, *to pour out withal*. It is strange that our translators in the text should have left Luther and Cranmer, backed as they are by the LXX., the Vulg., the Syriac, the Targums, and the most direct sense of the original words, to follow Saadia and the Talmud. With the exception of some recent Jewish versions, the best modern authorities apply the passage, along with the two last names of vessels, to the rite of the Drink offering, which appears to have regularly accompanied every Meat offering (Lev. xxiii. 18; Num. vi. 15, xxviii. 14, &c.). The subject is important in its bearing upon the meaning of the Shewbread: the corrected rendering of the words tends to shew that it was a true Meat offering [see on Lev. xxiv. 9].—The first part of the verse might thus be rendered;—**And thou shalt make its bowls and its incense-cups and its flagons and its chalices for pouring out** *the Drink offerings*.

30. The Shewbread Table was placed in the Holy Place on the north side (xxvi. 35). Directions for preparing the Shewbread are given in Lev. xxiv. 5—9. It consisted of twelve large cakes of unleavened bread, which were arranged on the Table in two piles, with a golden cup of frankincense on each pile (Jos. 'Ant.' III. 10. § 7). It was renewed every Sabbath day. The stale loaves were given to the priests, and the frankincense appears to have been lighted on the Altar for a memorial [see on Lev. ii. 2]. We may presume that the Drink offering was renewed at the same time. The Shewbread, with all the characteristics and significance of a great national Meat offering, in which the twelve tribes were represented by the twelve cakes, was to stand before Jehovah *perpetually*, in token that He was always graciously accepting the good works of His people, for whom Atonement had been made by the victims offered on the Altar in the Court of the Sanctuary [see notes on Lev. xxiv. 5—9].

knops, and his flowers, shall be of the same.

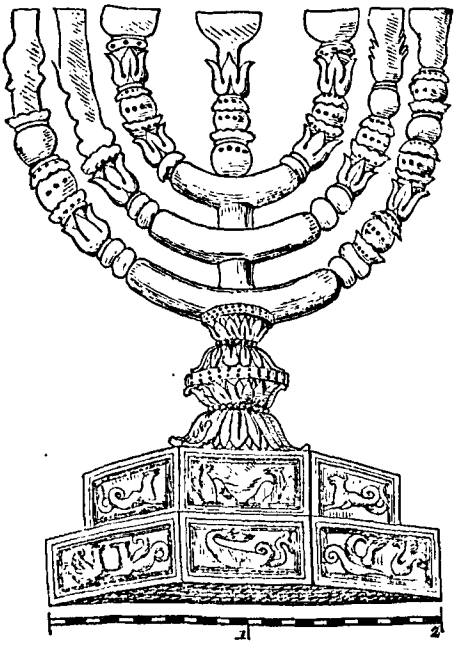
32 And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side:

33 Three bowls made like unto almonds, *with* a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, *with* a knop and a flower: so in the six branches that come out of the candlestick.

The Golden Candlestick.

31—39. (Cf. xxxvii. 17—24).

31. *a candlestick of pure gold*] This would more properly be called a lamp-stand than a candlestick. Its purpose was to support seven oil-lamps. Like the Shewbread Table, it is a prominent object amongst the spoils of the Temple sculptured on the Arch of Titus. This figure is copied from Reland [see on *v.* 23].



The size of the Candlestick is nowhere mentioned: but we may form an estimate of it by comparing the figure with that of the Table. It is most likely that the two objects are represented on the same scale. Its height appears to have been about three feet, and its width two feet. The details of the sculpture usefully illustrate the description in the text. But the work and form of the pedestal here represented are not in accordance with Jewish taste or usage at any period. Reland conjectures that the original foot may have been broken off, and lost or stolen when the Candlestick was taken out of the Temple, and that the pedestal in the sculpture was added by some Roman artist to set off the trophy. There are other ancient representations of the Candlestick on gems, in tombs, and on the walls of synagogues. Some of these are copied in Reland's work, and one has lately been discovered by Capt. Wilson in a ruined synagogue in the valley of the Jarmuk. In most of them the stem is supported on three feet, or claws. This arrangement however is supposed to contradict Josephus, who says that the stem rose from a *pedestal*: the word he uses (βάσις) is however not quite free from ambiguity. In general form the other figures of the Candlestick copied by Reland nearly agree with that on the arch except in the limbs being more slender, in which particular they are countenanced by the description in Josephus ('B. J.' VII. 5. § 5). It is likely that the sculptor may have thickened the limbs in his work to give them better effect from the point of view from which spectators would see them.

of beaten work] See on *v.* 18.

his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers] This might rather be rendered, **its base, its stem, its flower cups** [see next verse], **its knobs, and its lilies.**

33. *Three bowls made like unto almonds*] More strictly, **three cups of almond flowers.** These appear to be the cups in immediate contact with the knobs as shewn in the sculpture.

a flower] Most of the old versions render the word as **a lily**, and this rendering well agrees with the sculpture.

the candlestick] Here, and in the two following verses, the word appears to denote *the stem*, as the essential part of the Candlestick. It would seem from *vv.* 33—35 that the ornamentation of the Candlestick consisted of uniform members, each comprising a series of an almond flower, a knob and a lily; that the stem comprised four of these members; that each pair of branches was united to the stem at one of the knobs; and that each branch comprised three members. In comparing the description in the text with the sculptured figure, allowance may be made for some deviation in the sculptor's copy, which was pardonable enough, considering the purpose for which the representation was made.

34 And in the candlestick *shall be* four bowls made like unto almonds, *with* their knops and their flowers.

35 And *there shall be* a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick.

36 Their knops and their branches shall be of the same: all it *shall be* one beaten work *of* pure gold.

37 And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof: and they shall [1]light the lamps thereof, that they may give light over against [†]it.

[1] Or, *cause to ascend.*

[†] Heb. *the face of it.*

38 And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, *shall be of* pure gold.

39 *Of* a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels.

[h] Acts 7. 44. Heb. 8. 5.

40 And [h]look that thou make *them* after their pattern, [†]which was shewed thee in the mount.

[†] Heb. *which thou wast caused to see.*

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37. *seven lamps*] These lamps were probably like those used by the Egyptians and other nations, shallow covered vessels more or less of an oval form, with a mouth at one end from which the wick protruded. This may help us to the simplest explanation of the rather obscure words, "that they may give light over against it." The Candlestick was placed on the south side of the Holy Place (xxvi. 35), with the line of lamps parallel with the wall, or, according to Josephus, somewhat obliquely. If the wick-mouths of the lamps were turned outwards, they would give light over against the Candlestick; that is, towards the north side [see Num. viii. 2].

37. *they shall light*] See marginal rendering and note on Lev. xxiv. 2.

38. *the tongs*] The Hebrew word is the same as in Is. vi. 6. The small tongs for the lamps were used to trim and adjust the wicks.

the snuff-dishes] These were shallow vessels used to receive the burnt fragments of wick removed by the tongs. The same Hebrew word is translated, in accordance with its connection, *fire pans*, xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3; and *censers*, Num. iv. 14, xvi. 6, &c. For the regulations respecting the Priests' tending the lamps, see xxvii. 20, 21, xxx. 8; Lev. xxiv. 2—4 (with the note); 2 Chro. xiii. 11.

39. *a talent of pure gold*] Amongst the discrepant estimates of the weight of the Hebrew talent, the one that appears to be received most generally would make it about 94 lbs. See on xxxviii. 27.

vessels] Rather, **utensils** [see on xxvii. 19].

Several writers have treated of the symbolism of the lights of the Golden Candlestick with their oil, of its ornamentation with the knobs and flowers, and of its branched form (Bähr, Hengstenberg, Keil, &c.). All these particulars might have been in later times appropriated by the prophetic inspiration as figures illustrative of spiritual truth. See Zech. iv. 1—14; Rev. i. 12, 13, 20. But in any especial connection with the place held by the Candlestick in the Sanctuary, as its plan was revealed to Moses, there appears to be only one peculiar point of symbolism on which stress can be laid—the fact that the lamps were seven in number. The general fashion of the Candlestick and its ornaments might have been a matter of taste; light was of necessity required in the Tabernacle, and wherever light is used in ceremonial observance, it may of course be taken in a general way as a figure of the Light of Truth; but in the Sanctuary of the covenanted people, it must plainly have been understood as expressly significant that the number of the lamps agreed with the number of the Covenant. The Covenant of Jehovah was essentially a Covenant of light.

40. See on *v.* 9.

NOTE ON CHAP. XXV. 4.

ON THE COLOURS OF THE TABERNACLE.

I.

Our version is most probably right in its rendering of the names of the three colours used in the curtains and vails of the Tabernacle. But the subject is a doubtful one. The names of colours in all languages appear to have been very vaguely used, until the progress of science in connection with the decorative arts has rendered greater precision both possible and desirable. Our own word *gray*, as applied not only to the mixture of black and white now so called, but also to the brown dress of the "gray friars" and to the cockchafer (the "gray fly" of Milton); and the Latin *purpureus* as applied to snow, the swan and the foam of the sea, to the rose, to a beautiful human eye, as well as to the colour now known as purple, may be taken as instances. The ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν of John xix. 2 is called χλαμύδα κοκκίνην in Matt. xxvii. 28. Mr.

Gladstone's essay on the use of the names of colours in Homer furnishes other illustrations[1]. That the Hebrew names were used with not more stedfastness is proved by Mr Bevan in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible' (Art. 'Colours'). The Hebrew names in the text must however have been applied at the time with distinct denotation in reference to the use of the yarn in the embroidery of the curtains. The uncertainty concerns only our discovering what the colours actually were. The earliest equivalents we have for the Hebrew words are those used by the LXX., which have been adopted by Philo and Josephus, and have been followed by the ancient versions in general. But we are unfortunately far from certain of the purport of the Greek words.

II.

The most important of the three colours mentioned in this place is the one rendered *blue*. The balance of evidence seems to be in favour of its being a pure sky blue. The Hebrew is *tĕkēleth* (תְּכֵלֶת), for which the LXX. have ὑάκινθος, and the Vulgate *Hyacinthus*. As the name of a flower, the Greek word has been taken for the iris, the gladiolus, the delphinium, or the hyacinth: as the name of a precious stone, it evidently could not, as some have supposed, belong to the amethyst, since it is mentioned with the amethyst (ἀμέθυστος) in Rev. xxi. 20; it most likely denoted the sapphire[2]: as the name of a colour, it has been supposed to denote pure blue, purple, violet, black, red or rust colour[3]. Of the different flowers to which the word has been ascribed, it may be remarked that the greater number are blue; for example, the common iris, the larkspur, the wild hyacinth, and the starch hyacinth, which is so abundant in the neighbourhood of Athens. The Hebrew word has been very generally taken to denote either blue, or bluish purple, while "the purple" associated with it has been supposed to have had a stronger red tinge. Philo[4], Josephus[5], and Saadia, with most of the Fathers and the rabbinists, appear to have understood it as the colour of the sky. Philo, who took it to symbolize the air, in the expression which he applies to the air (φύσει γὰρ μέλας), has been reasonably supposed to allude to the dark full tinge which distinguishes the skies of southern latitudes[6].

That the Egyptians in early times used indigo as a blue dye is certain[7], and it is by no means improbable that the Israelites did the same. If, as Wilkinson and others[8] suppose, the blue border of the Israelites' garments was adopted from an Egyptian custom, the facts that the Egyptian borders were certainly dyed with indigo, and that the Hebrew and Greek words expressing the colour of the Israelites' borders (Num. xv. 38). are *tĕkēleth* and ὑάκινθος, favour the notion that these words express the colour obtained from indigo. But the etymology of the Hebrew term is supposed rather to indicate that the colour was procured, like the Tyrian purple, from a shell-fish. It is conceived that while a species of Murex produced the purple, a Buccinum produced the blue[9]. Both colours were obtained by the Tyrians from "the Isles of Elishah," that is, the Isles of the Ægean Sea, where it seems most probable that each must have been obtained from the sea[10]. The art of preparing the dye from the fish is now lost, and this, of course, increases the uncertainty of the question at issue.

It is however likely that *tĕkēleth* was the name of the well-known colour obtained from more than one kind of dye. The inquiry regarding the colour itself has peculiar interest from its having been the predominating colour in the decoration of the Sanctuary. Besides taking its place with the other two colours in the curtains and vails of the Tabernacle, it is found by itself in the loops of the curtains (Ex. xxvi. 4), in the lace of the breastplate of the High Priest (xxviii. 28), in the robe of the ephod (xxviii. 31), and the lace of the mitre (xxviii. 37). In wrapping up the sacred utensils when the host was on the march, blue cloths, purple cloths, and scarlet cloths were used for the various articles according to specific directions (Num. iv.). The national significance of blue appears to be shewn in the blue fringes that have been mentioned (Num. xv. 38; cf. Matt. xxiii. 5).

Several Jewish commentators, followed by Luther and Cranmer, have taken the word *tĕkēleth* to denote *yellow silk*. It is hardly

[1] 'Essays on Homer,' Vol. III. p. 457.

[2] Professor Maskelyne considers that the hyacinth of Pliny ('H. N.' XXXVII. 40) and other classical writers was what we call the sapphire, while the stone called sapphire by the ancients was lapis lazuli. 'Edinb. Rev.' No. 253. See note on Ex. xxviii. 18.

[3] See Liddell and Scott's 'Lex.'

[4] 'Vit. Mos.' III. 6.

[5] 'Ant.' III. 7. § 7. See also note on Ex. xxv. 5.

[6] Other grounds for rendering the Hebrew word *sky blue*, rather than *violet* or *bluish purple*, as Gesenius and others have preferred, may be found in Bochart, 'Op.' Vol. III. p. 728, and Bähr, 'Symbolik,' Vol. I. p. 303.

[7] Wilkinson, 'Pop. Acc.' Vol. II. p. 78.

[8] Henstenberg, 'Egypt and the Books of Moses,' Smith, 'The Pentateuch,' p. 302.

[9] Bochart, 'Op.' p. III. 727. Gesenius, s. v. Fürst, s. v. Wilkinson, Note on Herodot. III. 20. Tristram, 'Nat. Hist. of the Bible,' p. 297.

[10] Ezek. xxvii. 7; Jer. x. 9. Cf. Plin. 'H. N.' IX. 60, *sq*.

necessary to state that the material could not have been silk [see note on Ex. xxv. 4]. The notion that the colour was yellow seems to stand upon a mere hollow conjecture suggested by the natural colour of silk.

III.

Purple is in Heb. *argāmān* (אַרְגָּמָן), in the LXX. *πορφύρα*. The derivation of the Hebrew word is doubtful, but all authorities seem to be in favour of its signifying the purple obtained from more than one species of shell-fish in the Mediterranean, which became commonly known as the Tyrian purple (Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16). The colour seems to have had a strong red tinge, and to have approached what we call crimson. The fish that produced it has been supposed to be a muscle, but it is hardly to be doubted that it was in fact a Murex, two species of which (*M. brandaris* and *M. trunculus*) might have furnished it (Tristram). Hence the dye was called *murex* by the Latin writers. The colour is mentioned in connection with the Sanctuary only in combination with blue and scarlet in the curtains and vails and in some of the cloths for wrapping (Num. iv. 13). The estimation in which the dye was held may be inferred from Judg. viii. 26; Esth. i. 6; Prov. xxxi. 22.

IV.

Scarlet is in Hebrew *tola'ath shāni* (תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי), in LXX. *κόκκινος διπλοῦς*, and in Vulg. "coccus bistinctus[1]." But the literal translation of the two Hebrew words is *scarlet worm*, while in Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 49, 51, 52, the words are transposed (שְׁנִי תוֹלַעַת), so as to signify *worm scarlet*. The word *shāni*, by itself, denotes scarlet in Gen. xxxviii. 28, 30; Josh. ii. 18; Prov. xxxi. 21, &c. Ancient and modern authorities agree as to the colour, which is uniformly called scarlet in our version except in Jer. iv. 30, where it is rendered *crimson*. The dye used to produce the colour in the vail of the Temple is called *karmil* (כַּרְמִיל), 2 Chron. ii. 7, 14, iii. 14, where it is rendered *crimson*, though there is no reason to doubt that the colour was the same as the *scarlet* of the Tabernacle. It appears to have been obtained from the *coccus ilicis*, the cochineal insect of the holm oak, which was used in the East before the *coccus cacti*, the well-known cochineal of the prickly pear, was introduced from Mexico. The Arabic name for it is *kermez*, which is evidently related to the Hebrew word *karmil*. The root *karm* exists in our *crimson* and *carmine*. In the use of the Sanctuary, it is found only in the figured curtains and embroidery associated with blue and purple, and in the wrapping cloths (Num. iv. 8). It appears to have had a special connection with the rites of purification in association with hyssop and cedar (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 49, 51, 52; Num. xix. 6; Heb. ix. 19).

V.

On the whole, there does not seem to be much ground to doubt that our version, in rendering the names of the colours of the woven and embroidered work of the Sanctuary, expresses the most probable conclusions.

The three colours, blue, scarlet and purple, have been recognized all but universally as royal colours, such as were best suited for the decoration of a palace[2]. This fact appears to furnish sufficient ground for their having been appointed as the colours for the embroidery which was to adorn the dwelling-place of Jehovah. Many have, however, imagined that there was some other symbolical significance in them. See Bähr, 'Symbolik,' Vol. I. p. 324; Dr W. L. Alexander in Kitto's 'Cyclo.' Vol. I. p. 541, &c.

NOTE ON CHAP. XXV. 17.

ON THE NAME, MERCY SEAT.

The word *kapporeth* (כַּפֹּרֶת) is never applied to anything except the golden cover of the Ark. The root from which it comes, *kāphar* (כָּפַר), without doubt signifies *to cover*, and bears an obvious resemblance to our word *cover*. In one passage of the Old Testament, but in one only, the Hebrew word, in its *Kal* or primitive form, is used in this sense in reference to covering the Ark of Noah with pitch (Gen. vi. 14). In the *Piel* form (*Kipper*, כִּפֶּר) the root is used nearly seventy times, and always in the sense of *forgiving* or *reconciling*, that is of covering up offences. Now a large number of recent authorities, Jewish and others[3], have preferred to take *kapporeth* in the simple sense of *a cover*. Josephus and Saadia give countenance to this rendering. The question thus brought before us is, was the *kapporeth* originally regarded as a mere part of the Ark, or as something having a distinct significance, and a recognized designation, of its own? The inquiry is of great importance, from its bearing on the character

[1] The Greek and Latin renderings appear to be based on a mistake in regard to the word שָׁנִי, which, with other vowel points, would mean *twice*.

[2] See Esth. i. 6, viii. 15; 2 S. i. 24; Cant. iii. 10; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxiii. 6; Dan. v. 7; Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xviii. 12, &c.

[3] Kimchi, Mendelsohn, de Wette, Gesenius, Schott, Fürst, Zunz, Knobel, Herxheimer, Leeser, Benisch, Sharpe, &c. But amongst the Jewish commentators, Wogue and Kalisch are exceptions.

of the Mosaic ritual. The latter view appears to deserve the preference on these grounds;—

1. In the order of the sacred text, the Mercy seat is described by itself, and is directed to be placed "above upon the Ark" (Ex. xxv. 17—22, xxvi. 34): it is never called *the cover* (or *kapporeth*) *of the Ark*, but is always mentioned as a distinct thing (Ex. xxx. 6, xxxi. 7, xxxv. 12, xxxvii. 6—9, xxxix. 35; Lev. xvi. 13; Num. vii. 89, &c.).

2. The Holy of Holies is called in the first Book of Chronicles (xxviii. 11) *the house of the kapporeth* (בֵּית הַכַּפֹּרֶת); and in Leviticus (xvi. 2) it is called the place *within the vail before the kapporeth, which is upon the Ark*. Such expressions as these seem clearly to indicate that the *kapporeth* could not have been regarded as a mere subordinate part of the Ark.

3. An argument scarcely less strong may be drawn from the relationship of the word *kapporeth* to *kippurim* (כִּפֻּרִים)=*atonements*, in connection with the rites of the Day of Atonement, or (as it is literally) the Day of Atonements. No part of the Sanctuary is so intimately connected with the *kippurim* made on that day by the High Priest as the *kapporeth* (Lev. xvi. 2, 13, 14, 15). The phraseology of these passages is certainly not such as could be well accounted for by the mere position of the *kapporeth* as the cover of the Ark.

4. The general current of the most ancient Jewish tradition evidently favours the derivation of *kapporeth* from *kipper* (כִּפֶּר), the *Piel* form of the verb, which, as it has been already observed, nowhere bears any other meaning than *to atone*, or *to shew mercy*. The oldest authority is the Septuagint, in which the word is rendered ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα[1]. Philo speaks of the cover of the Ark being called in the Scripture ἱλαστήριον, as a symbol τῆς ἵλεω τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως[2]. Rabbinical tradition furnishes evidence to the same effect. The vowel points in the word *kapporeth* (כַּפֹּרֶת) are such as to connect it with the *Piel* form *kipper*, rather than with the *Kal* form *kāphar*. Another argument may be added from the use in the Targums of the same expression as is found 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, *the house of the kapporeth* [see § 2], to answer to "the oracle" (דְּבִיר) in 1 K. vi. 5.

5. We might at once settle the question as to the Mercy seat having a meaning of its own by referring to the passages in the New Testament in which the word ἱλαστήριον occurs (Heb. ix. 5; Rom. iii. 25). But it is satisfactory to have such clear evidence as exists that the New Testament use of the word is not a late or artificial adaptation of it, but a clear and simple application of its original meaning.

[1] Fürst, following certain Jewish authorities, conceives that ἱλαστήριον is a gloss of later date. But this is evidently a mere conjecture of prejudice.

[2] 'Vit. Mos.' III. 8.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 The ten curtains of the tabernacle. 7 The eleven curtains of goats' hair. 14 The covering of rams' skins. 15 The boards of the tabernacle, with their sockets and bars. 31 The vail for the ark. 36 The hanging for the door.

MOREOVER thou shalt make the tabernacle *with* ten curtains *of* fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: *with* cherubims of † cunning work shalt thou make them.

† Heb. *the work of a cunning workman, or, embroiderer.*

THE TABERNACLE.

xxvi. 1—37. (xxxvi. 8—38.)

CHAP. XXVI. The Tabernacle was to comprise three main parts, the TABERNACLE, more strictly so-called, its TENT, and its COVERING (Ex. xxxv. 11, xxxix. 33, 34, xl. 19, 34; Num. iii. 25, &c.). These parts are very clearly distinguished in the Hebrew, but they are confounded in many places of the English Version [see on *vv.* 7, 9, &c.], and in still more places of the LXX., the Vulgate, and other versions, ancient and modern. The TABERNACLE itself was to consist of curtains of fine linen woven with coloured figures of Cherubim, and a structure of boards which was to contain the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place; the TENT was to be a true tent of goats' hair cloth to contain and shelter the Tabernacle: the COVERING was to be of red rams' skins and tachash skins [see on xxv. 5], and was spread over the goats' hair tent as an additional protection against the weather. On the external form of the Tabernacle and the arrangement of its parts, see Note at the end of the chap. The account of its completion is given ch. xxxvi. 8—38.

THE TABERNACLE.

xxvi. 1—6. (Cf. xxxvi. 8—13.)

1. *tabernacle*] The Hebrew is *mishkān, i.e.* dwelling-place (Job xviii. 21, xxi. 28; Ps. xlix. 11; Is. xxii. 16, &c. &c.). When it denotes the Dwelling-place of Jehovah, it is

2 The length of one curtain *shall be* eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and every one of the curtains shall have one measure.

3 The five curtains shall be coupled together one to another; and *other* five curtains *shall be* coupled one to another.

4 And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the uttermost edge of *another* curtain, in the coupling of the second.

5 Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that *is* in the coupling of the second; that the loops may take hold one of another.

6 And thou shalt make fifty taches

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regularly accompanied by the definite article (*hammishkān*). The word tabernacle (which our translators took from the Vulgate) might fitly designate the structure of boards which formed the walls of the Holy Places, but its meaning does not etymologically answer to *mishkān*. The Hebrew word is however uniformly rendered tabernacle in our Bible: the confusion to which reference has been made in the preceding note occurs in rendering the names of the Tent and the Covering.

It should be noticed that in this place *hammishkān* is not used in its full sense as denoting the dwelling-place of Jehovah: it denotes only the tabernacle cloth. It was the textile work which was regarded as the essential part of the Tabernacle, and this is apparent in our version of *v.* 6. The tent-cloth in like manner and for the like reason is called simply the Tent (*v.* 11). The wooden parts of both the Tabernacle and the Tent are evidently mentioned as if they were subordinate to the textile parts.—The word *mishkān* is employed with three distinct ranges of meaning, (1) in its strict sense, comprising the cloth of the Tabernacle with its woodwork (Exod. xxv. 9, xxvi. 30, xxxvi. 13, xl. 18, &c.); (2) in a narrower sense, for the tabernacle-cloth only (Exod. xxvi. 1, 6, xxxv. 11, xxxix. 33, 34, &c.); (3) in a wider sense, for the *Mishkān* with its Tent and Covering (Exod. xxvii. 19, xxxv. 18, &c.).

with ten curtains] Rather, **of ten breadths**. The Hebrew word (*yĕrī'ah*) is everywhere in our version rendered *a curtain*. Some corresponding word is used in the Ancient Versions (LXX. αὐλαία, Vulg. *cortina*) and in some modern ones. In such places as Ps. civ. 2, Is. liv. 2, Jer. iv. 20, the Hebrew word is evidently applied to an entire tent-curtain. But in connection with the Sanctuary it always denotes what in English would more strictly be called a breadth. Five of these breadths were united so as to form what, in common usage, we should call a large curtain. (See on *v.* 3.) The word curtain will be used in this, its ordinary sense, in these notes. The two curtains thus formed were coupled together by the loops and taches to make the entire tabernacle-cloth, which is what is here called "the tabernacle." See preceding note.

fine twined linen] *i.e.* the most carefully spun thread of flax, each thread consisting of two or more smaller threads twined together (see Wilkinson, 'Pop. Account,' II. 76). On the original word for *linen*, see on xxv. 4.

blue, and purple, and scarlet] See on xxv. 4.

cherubims] See on xxv. 18.

of cunning work] More properly, **of the work of the skilled weaver**. The coloured figures of Cherubim were to be worked in the loom, as in the manufacture of tapestry and carpets: in the hangings for the Tent they were to be embroidered with the needle [see on *v.* 36]. On the different kinds of workmen employed on the textile fabrics, see on xxxv. 35.

3. Each curtain formed of five breadths (see on *v.* 1), was 42 feet in length and 30 feet in breadth, taking the cubit at 18 inches.

4. This verse is obscure as it stands in our version, nor is it easy to render the original word for word so as to make the sense clear. But the meaning appears to be, *And thou shalt make loops of blue on the selvedge of the one breadth (which is) on the side (of the one curtain) at the coupling; and the same shalt thou do in the selvedge of the outside breadth of the other (curtain) at the coupling.* The "coupling" is the uniting together of the two curtains. This explanation substantially agrees with the Ancient Versions and most of the modern ones.

5. The words "in the edge of the curtain that is in the coupling of the second," mean, *on the edge of the breadth that is at the coupling in the second (curtain).*—The word rendered "loops" (*lulaoth*) only occurs here and in xxxvi. 11. It is doubtful whether it has connection with any Semitic root; it is probably of Egyptian origin. Conjectures on the other side may be seen in Gesenius' 'Handwörterbuch,' and Fürst's 'Lex.'

6. *taches of gold*] Each clasp, or *tache*, was to unite two opposite loops. On the Heb. word for *tache*, see p. 375, note 7.

of gold, and couple the curtains together with the taches: and it shall be one tabernacle.

7 ¶ And thou shalt make curtains *of* goats' *hair* to be a covering upon the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make.

8 The length of one curtain *shall be* thirty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and the eleven curtains *shall be all* of one measure.

9 And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tabernacle.

10 And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain *that is* outmost in the coupling, and fifty loops in the edge of the curtain which coupleth the second.

11 And thou shalt make fifty taches of brass, and put the taches into the loops, and couple the [1]tent together, that it may be one. [1] Or, *covering.*

12 And the remnant that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the backside of the tabernacle.

13 And a cubit on the one side, and a cubit on the other side [†]of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, it shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to cover it. [†] Heb. *in the remainder,* or, *surplusage.*

14 And thou shalt make a covering for the tent *of* rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above *of* badgers' skins.

15 ¶ And thou shalt make boards for the tabernacle *of* shittim wood standing up.

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couple the curtains] *i.e.* couple the two outside breadths mentioned in *v.* 4.

it shall be one tabernacle] The tabernacle-cloth alone is here meant. See on *v.* 1. For the mode in which the tabernacle-cloth was disposed, see Note at the end of the chap., § IV.

The Tent-cloth.

7—13 (xxxvi. 14—18).

7. *curtains*] See on *v.* 1.

of goats' hair] See on xxv. 4.

a covering upon the tabernacle] **a tent over the Tabernacle.** The same Hebrew words are rightly translated xxxvi. 14. The name *ohel*, which is here used, is the regular one for a tent of skins or cloth of any sort. See introd. note to ch. xxv., and Note at the end of this chap. § II.

9. The width of each breadth of the tent-cloth was to be four cubits, the same as that of the breadths of the figured cloth of the Tabernacle (*v.* 2). But the length was to be two cubits more, and there was to be an additional breadth (*v.* 13). One of the curtains (see on *v.* 1) was to comprise five breadths and the other six.

shalt double the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tabernacle] The last word should be **Tent**, not tabernacle. The passage might be rendered, *thou shalt equally divide the sixth breadth at the front of the Tent.* In this way, half a breadth would overhang at the front and half at the back. See *v.* 12, and Note at the end of the chapter.

10. The meaning may be thus given:—*And thou shalt make fifty loops on the selvedge of the outside breadth of the one (curtain) at the coupling, and fifty loops on the selvedge of the outside breadth of the other (curtain) at the coupling.* Cf. note *v.* 4.

11. In the Tent, clasps of bronze were used to unite the loops of the two curtains; in the Tabernacle, clasps of gold, cf. *v.* 6 and on *v.* 37.

couple the tent together] This is the right translation. The "covering," as the alternative for *tent* given in the margin, is wrong. See introd. note to this chap. By "the tent" is here meant the tent-cloth alone. See on *v.* 1.

12. *the half curtain*] See on *v.* 9, and Note at the end of the chapter, § IV.

13. The measure of the entire tabernacle-cloth was 40 cubits by 28; that of the tent-cloth was 44 cubits by 30. When the latter was placed over the former, it spread beyond it at the back and front two cubits (the "half-curtain" *vv.* 9, 12) and at the sides one cubit. See Note at the end of the chapter.

The Covering for the Tent.

v. 14. (Cf. xxxvi. 19.)

14. *rams' skins dyed red*] See on xxv. 5.

badgers' skins] The skin, not of the badger, but of a marine animal called *tachash*, perhaps the dugong or the seal. See on xxv. 5.

The Boards and Bars of the Tabernacle.

15—30 (xxxvi. 20—34).

15. *boards*] There is no reason to doubt that these were simple boards or planks (Vulg.

16 Ten cubits *shall be* the length of a board, and a cubit and a half *shall be* the breadth of one board.

† Heb. *hands.*

17 Two †tenons *shall there be* in one board, set in order one against another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

18 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle, twenty boards on the south side southward.

19 And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

20 And for the second side of the tabernacle on the north side *there shall be* twenty boards:

21 And their forty sockets *of* silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

22 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards.

23 And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

24 And they shall be †coupled together beneath, and they shall be coupled together above the head of it

† Heb. *twinned.*

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tabulæ), of sufficient thickness for the stability of the structure. They are called *pillars* in Greek (LXX. στύλοι, Philo and Josephus, κίονες). Bähr adopts the rabbinical notion that they were a cubit in thickness; Josephus, with greater probability, says that they were four fingers.

of shittim wood] The shittah tree (*Acacia seyal*, see on xxv. 5) has been said to be too small to produce boards of the size here described. It has been conjectured that each board was jointed up of several pieces. But Mr Tristram regards this conjecture as needless, and states that there are acacia-trees near Engedi which would produce boards four feet in width ('Nat. Hist. of the Bible,' p. 392). If there are no trees so large in the Peninsula of Sinai at this time, liberal allowance may be made for the diminished capabilities of the region for the production of timber.

17. *tenons*] See Note at the end of the chapter.

18. The dimensions of the wooden part of the Tabernacle are not directly stated; but they are easily made out from the measurement, number and arrangement of the boards, if we estimate each of the corner boards (*v.* 23) as adding half a cubit to the width. The entire length of the structure was thirty cubits in the clear, and its width ten cubits. With this agree Philo ('Vit. Mos.' III. 7), Josephus ('Ant.' III. 6. § 3), and all tradition.

the south side southward] The Hebrew phrase, which also occurs xxvii. 9, xxxvi. 23, xxxviii. 9, is relieved from pleonasm if it is rendered, **the south side on the right.** (Geneva Fr., Zunz, Leeser; cf. Gesen. p. 600.) As the entrance of the Tabernacle was at its east end, the south side, to a person entering it, would be on the *left* hand: but we learn from Josephus ('Ant.' VIII. 3. § 6) that it was usual in speaking of the Temple to identify the south with the right hand and the north with the left hand, the entrance being regarded as the face of the structure and the west end as its back.

19. *sockets*] More literally, **bases.** The same word is rightly rendered "foundations" in Job xxxviii. 6: most versions in this place translate it by some word equivalent to *bases*. Each base weighed a talent, that is, about 94 lbs. (see xxxviii. 27), and must have been a massive block. Nothing is said of the form, but as the tenons of the boards were "set in order one against another" (*v.* 17), the bases may have fitted together so as to make a continuous foundation for the walls of boards, presenting a succession of sockets, or mortices (each base having a single socket), into which the tenons were to fit. This seems to have been the notion of Philo and Josephus [see Note at the end of chapter, § I.]. The bases served not only for ornament but also for a protection of the lower ends of the boards from the decay which would have resulted from contact with the ground. The word *socket* seems to have been adopted from Josephus. The word he uses is στρόφιγξ, which does not answer to the Hebrew etymologically, as the βάσις of the LXX. and Philo does; but there is an obvious resemblance which seems to have struck him between what is here spoken of and the socket (στροφίγξ) in which the tenon of a door turns to serve as a hinge, according to common Eastern custom.

22. *the sides of the tabernacle westward*] Rather, **the back of the Tabernacle towards the west.** See on *v.* 18.

23. *in the two sides*] Rather, **at the back.** So LXX., Vulg., Luther, de Wette, Zunz, Herxh., &c.

24. The corner boards appear to have been of such width, and so placed, as to add

unto one ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two corners.

25 And they shall be eight boards, and their sockets *of* silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

26 ¶ And thou shalt make bars *of* shittim wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

27 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side of the tabernacle, for the two sides westward.

28 And the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end.

29 And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings *of* gold *for* places for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold.

30 And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle [a] according to the fashion thereof which was shewed thee in the mount.

[a] chap. 25. 9, 40. Acts 7. 44. Heb. 8. 5.

31 ¶ And thou shalt make a vail *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work: with cherubims shall it be made:

32 And thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of shittim *wood* overlaid with gold: their hooks *shall be of* gold, upon the four sockets of silver.

33 ¶ And thou shalt hang up the vail under the taches, that thou mayest

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a cubit to the width of the structure, making up with the six boards of full width (*v.* 22) ten cubits in the clear (see on *v.* 18). There is no occasion to imagine, as some have done, that each of them consisted of two strips mitered together longitudinally so as to form a corner by itself. They may have been simple boards with the width of half a cubit added to the thickness of the boards of the sides. The boards at the corners were to be coupled together at the top "unto one ring," and at the bottom "unto one ring," and each ring was to be so formed as to receive two bars meeting at a right angle.

26, 27. See on *v.* 28, and Note at the end of the chapter, § I.

27. *for the two sides westward*] **for the back towards the west.** Cf. *v.* 22.

28. *in the midst of the boards*] The middle bar was distinguished from the other bars by its reaching from end to end. The Hebrew might mean either that the *midst* throughout which it ran was the middle between the top and the bottom of the boards, or that it was a passage for it bored through the substance of the wood out of sight. The latter would seem to have been the notion of our translators. See xxxvi. 33. But if we suppose the boards to have been of ordinary thickness [see on *v.* 16], by far the more likely supposition is that the bar was visible and passed through an entire row of rings. In either case, it served to hold the whole wall together. On the probable relation of this middle bar to the others, see Note and woodcut, p. 377.

29. *overlay... with gold*] See on xxv. 11. *their rings*] See on *v.* 28.

30. Cf. xxv. 9, 40.

The Vail and the Holy Places.

31—35. (Cf. xxxvi. 35, 36.)

31. *vail*] The Hebrew word literally means *separation* [see on xxxv. 12].

blue, and purple, and scarlet] See on xxv. 4.

twined linen] See on *v.* 1.

of cunning work, &c.] **of work of the skilled weaver** [see on *v.* 1, and on xxxv. 35] **shall it be made, with Cherubim.**

cherubims] The vail of the first Temple was in like manner adorned with Cherubim (2 Chron. iii. 14). It is remarkable that Josephus describes the vail of the Tabernacle as woven with flowers and all sorts of ornamental forms, except the figures of living creatures ('Ant.' III. 6. § 4). He himself calls the Cherubim *living creatures* ('Ant.' III. 6. § 5), and he must have known that Ezekiel does so (x. 20). He is thus plainly at variance with the statement in Exodus. But can it be that he describes the vail according to the one which existed in the Temple in his time? If so, we obtain a striking instance of the operation of the superstition with which the Jews in later times, including Josephus himself, interpreted the second commandment (see 'Ant.' VIII. 7. § 5, and note on Ex. xx. 4). It may suggest a thought, if we may conceive that the vail of the Temple which was rent at the Crucifixion had been deprived of its characteristic symbol by the dark prejudices of the chosen people.

32. *pillars of shittim wood*, &c.] Rather, pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold, **their hooks also of gold, upon four bases of silver.** Cf. xxxvi. 36.

33. *under the taches*] These taches are not, as some suppose, the same as the *hooks* of the preceding verse. The Hebrew words

bring in thither within the vail the ark of the testimony: and the vail shall divide unto you between the holy *place* and the most holy.

34 And thou shalt put the mercy seat upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy *place*.

35 And thou shalt set the table without the vail, and the candlestick over against the table on the side of the tabernacle toward the south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side.

36 And thou shalt make an hanging for the door of the tent, *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework.

37 And thou shalt make for the hanging five pillars *of* shittim *wood*, and overlay them with gold, *and* their hooks *shall be of* gold: and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

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are quite different. These are the taches of the tabernacle-cloth (see *v.* 6). On the difficulty of the statement, see Note at the end of the chapter, § I.

34. *mercy seat upon the ark of the testimony*] See on xxv. 10—16. The Samaritan text here inserts the passage regarding the Altar of Incense from ch. xxx. 1—10. The omission of all mention of this altar in this place is strange, but the reading of the Samaritan bears marks of an intended emendation, and cannot represent the original text.

35. *candlestick*] See on xxv. 31.

table] See on xxv. 23.

The Front of the Tent.

36, 37. (Cf. xxxvi. 37, 38.)

36. *hanging*] Rather, **curtain** [see on xxvii. 16].

the door of the tent] **the entrance to the Tent.** The word is *pethach*, that is the opening which it is the office of the door (*deleth*), or as in this place, of the curtain (*māsāk*), to close. The distinction between *door* and *entrance* is generally overlooked in our version. See on Lev. viii. 3.

wrought with needlework] **the work of the embroiderer.** The breadths of the cloth and the vail of the Tabernacle were to be of **the work of the skilled weaver**; the entrance curtain of the Tent and that of the Court (xxvii. 16) were to be of the same materials, but embroidered with the needle, not wrought in figures in the loom. [See on *v.* 1, and on xxxv. 35.]

37. *hanging*] **curtain** as in *v.* 36.

five pillars] These, it should be observed, belonged to the entrance of the Tent, not, in their architectural relation, to the entrance of the Tabernacle [see Note, § III.].

overlay them with gold] See on xxv. 11.

their hooks] See on *v.* 33. These pillars had chapiters (capitals), and fillets (**connecting rods**, see on xxvii. 10), overlaid with gold (xxxvi. 38). Their bases (see on *v.* 19) were of bronze (like the taches of the tent-cloth), not of silver, to mark the inferiority of the Tent to the Tabernacle.

NOTE ON CHAP. XXVI. 1—37.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE.

I. *The Mishkān, its Tent and its Covering.* II. *Common view of the arrangement of the parts.* III. *Mr Fergusson's theory.* IV. *The place of the tabernacle cloth.* V. *Symmetry of the proposed arrangement.* VI. *The Court.*

The chief portions of the structure are described with remarkable clearness in Exodus xxvi. and a second time in ch. xxxvi. It would however seem that those parts only are distinctly mentioned which formed visible features in the completed fabric. Mere details of construction were most probably carried out according to the mechanical usage of the time.

If we take this for granted, the sacred text appears to furnish sufficient information to enable us to realize with confidence the form and the general arrangements of the Tabernacle as well as of its Court. But the subject has been encumbered ever since the time of Philo[1] with certain traditional notions which are opposed not only to the words of Exodus, but to the plainest principles of constructive art.

I.

It has been already stated[2] that three principal parts of the Sanctuary are clearly distinguished in the Hebrew, though they are confounded in most versions. These parts are—

1. THE DWELLING PLACE, or THE TABERNACLE, strictly so called; in Hebrew, *hammishkān* (הַמִּשְׁכָּן) [note on xxvi. 1].
2. The TENT, in Heb. *ohel* (אֹהֶל).
3. The COVERING, in Heb. *mikseh* (מִכְסֶה)

[1] 'Vit. Mos.' III. 4 sq.

[2] Introd. Note to chap. xxvi.

1. The materials for THE MISHKĀN were a great cloth of woven work figured with Cherubim measuring forty cubits by twenty-eight cubits, and a quadrangular enclosure of wood, open at one end, ten cubits in height, ten cubits in width and thirty cubits in length.

The size of the Tabernacle cloth is indicated beyond the reach of doubt by the number and dimensions of the ten breadths (or "curtains") of which it consisted[1]. The size of the wooden enclosure is made out almost as certainly from the number and measurements of the boards[2].

The boards were set upright, each of them being furnished at its lower extremity with two tenons which fitted into mortices in two heavy bases of silver. The whole of these bases placed side by side probably formed a continuous wall-plinth[3]. The boards were furnished with rings or loops of gold so fixed as to form rows, when the boards were set up, and through these rings bars were thrust. There were five bars for each side of the structure and five for the back[4]. The middle bar of each wall "was to reach from end to end," and this plainly distinguished it from the other four bars. It is inferred with great probability that this middle bar was twice as long as the others, that there were three rows of rings, and that the half of each wall was fastened together by two of the shorter bars, one near the top, the other near the bottom, while the two halves were united into a whole by the middle bar reaching from end to end[5]. Thus each wall must have been furnished with four short bars and one long one. Each of the rings near the top and the bottom of the two corner boards was shaped in some way so as to receive the ends of two bars, one belonging to the back, the other to the side, meeting at a right angle. In this way the walls were "coupled together" at the corners[6].

There is nothing said from which we can decide whether the rings and bars were on the outside or the inside of the wooden structure. From the rich materials of which they were made, it seems not unlikely that they constituted an ornamental feature on the inside. It may be added, that on the inside they would tend to make the structure firm more than on the outside.

So far it is not difficult to see nearly what THE MISHKĀN must have been. But it is not so easy to determine the way in which the great figured cloth that belonged to it was arranged. The question must be considered in connection with the description of the parts of the TENT.

[1] Ex. xxvi. 1–6; xxxvi. 8—13.
[2] See on Ex. xvi. 18.
[3] See on xxvi. 19.
[4] Ex. xxvi. 26–28; xxxvi. 31—33.
[5] See on Ex. xvi. 28, and woodcut, p. 377.
[6] Ex. xxvi. 24; xxxvi. 29.

There is another difficulty, by far less easy of solution, which may be stated here. It affects the internal arrangement. The vail which separated the Most Holy Place from the Holy Place was suspended from golden hooks attached to four pillars overlaid with gold, standing upon silver bases. But the position of these pillars is not mentioned in Exodus. It is indeed said that the vail was hung "under the taches[7]." Now the taches of the tabernacle cloth must have been fifteen cubits from the back of the Mishkān, that is, half way between its back and front. But according to Philo, Josephus, and all tradition, supported by every consideration of probability, the vail was ten cubits, not fifteen, from the back, and the Holy of Holies was a cubical chamber of corresponding measurement. The statement that the vail was hung "under the taches" remains unexplained. But this difficulty is by no means such as to be set in opposition to any view that may meet all other conditions expressed or involved in the narrative.

2. The TENT is described as consisting of a great tent-cloth of goats' hair, which, according to the number and dimensions of its breadths, was forty-four cubits by thirty[8], and five pillars overlaid with gold standing on bases of bronze, and furnished with golden hooks from which was suspended the curtain that served to close the entrance of the Tent[9].

3. Of the COVERING of rams' skins and tachash skins, nothing whatever is said except as regards the materials of which it was composed[10].

II.

It has been usual to represent the Tabernacle as consisting of the wooden structure which has been described, with the masses of drapery and skins thrown over it "as a pall is thrown over a coffin." There was first the figured

[7] Ex. xxvi. 33. This is not mentioned in ch. xxxvi., where the manufacture of the parts, and not their arrangement, is spoken of. It has been imagined that the *taches* were the same as the *hooks* from which the vail was actually hung (Ex. xxvi. 32). But the words are quite distinct. The word rendered *tache* is *keres* (קֶרֶס), which is supposed to be derived from a root which signifies to bind; that rendered *hook*, is *vāv* (וָו), which is the name of the Hebrew letter shaped like a hook suited for hanging anything on (ו); its origin is unknown. *Keres* is used only in reference to the taches of the tabernacle-cloth and of the tent-cloth of the Sanctuary (Ex. xxvi. 6, 33, &c.), and *vāv* only in reference to the hooks of the vail and of the tent-curtain.

[8] Ex. xxvi. 7—13; xxxvi. 14—18.
[9] Ex. xxvi. 36, 37; xxxvi. 37, 38.
[10] Ex. xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 19. See on xxv. 5.

cloth recognized as part of THE MISHKĀN, then the goats' hair cloth of the TENT, and then the twofold COVERING of skins.

A modification of this arrangement was suggested by Vater and adopted by Bähr[1], which has the advantage of displaying the figured cloth and of connecting it more strictly with the Mishkān, though in no very graceful or convenient manner. It was supposed that this cloth was strained over the top of the structure like a ceiling and fastened to the top of the boards in some way, so as to hang down and cover the walls on the inside as a tapestry, leaving a cubit at the bases of the boards bare, to show as a sort of skirting.

With the exception of certain expressions in Josephus[2], the whole current of opinion seems to have been in favour of this general arrangement of the parts of the Tabernacle. But it should be kept in view that the subject is one in which tradition cannot be of much value. We may allow that it is just possible, though by no means probable, that some points of detail besides what are actually recorded, or some special knowledge of the meaning of technical terms, may have been handed down from the time of Moses. But in a case of this kind we certainly need not hesitate to set tradition aside, whenever it is in conflict either with the letter of Scripture, or with reasonable probability.

The objections to the common theory are these:—

1. The arrangement proposed makes out the fabric to have been unsightly in its form and to have had a great part of the beauty of its materials entirely concealed.

2. It would be quite impossible to strain drapery over a space of fifteen feet, so as to prevent it from heavily sagging; and no flat roof of such materials could by any means be rendered proof against the weather.

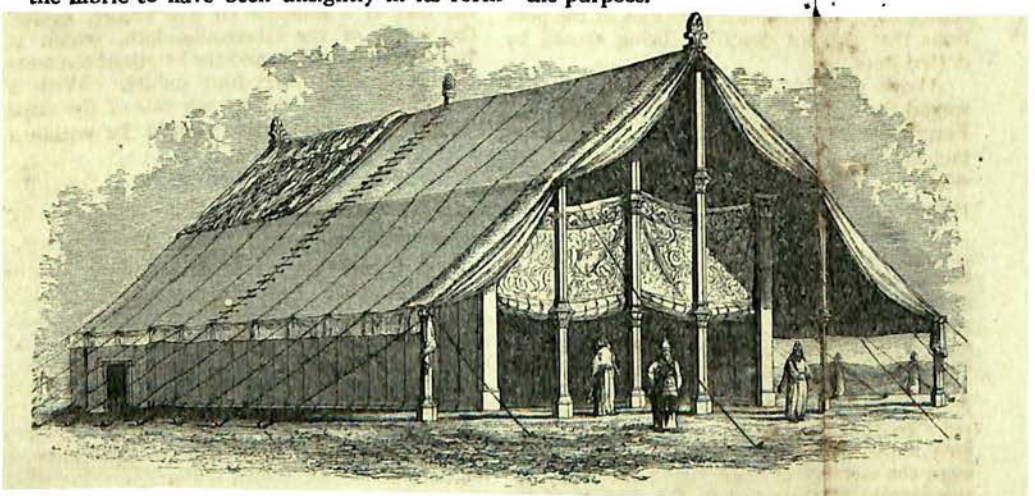
3. It is hard to assign any use to the pins and cords of the Tabernacle[4] (which would be essential in the construction of a tent[5]) if the curtains and skins were merely thrown over the woodwork and allowed to hang down on each side.

4. The shelter of the Mishkān is always called in Hebrew by a name which, in its strict use, can denote nothing but a tent, properly so called, of cloth or skins.

5. An essential part of the Tent was the row of five pillars at its entrance[6]: if we suppose these five pillars to have stood just in front of the Mishkān, they must have been strangely out of symmetry with the four pillars of the vail, and the middle pillar must have stood needlessly and inconveniently in the way of the entrance.

III.

We are indebted to Mr Fergusson[7] for what may be regarded as a satisfactory reconstruction of the Sanctuary in all its main particulars. He holds that what sheltered the Mishkān was actually a Tent of ordinary form, such as common sense and practical experience would suggest as best suited for the purpose.

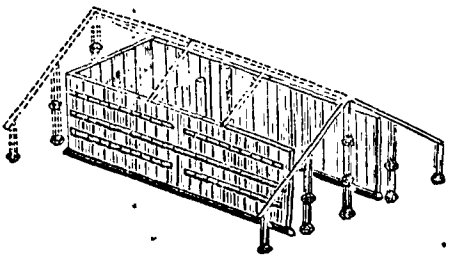


According to this view the five pillars at the entrance of the tent[3] were graduated as they would naturally be at the entrance of any large tent of the best form, the tallest one being in the middle to support one end of a ridge-pole. It has been already observed that the descriptions in Exodus appear to pass over all particulars of the construction except

[1] 'Symbolik,' I. p. 63.
[2] See p. 379.
[3] Ex. xxvi. 37.

[4] See Ex. xxvii. 19; xxxv. 18. The word "tabernacle" (*mishkān*), in these places, evidently includes the Tent as well as the Mishkān itself. See note on Ex. xxvi. 1.
[5] Cf. Jer. x. 20. [6] Ex. xxvi. 37; xxxvi. 38.
[7] Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible' Art. *Temple*.—"The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple," 1865.

those which formed visible features in the fabric. On this ground we may be allowed to suppose that there was not only a ridge-pole, but a series of pillars at the back of the Tent corresponding in height with those at the front. Such a ridge-pole, which must have been sixty feet in length[1], would have required support, and this might have been afforded by light rafters resting on the top of the boards, or, as is more in accordance with the usage of tent architecture, by a plain pole in the middle of the structure. Over this framing of wood-work the tent-cloth of goats' hair was strained with its cords and tent-pins in the usual way. There must also have been a back-cloth suspended from the pillars at the back. The heads of the pillars appear to have been united by connecting rods (in our version, "fillets") overlaid with gold. [See xxxvi. 38.]



In this cut the woodwork of the Tent and Tabernacle which is described in the text is represented, the assumed positions of the portions that are not described being shown by dotted lines.

Above the tent-cloth of goats' hair was spread the covering of red rams' skins. Mr Fergusson conceives that the covering of tachash skins[2] above this did not cover the whole roof, but served only as "a coping or ridge-piece" to protect the crest of the roof.

[1] Mr Fergusson considers that "the middle bar in the midst of the boards" (Ex. xxvi. 28; xxxvi. 33) was the ridge-pole, and he would render the verse, "And the middle bar which is between the boards shall reach from end to end." But even if this rendering is allowable, we venture to think that the expression "from end to end" cannot, according to the context, refer to the Tent, but only to the wooden part of the Mishkān (see Plan, p. 378). Moreover, the methodical arrangement of the descriptions would be disturbed by the mention of the ridge-pole in Ex. xxvi. 28 and in xxxvi. 33. It could only be introduced in proper order in connection either with the cloth of the Tent (after xxvi. 13 and xxxvi. 18), or with its five pillars (after xxvi. 37 and xxxvi. 36). As however, according to the view here given, there must have been a ridge-pole of some sort, the question involves no essential particular of the construction of the fabric. See on xxvi. 28.

[2] Ex. xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 19. See note on xxv. 5.

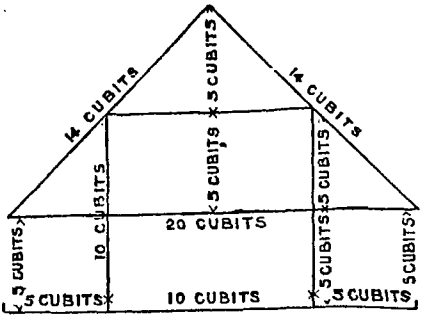
IV.

The next inquiry relates to the position of the Tabernacle-cloth of fine linen and coloured yarns.

It is evident that the relation in which the measurement of the tabernacle-cloth stood to that of the tent-cloth had an important bearing on the place of each of them in the structure. The tent-cloth is said to have extended a cubit on each side beyond the tabernacle-cloth[3], and it appears to have extended two cubits at the back and front[4]. It would appear then that the tent-cloth was laid over the tabernacle-cloth so as to allow the excess of the dimensions of the former to be equally divided between the two sides and between the back and front. We may from these particulars infer that the tabernacle-cloth served as a lining to the other, and that they were both extended over the ridge-pole. In this way, the effect would have been produced of an ornamented open roof extending the length of the Tent.

V.

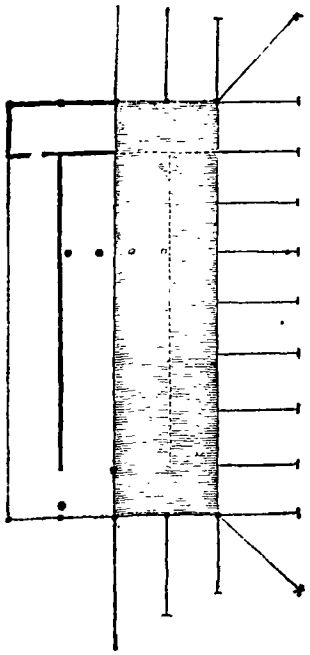
Mr Fergusson has pointed out the very remarkable consistency of the measurements of the different parts, if we accept this mode of putting them together. He assumes the angle formed by the roof to have been a right angle, as a reasonable and usual angle for such a roof, and this brings the only measurements which appear at first sight to be abnormal, into harmony. Every measurement given in the text is a multiple of five cubits, except the width of the tabernacle-cloth, which is twenty-eight cubits, and the length of the tent-cloth, which is forty-four cubits. With a right angle at the ridge, each side of the slope as shewn in this section would be within a



fraction of fourteen cubits (14.08), half the width of the tabernacle-cloth. The slope is here carried just five cubits beyond the wooden walls and to within just five cubits of the ground. The tent-cloth would hang down in a valance on each side, one cubit in depth[5].

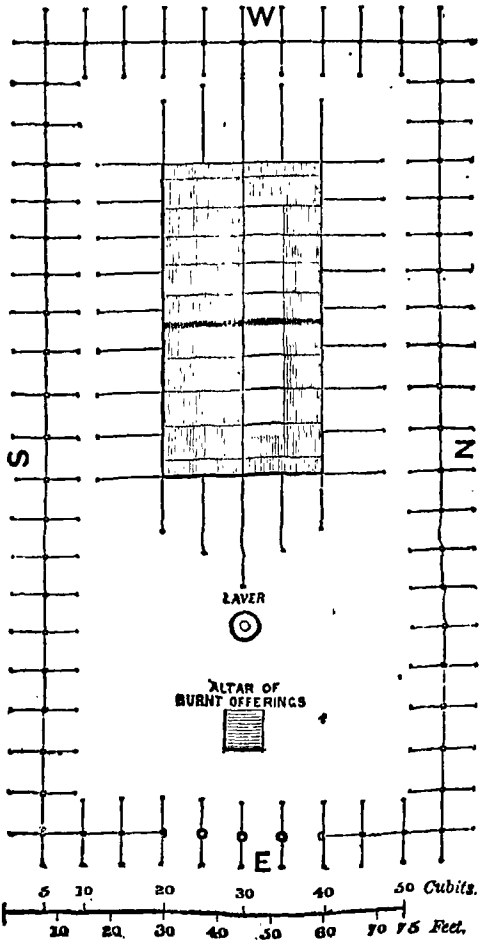
[3] Ex. xxvi. 13.
[4] Ex. xxvi. 9, 13.
[5] Ex. xxvi. 13.

If we allow the tabernacle-cloth, according to this arrangement, to determine the length of the Tent as well as its width, we obtain an area for the structure of forty cubits by twenty. The tent-cloth would of course overhang this at the back and front by two cubits, that is, half a breadth[1]. The wooden structure being placed within the Tent, there would be a space all round it of five cubits in width. This is shown in this Plan, in which one half represents the ground-plan and the other half the extended tent-cloth.



The five pillars, to reach across the front of the Tent, must have stood five cubits apart. Their heads were united by **connecting rods** ("fillets") overlaid with gold (Exod. xxxvi. 38). The space immediately within them, according to Mr Fergusson, formed a porch of five cubits in depth[2]. The spaces at the sides and back may have been wholly or in part covered in for the use of the officiating priests, like the small apartments which in after times skirted three sides of the Temple. It was probably here that those portions of the sacrifices were eaten which were not to be carried out of the sacred precinct[3].

The exact symmetrical relation which the dimensions of the Temple bore to those of the Tabernacle is not only striking in itself, but it bears a strong testimony to the correctness of Mr Fergusson's theory as regards those measurements which are not directly stated in the text, but are made out by inference from the theory. Each chief measurement of the Temple was just twice that of the Tabernacle. The Most Holy Place, a square of ten cubits in the Tabernacle[4], was one of twenty cubits in the Temple: the Holy Place, in each case, was a corresponding double square. The Porch, which was five cubits deep in the Tabernacle, was ten cubits in the Temple; the side spaces, taking account of the thickness of the walls of the Temple, were respectively five cubits and ten cubits in width; the height of the ridge-pole of the Tabernacle was fifteen cubits, that of the roof of the Holy Place in the Temple thirty cubits[5].



[1] Ex. xxvi. 9, 12.

[2] See cut, p. 376.

[3] Lev. vi. 16, 26, &c. We may infer that priests also lodged in them from Lev. viii. 33; 1 S. iii. 2, 3.

[4] It has already been observed that the length of the Most Holy Place is not given in Exodus; but ten cubits is universally accepted on the ground of inference. See § I.

[5] 1 K. vi. 2. The analogy here pointed out seems to shew the fitness of the word *tent* (Heb. *ohel*, wrongly rendered "tabernacle") as applied to the Temple in the vision of Ezekiel xli. 1).

Whether we believe the statements of Josephus to contain any elements of genuine tradition or not, it is worth noticing that in certain particulars he strikingly countenances the views of Mr Fergusson. He speaks of the Tabernacle as consisting of three parts. The third part was the Most Holy Place, the second part the Holy Place; and he seems to intimate that the remaining, or first part, was the entrance with its five pillars. He also says that the tent-curtain was so arranged in the front as to be *like a gable and a porch* (*ἀετώματι παραπλήσιον καὶ παστάδι*)[1].

It may perhaps be doubted whether there is, within the entire range of ancient literature (unless we should except the works of strictly technical writers), a description of any structure more clear and practical than that of the Tabernacle contained in the xxvith and xxxvith chapters of Exodus. Mr Fergusson's testimony on this head deserves to be quoted; "it seems to me clear that it must have been written by some one who had seen the Tabernacle standing. No one could have worked it out in such detail without ocular demonstration of the way in which the parts would fit together."

[1] 'Ant.' III. 6. § 4.

VI.

The second Plan in the preceding page exhibits the Tabernacle in its Court, with the cords and tent-pins in their proper places, as determined by Mr Fergusson in accordance with the practice of tent-architecture. It will be seen that the width of the Tent is the same as that of the entrance to the Court, which is a coincidence connected with the harmony of the arrangement that well deserves to be noticed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *The altar of burnt offering, with the vessels thereof.* 9 *The court of the tabernacle inclosed with hangings and pillars.* 18 *The measure of the court.* 20 *The oil for the lamp.*

AND thou shalt make an altar *of* shittim wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare: and the height thereof *shall be* three cubits.

2 And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof: his horns shall be of the same: and thou shalt overlay it with brass.

3 And thou shalt make his pans to receive his ashes, and his shovels, and his basons, and his fleshhooks, and his firepans: all the vessels thereof thou shalt make *of* brass.

4 And thou shalt make for it a

CHAP. XXVII.

The Altar of Burnt-offering.

1—8. (Cf. xxxviii. 1—7.)

The great Altar which stood in the Court immediately in front of the Tabernacle was commonly called the ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING, because on it were burnt the whole Burnt-offerings, and all those parts of the other animal sacrifices which were offered to the Lord. It was also called the BRAZEN ALTAR, because it was covered with bronze, in distinction from the Golden Altar, or Altar of Incense (Exod. xxxix. 38, 39, xl. 5, 6).

1. *an altar*] See Note at the end of ch. xl. § I.

2. *his horns shall be of the same*] These horns were projections pointing upwards in the form either of a small obelisk, or of the horn of an ox. They were to be actually parts of the Altar, not merely superadded to it. On them the blood of the Sin-offering was smeared (Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7, viii. 15, ix. 9, xvi. 18). To take hold of them appears to have been regarded as an emphatic mode of laying claim to the right of Sanctuary (Exod. xxi. 14; 1 K. i. 50).

3. *pans to receive his ashes*] Rather **pots** as in xxxviii. 3; 1 K. vii. 45. On the use to which these pots were put in disposing of the ashes of the Altar, see Lev. i. 16.—The Heb. word here rendered *to receive his ashes*, is remarkable. In its derivation it is connected with *fat*, and it is never used in reference to any ashes except those of the Altar. It occurs Num. iv. 13, and Ps. xx. 3; where see margin. But all authorities are agreed as to what it denotes in these places.

his basons] According to the etymology of the name (from *zārak*, to scatter) it is inferred that these vessels were used for receiving the blood of the victims and casting it upon the Altar [see xxiv. 6, Lev. i. 5, &c.].

his fleshhooks] These were for adjusting the pieces of the victim upon the Altar [cf. 1 S. ii. 13].

his firepans] The same word is rendered *snuffdishes*, xxv. 38, xxxvii. 23: *censers*, Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12, Num. iv. 14, xvi. 6, &c. These utensils appear to have been shallow metal vessels which served either to catch the snuff of the lamps when they were trimmed, or to burn small quantities of incense. No-

grate of network *of* brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four corners thereof.

5 And thou shalt put it under the compass of the altar beneath, that the net may be even to the midst of the altar.

6 And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves *of* shittim wood, and overlay them with brass.

7 And the staves shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar, to bear it.

8 Hollow with boards shalt thou make it: as [1] it was shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make *it*.

[1] Heb. *he shewed.*

9 ¶ And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for [1] the south side southward *there shall be* hangings for the court *of* fine twined linen of an hundred cubits long for one side:

10 And the twenty pillars thereof and their twenty sockets *shall be of* brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *shall be of* silver.

11 And likewise for the north side

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thing however is said of the burning of incense in immediate connection with the Brazen Altar, and it has been supposed that the firepans were employed merely to carry burning embers from the Brazen Altar to the Altar of Incense, and that this use furnishes their only claim to the name of *censers*. See on Num. xvi. 6.

5. *the compass of the altar*] This appears to have been a shelf, or projecting ledge, of convenient width, carried round the Altar half way between the top and the base, on which the priests probably stood when they tended the fire or arranged the parts of the victims. It was supported all round its outer edge by a vertical net-like grating of bronze that rested on the ground. The name is a peculiar one, occurring only in this application and only in one other place, xxxviii. 4. But there appears to be scarcely a doubt as to its meaning.

8. *Hollow with boards*] Slabs, or **planks**, rather than *boards*. The word is that which is used for the stone tables of the Law (xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18), not that applied to the boards of the Tabernacle (xxvi. 15).

There has been considerable difference of opinion regarding some points in the description of the Brazen Altar, but the most probable account of it seems to be this. It was a hollow casing, formed of stout acacia planks covered with plates of bronze, seven feet six in length and width and four feet six in height. Jewish as well as Christian authorities have supposed that, when it was fixed for use, it was filled up with earth or rough stones. If we connect this suggestion with the old rule regarding the Altar of earth and the Altar of stone given in chap. xx. 24, 25, the woodwork might in fact be regarded merely as the case of the Altar on which the victims were actually burned. The shelf round the sides (*v.* 5) was required as a stage for the priests to enable them to carry on their work conveniently on the top of the Altar. Hence it is said of Aaron that he *came down* from the Altar (Lev. ix. 22). According to rabbinical tradition, there was a slope of earth banked up for the priest to ascend to the stage (cf. Ex. xx. 26). Such a slope could only have been at the south side, as the place of ashes was on the east (Lev. i. 16), the west side was opposite the Tabernacle, and on the north the victims appear to have been slain close to the Altar [see on Lev. i. 11]. The rings for the staves for carrying the Altar were attached to the corners of the grating (*v.* 4), which must have been proportionally strong.

The Altar of Solomon's Temple is described 2 Chro. iv. 1. It was twenty cubits in length and breadth and ten cubits in height; so that it was unlike the Altar of the Tabernacle, not only in its magnitude but in its proportions. The Altar erected by Herod is said by Josephus to have been fifty cubits square and fifteen cubits high ('Bell. Jud.' v. 5. § 6).

as it was shewed thee in the mount] See on xxv. 40.

The Court of the Tabernacle.

9—19. (Cf. xxxviii. 9—20.)

9. *the south side southward*] **the south side on the right.** See on xxvi. 18.

fine twined linen] See on xxvi. 1.

10. *sockets*] **bases.** See on xxvi. 19.

fillets] Rather, **connecting rods.** So the Targums. The Hebrew word is peculiar, and may mean any sort of bonds or fastenings. What are spoken of in this place appear to have been curtain-rods of silver connecting the heads of the pillars. The hangings were attached to the pillars by the silver hooks; but the length of the space between the pillars would render it most probable that they were also in some way fastened to these rods. The capitals of the pillars were overlaid with silver, as we learn from chap. xxxviii. 17.

11. *sockets*] **bases.**

fillets] **connecting rods.**

in length *there shall be* hangings of an hundred *cubits* long, and his twenty pillars and their twenty sockets *of* brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *of* silver.

12 ¶ And *for* the breadth of the court on the west side *shall be* hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten.

13 And the breadth of the court on the east side eastward *shall be* fifty cubits.

14 The hangings of one side *of the gate shall be* fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three.

15 And on the other side *shall be* hangings fifteen *cubits:* their pillars three, and their sockets three.

16 ¶ And for the gate of the court *shall be* an hanging of twenty cubits, *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework: *and* their pillars *shall be* four, and their sockets four.

17 All the pillars round about the court *shall be* filleted with silver; their hooks *shall be of* silver, and their sockets *of* brass.

18 ¶ The length of the court *shall be* an hundred cubits, and the breadth † fifty every where, and the height five cubits *of* fine twined linen, and their sockets *of* brass. † Heb. *fifty by fifty.*

19 All the vessels of the tabernacle in all the service thereof, and all the

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13. *the east side eastward*] **on the front side eastward.** The front [see on xxvi. 18, cf. *v.* 9].

14, 15, 16. See on *v.* 18, note (*c*).

16. *an hanging*] The Hebrew word is not the same as that rendered *hanging* in *vv.* 11, 12, 14, 15, and it would be better represented by **curtain.** It strictly denotes an entrance curtain, which, unlike the hangings at the sides and back of the Court, could be drawn up, or aside, at pleasure. The words are rightly distinguished in our Bible in Num. iii. 26.

wrought with needlework] **the work of the embroiderer.** See on xxvi. 36, xxxv. 35. On the materials, see xxv. 4.

sockets] **bases.**

17. *filleted with silver*] **connected with silver rods.** See on *v.* 10.

18. (*a*) The size and general construction of the Court of the Tabernacle are described in such a way as to leave no important doubt. Its area was one hundred and fifty feet (taking the cubit at eighteen inches) in length, and seventy-five feet in width. It was enclosed by hangings of fine linen suspended from pillars seven feet six inches in height, and standing seven feet six inches apart. These pillars were connected at their heads by silver rods [see on *v.* 10]; they had silver hooks for the attachment of the hangings, and their capitals were overlaid with silver; they stood on bases of bronze. At the east end of the enclosure the linen hangings on each side were continued for twenty-two feet six inches, and the intermediate space of thirty feet was the entrance, which was closed by an embroidered curtain (*vv.* 14, 15, 16). The pillars were kept firm by cords and tent-pins of bronze [see *v.* 19, cf. Num. iii. 26].

(*b*) The position of the Tabernacle in the Court could hardly have been in the middle, as Josephus imagined ('Ant.' III. 6. § 3). It is most probable that its place was, as Philo conceived ('Vit. Mos.' III. 7), equidistant from the west, the north and the south walls of the Court, so as to leave between it and the entrance of the Court a suitable space for the Brazen Altar and the Laver. See Note at the end of ch. xxvi. with the plan of the Court, according to Fergusson, in which the feasibility of this arrangement is strikingly apparent.

(*c*) There has been a difficulty raised regarding the number and distribution of the pillars of the Court. Knobel, taking up the notion of Philo and some other interpreters, supposes that the number was fifty-six, each corner pillar being reckoned both as one for the side and as one for the end. Keil, who contends for sixty as the number, has not made the matter much clearer by his mode of explanation. The mode of stating the numbers involved in the arrangement in *vv.* 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 is perhaps a technical one. Taking it for granted that the number sixty, as given in those verses, is the true one, and that the Court measured precisely one hundred cubits by fifty, the pillars must have stood five cubits apart, which is in accordance with the general symmetry of the Sanctuary [see Note at the end of ch. xxvi. § V.]. If we may suppose the numbers, referring to each side of the enclosure, to have belonged to the spaces between the pillars rather than to the pillars themselves, the statements become clear, in reference both to the sides with their continuous hangings, and to the front where there was the entrance. See Mr Fergusson's plan, p. 378.

19. *All the vessels*, &c.] Our version here follows the Vulgate, and is obviously wrong.

pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, *shall be of* brass.

20 ¶ And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp † to burn always.

† Heb. *to ascend up.*

21 In the tabernacle of the congregation without the vail, which *is* before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: *it shall be* a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Aaron and his sons are set apart for the priest's office.* 2 *Holy garments are appointed.* 6 *The ephod.* 15 *The breastplate with twelve precious stones.* 30 *The Urim and Thummim.* 31 *The robe of the ephod, with pomegranates and bells.* 36 *The plate of the mitre.* 39 *The embroidered coat.* 40 *The garments for Aaron's sons.*

AND take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, *even* Aaron, Nadab and

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We know that the vessels of the Tabernacle were of gold, xxv. 29, 39. The Hebrew word rendered *vessels* means in the broadest sense *utensils:* it is in different places rendered *furniture, stuff, sacks, jewels, weapons,* &c. In the same connection as in this place, it is not incorrectly represented by *instruments,* Num. iii. 8. The verse might be thus translated; **All the tools of the Tabernacle** *used* **in all its workmanship, and all its tent-pins, and all the tent-pins of the court, shall be of bronze.**—The working tools of the Sanctuary were most probably such things as axes, knives, hammers, &c. that were employed in making, repairing, setting up and taking down the structure. Cf. Num. iii. 36.

the tabernacle] Heb. *hammishkān.* The word is here to be taken as including both the Mishkān and the Tent, as in Num. i. 51, 53, &c. [see on xxvi. 1].

the pins thereof,...the pins of the court] The Hebrew word is the regular name for tent-pins.

The Lamps of the Sanctuary.

vv. 20, 21.

It is not quite easy to see the reason of the insertion of these verses in this place. The passage, with unimportant verbal alterations, is repeated Lev. xxiv. 2, 3, where it is connected in a natural manner with the rules for the supplying and ordering of the Shewbread. Cf. Exod. xxv. 6, 37; xxxv. 14, xl. 4, 24, 25.

20. *pure oil olive beaten*] The oil was to be of the best kind. It is called *beaten,* because it was obtained by merely bruising the olives in a mortar or mill, without the application of heat. The finest oil is now thus obtained from young fruit freshly gathered, and hence it is sometimes distinguished as "cold drawn." The inferior kind is expressed from unselected fruit, under stronger pressure, with the application of heat.

the lamp] *i.e.* the lamps of the Golden Candlestick. [See xxv. 37.]

to burn] The word is literally rendered in the margin *to ascend up.* It should be observed that it does not properly mean to burn in the sense of to consume, and that it is the word regularly used to express the action of fire upon what was offered to Jehovah [see on Lev. i. 9].

always] *i.e.* every night "from evening till morning." Cf. xxx. 8.

21. *the tabernacle of the congregation*] More literally, **the Tent of meeting** [see Note at the end of ch. xl. § II.]. This is the first occurrence of this designation of the Tabernacle.

without the vail, which is before the testimony] *i.e.* the Holy Place [see on xxv. 16].

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE INVESTITURE OF AARON AND HIS SONS.

1—43 (Cf. xxxix. 1—31).

Moses is now commanded to commit all that pertains to the Offerings made to the Lord in the Sanctuary to the exclusive charge of the members of a single family, who were to hold their office from generation to generation. In the patriarchal times, the external rites of worship had generally been conducted by the head of the tribe or family, in accordance with the principle involved in the dedication of the firstborn (Ex. xiii. 2; Num. iii. 12, 13). Moses, as the divinely appointed and acknowledged leader of the nation, had, on a special occasion, appointed those who were to offer sacrifice, and had himself sprinkled the consecrating blood of the victims on the people (xxiv. 5, 6, 8). On the completion of the Tabernacle, after Aaron and his sons had been called to the priesthood, he took chief part in the daily service of the Sanctuary (xl. 23—29, 31, 32) until the consecration of the family of Aaron, on which occasion he appears to have exercised the priest's office for the last time (Lev. viii. 14—29; cf. Ex. xxix. 10—26). The setting apart of the whole tribe of Levi for the entire cycle of religious services is mentioned Num. iii. 5—13, viii. 5—26, xviii. 1—32.

Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.

2 And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty.

3 And thou shalt speak unto all *that are* wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they may make Aaron's garments to consecrate him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

4 And these *are* the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, a mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

5 And they shall take gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen.

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1. Nadab and Abihu, the two elder sons of Aaron, had accompanied their father and the seventy Elders when they went a part of the way with Moses up the mountain (xxiv. 1, 9). Soon after their consecration they were destroyed for "offering strange fire before the Lord" (Lev. x. 1, 2). Eleazar and Ithamar are here mentioned for the first time, except in the genealogy, vi. 23. Eleazar succeeded his father in the High-priesthood, and was himself succeeded by his son Phinehas (Judg. xx. 28). But Eli, the next High-priest named in the history, was of the line of Ithamar. The representatives of both families held office at once in the time of David. See 1 Chro. xxiv. 1—3; 2 S. viii. 17.

3. *wise hearted*] The heart was frequently spoken of as the seat of wisdom (Ex. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 10, 25, xxxvi. 1; Job ix. 4; Prov. xi. 29, xvi. 21, 23, &c.). The same notion is traced in the Latin phrase *homo cordatus;* also in the language of Homer, 'Il.' xv. 52; 'Od.' vii. 82, xviii. 344. The bowels, as distinguished from the heart, were commonly recognized as the seat of the affections (Gen. xliii. 30; 1 K. iii. 26; Is. lxiii. 15: and, in the Hebrew text, Deut. xiii. 6; 2 S. xxiv. 14, &c. See also Luke i. 78; 2 Cor. vi. 12, vii. 15; Phil. i. 8, ii. 1; Philemon, *v.* 7, &c.).

the spirit of wisdom] See on xxxi. 3. What may be especially noticed in this place is, that the spirit of wisdom given by the Lord is spoken of as conferring practical skill in the most general sense: those who possess it are called *because* they possess it; they are not first called and then endowed with it.

garments to consecrate him] There is here a solemn recognition of the significance of an appointed official dress. It expresses that the office is not created or defined by the man himself (Heb. v. 4), but that he is *invested* with it according to prescribed institution. The rite of anointing was essentially connected with investiture in the holy garments (xxix. 29, 30; xl. 12—15).—The history of all nations shews the importance of these forms. As time goes on, their "ancient and well-noted face" becomes more and more valuable as a witness against restless longing for change. The following points in this divinely ordained investiture of the Priests of Jehovah seem to be worthy of special notice in our own day:—(1) there was nothing left to individual taste or fancy, every point was authoritatively laid down in minute detail: (2) the High-priest, when performing his highest and holiest functions, was attired in a plain white dress (Lev. xvi. 4): (3) the only garments worn by the other priests "for glory and for beauty" (*v.* 40), when they were engaged in the service of both the Golden Altar and the Brazen Altar (see Lev. vi. 10), were also white, with the exception of the girdle (*v.* 40): (4) there were no changes in the dresses of the priests at the three Great Festivals, nor any periodical change whatever, except when the High-priest, on the Day of Atonement, put off his robes of office for the dress of white linen.

4. There are here mentioned six articles belonging to the official dress of the High-priest, which are described in the verses that follow; but the description does not follow the order of this enumeration, and it comprises, in addition, the gold plate of the mitre (*v.* 36) and the garments which were common to all the priests.

and his sons] These, it is evident, were the representatives of the family who, in the ages that followed, inherited the High-priesthood in succession. But the sons who were consecrated at this time with Aaron as common priests, are designated in the same way in *v.* 40 and elsewhere.

5. *gold, and blue,* &c.] **the gold and the blue and the scarlet and the fine linen.** The definite article is prefixed to each substantive to denote specially the quantity and the quality of the material required for the dresses. With the exception of the gold, the materials were the same as those of the tabernacle-cloth, the vail of the Tabernacle and the entrance-curtain of the Tent (xxvi. 1, 31, 36. See on xxv. 4). The gold was wrought into thin flat wires which could either be woven with the woollen and linen threads, or worked with the needle (see

6 ¶ And they shall make the ephod *of* gold, *of* blue, and *of* purple, *of* scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work.

7 It shall have the two shoulder-pieces thereof joined at the two edges thereof; and *so* it shall be joined together.

8 And the [1]curious girdle of the ephod, which *is* upon it, shall be of the same, according to the work thereof; *even of* gold, *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.

9 And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel:

10 Six of their names on one stone, and *the other* six names of the rest on the other stone, according to their birth.

11 [a]With the work of an engraver in stone, *like* the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones with the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold.

[a] Wisd. 18. 24.

[1] Or, *embroidered.*

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xxxix. 3 and on xxxv. 35). In regard to the mixture of linen and woollen threads in the Ephod and other parts of the High-priest's dress, a difficulty seems to present itself in connection with the law which forbad garments of linen and woollen mixed to be worn by the Israelites (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11). It has been conjectured that the coloured threads here mentioned were not woollen but dyed linen (Knobel). But see on Lev. xix. 19.

The Ephod.

6—12 (xxxix. 2—7).

6. *the ephod*] The Hebrew word is here retained, which, according to its etymology, has the same breadth of meaning as our word *vestment*. The garment being worn over the shoulders, the word is rendered by the LXX. ἐπωμίς (which occurs also Ecclus. xlv. 8), and by the Vulgate *superhumerale*. It consisted of blue, purple and scarlet yarn and "fine twined linen" (on xxvi. 1) wrought together in **work of the skilled weaver** (on xxvi. 1 and xxxv. 35). It was the distinctive vestment of the High-priest, to which "the breastplate of judgment" was attached (*vv.* 25—28).

7. From this verse, and from xxxix. 4, it would seem that the Ephod consisted of two principal pieces of cloth, one for the back and the other for the front, joined together by shoulder straps (see on *v.* 27). Below the arms, probably just above the hips, the two pieces were kept in place by a band attached to one of the pieces, which is described in the next verse. Most Jewish authorities have thus understood the description. But Josephus describes the Ephod as a tunic (χιτών) having sleeves ('Ant.' III. 7. § 5). It is just possible that the fashion of it may have changed before the time of the historian. On the respect in which this Ephod of the High-priest was held, see 1 S. ii. 28, xiv. 3, xxi. 9, xxiii. 6, 9, xxx. 7. But an Ephod made of linen appears to have been a recognized garment not only for the common priests (1 S. xxii. 18) but also for those who were even temporarily engaged in the service of the Sanctuary (1 S. ii. 18; 2 S. vi. 14; 1 Chro. xv. 27).

8. *the curious girdle of the ephod, which is upon it, shall be of the same*] The meaning might rather be expressed:—*the band for fastening it, which is upon it, shall be of the same work, of one piece with it.* So de Wette, Knobel, Zunz, Herx., &c. This band being woven on to one of the pieces of the Ephod was passed round the body, and fastened by buttons, or strings, or some other suitable contrivance.

9. *two onyx stones*] The Hebrew name of the stone here spoken of is *shoham*. It is uniformly rendered *onyx* in our Bible and in the Vulgate; Josephus calls it the *sardonyx*. The LXX. and Philo, on the other hand, call it the *beryl*. But the Greek translators are inconsistent in translating the word in different places, so that, as regards this question, no confidence can be placed in them. The stone was most likely one well adapted for engraving; in this respect the onyx is preferable to the beryl. See on *v.* 17.

11. *an engraver in stone*] **an artificer in stone.** See on xxxv. 35.

like the engravings of a signet] Cf. *vv.* 21, 36. These words probably refer to a peculiar way of shaping the letters, adapted for engraving on a hard substance.—Seal engraving on precious stones was practised in Egypt from very remote times, and in Mesopotamia, probably, from 2000 A.C.

ouches of gold] The gold settings of the engraved stones are here plainly denoted; but, according to the derivation of the Hebrew word, they seem to have been formed not of solid pieces of metal, but of woven wire, wreathed round the stones in what is called *cloisonnée* work, a sort of filigree, often found in Egyptian ornaments. Mr King conjectures that these stones, as well as those on the breastplate, were "in the form of ovals, or rather ellipses, like the cartouches, containing proper names, in hieroglyphic inscriptions."

12 And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulders of the ephod *for* stones of memorial unto the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before the LORD upon his two shoulders for a memorial.

13 ¶ And thou shalt make ouches *of* gold;

14 And two chains *of* pure gold at the ends; *of* wreathen work shalt thou make them, and fasten the wreathen chains to the ouches.

15 ¶ And thou shalt make the breastplate of judgment with cunning work; after the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; *of* gold, *of* blue, and *of* purple, and *of* scarlet, and *of* fine twined linen, shalt thou make it.

16 Foursquare it shall be *being* doubled; a span *shall be* the length thereof, and a span *shall be* the breadth thereof.

17 And thou shalt † set in it settings of stones, *even* four rows of stones: *the first* row *shall be* a ‖ sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: *this shall be* the first row.

† Heb. *fill in it fillings of stone.*
‖ Or, *ruby.*

'Ancient Gems,' p. 136. The same word is used in *vv.* 13, 14, 25, where it seems to express an ornamental gold button, without a stone. The word *ouches* is used by Shakspeare, Spenser, and some of their contemporaries in the general sense of jewels. See Nares' 'Glossary.'

12. *upon the shoulders of the ephod*] *i.e.* upon the **shoulder-pieces** of the ephod. See *v.* 7.

upon his two shoulders] Cf. Isa. ix. 6, xxii. 22. The High-priest had to represent the Twelve Tribes in the presence of Jehovah; and the burden of his office could not be so aptly symbolized anywhere as on his shoulders, the parts of the body fittest for carrying burdens. The figure is familiar enough in all languages. Cf. on *v.* 29.

The Breastplate.

13—30. (Cf. xxxix. 8—21.)

13. *ouches*] See on *v.* 11. These were two in number, to suit the chains mentioned in the next verse. Cf. *v.* 25 and xxxix. 18.

14. *two chains of pure gold at the ends; of wreathen work shalt thou make them*] Rather, two chains of pure gold **shalt thou make of wreathen work, twisted like cords.** —They were more like cords of twisted gold wire than chains in the ordinary sense of the word. Such chains have been found in Egyptian tombs, and some of these were exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1867.

15. *the breastplate of judgment*] The meaning of the Hebrew word (*choshen*) rendered *breastplate*, appears to be simply *ornament*. The names given to it in nearly all versions must therefore be regarded as glosses. The LXX., Philo, Josephus and the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlv. 10) call it λογεῖον, or λόγιον, and the Vulgate *rationale*, in reference to its use as an oracle in making known the judgments of the Lord. It was from this use that it was designated the *Choshen of Judgment*. Symmachus renders the word as a receptacle, or bag (δόχιον), from what appears to have been its form. The names given to it by most modern translators (like our own *breastplate*) relate merely to its place in the dress. It was to be made of a piece of *cunning work* (**the work of the skilled weaver**, see xxxv. 35), the same in texture and materials as the Ephod. This piece was a cubit (two spans) in length and half a cubit (a span) in width, and it was to be folded together so as to form a square of half a cubit. Whether it was doubled with no other purpose than to give it stability (Rosenmüller, Knobel, Kalisch), or in order to form what was used as a bag (Gesenius, Bähr, Fürst), has been questioned: but the latter appears to be by far the more likely alternative. On the mode in which it was attached to the Ephod, see *v.* 22 sq., and on its probable use as a bag, see Note at the end of the Chapter.

17. *settings*] The same Hebrew word is less aptly rendered "inclosings" in *v.* 20. From xxxix. 13 it appears that they were ouches of *cloisonnée* work, like those mentioned in *v.* 11 as the settings of the gems on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod.

four rows of stones] No very near approach to certainty can be obtained in the identification of these precious stones. In several instances the Hebrew names themselves afford some light on the subject. The oldest external authority to help us is the LXX., and next to it come Josephus ('Ant.' III. 7. § 5; 'Bel. Jud.' v. 5. § 7) and the other old versions, especially the Vulgate. It must however be observed that the Greek and Latin names are not always consistently applied to the same Hebrew word in different places (see on *v.* 9). One point of interest in the inquiry appears to be the etymological identity of several of the names of stones in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and the modern languages of Europe. These names were probably transmitted to the Greeks and Romans by the Phœnician merchants, whose traffic in most of the precious stones

18 And the second row *shall be* an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond.

19 And the third row a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst.

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here mentioned is alluded to by Ezekiel (xxviii. 13). But, unfortunately, the identity of the stone denoted by no means follows from the identity of the name. A name was often given in ancient times to a substance on account of some single characteristic, such as its colour or its hardness. Hence *adamant* was applied to the diamond, to steel, and to other hard bodies: *sapphire* was certainly applied to the lapis-lazuli, and, though not till a much later age, to what we call the sapphire. Hence it is plain that our conclusions on the subject can rarely be quite certain. The field of conjecture in the present inquiry may however be somewhat narrowed from the results of the study of the antique gems of Assyria, Egypt and Ancient Greece. We need not hesitate to exclude those stones which appear to have been unknown to the ancients, and those which are so hard that the ancients did not know how to engrave them. On such grounds, according to Prof. Maskelyne, we must at once reject the diamond, the ruby, the sapphire, the emerald, the topaz, and the chrysoberyl.—The best information on the subject may be found in two articles in the 'Edinb. Rev.' Nos. 253, 254, by Prof. Maskelyne, to whom these notes on the breastplate are greatly indebted.

a sardius] Heb. *odem*, i.e. *the red stone*; LXX. σάρδιον; Vulg. *sardius*; Jos. σαρδόνυξ in one place ('Ant.' III. 7. § 5), but σάρδιον in another ('Bel. Jud.' V. 5. § 7). The Sardian stone, or **sard**, was much used by the ancients for seals; and it is perhaps the stone of all others the best for engraving (see Theophrastus, 'de Lapid.' 8; Pliny, 'H. N.' XXXVII. 23, 31). It is mentioned Ezek. xxviii. 13.

topaz] Heb. *pitdāh*; LXX. and Jos. τοπάζιον; Vulg. *topazius*. The word *topaz* appears to have been formed by metathesis from *pitdāh* (Gesenius, Knobel, Fürst). The *pitdāh* is mentioned by Ezekiel (xxviii. 13); and it is spoken of in Job (xxviii. 19) as a product of Ethiopia, which tends to confirm its identity with the topaz which is said by Strabo (XVI. p. 770), Diodorus (III. 39), and Pliny (XXXVII. 32), to have been obtained from Ethiopia. It was not however the stone now called the topaz: it may have been the peridot, or chrysolite, a stone of a greenish hue.

a carbuncle] Heb. *bāreketh*; LXX. and Jos. σμάραγδος, Vulg. *smaragdus*. It was certainly not the carbuncle; it is not improbable that it was the **beryl**, which is a kind of emerald (Plin. XXXVII. 16, Solinus XV. 23). The Greek name sometimes appears as μάραγδος, supposed to be identical with the Sanskrit name of the beryl, *marakata* (Fürst), which plainly appears to be allied to the Heb. *bāreketh*, and probably to our own *emerald*. Gesenius and Liddell and Scott severally ascribe the Hebrew name and the Greek to roots signifying to *glitter*, or *sparkle:* but the characteristic quality thus suggested is not one that particularly distinguishes the beryl amongst precious stones. The *bāreketh* is mentioned Ezek. xxviii. 13.

18. *an emerald*] Heb. *nophek*, i.e. *the glowing stone* (Knobel, Fürst); LXX. and Jos. ἄνθραξ; Vulg. *carbunculus*. There seems no reason to doubt that the garnet, which when cut with a convex face is termed the **carbuncle**, is meant. (See Theoph. 'de Lapid.' 18). The same stone is mentioned Ezek. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 13.

a sapphire] Heb. *sappīr;* LXX. σάπφειρος; Vulg. *sapphirus*. Josephus appears to have transposed this name and the next, and may fairly be regarded as agreeing with the LXX. as to its meaning. It is conceived to have been the sapphire of the Greeks, not only from the identity of the name, but from the evident references to the colour in Exod. xxiv. 10; Ezek. i. 26, x. 1. The name also occurs Job xxviii. 6, 16; Cant. v. 14; Isa. liv. 11; Lam. iv. 7; Ezek. xxviii. 13. Michaelis and others objected to what is now called the sapphire on account of its hardness, and supposed that the lapis-lazuli is most probably meant. The best recent authorities justify this conjecture, in reference not only to the *sappīr* of the Old Testament, but to the sapphire of the Greeks and Romans (see the first note on this verse). According to a Jewish fancy in the Talmud, the Tables of the Law were formed of *sappīr*.

a diamond] Heb. *yahalom*. The etymology of the word is supposed to be similar to that ascribed to the Greek ἀδάμας, so as to give it the meaning of *the unconquerable*. Hence some of the ancient versions, with Aben-Ezra, Abarbanel, and Luther (whom our translators followed), have taken the diamond as the stone denoted. But there is no trace of evidence that the ancients ever acquired the skill to engrave on the diamond, or even that they were acquainted with the stone. The LXX. render *yahalom* by ἴασπις, and the Vulg. by *jaspis;* but these words answer more satisfactorily to the jasper (see on *v.* 20). Some imagine it to be the onyx, which is more likely the *shoham* (*v.* 9): but it may possibly be some other variety of chalcedony, or (perhaps) rock crystal. In the uncertainty which exists, the original name **yahalom** might be retained in the version. The word is found in Ezek. xxviii. 13: but it is another word (*shamīr*) which is rendered *diamond* or *adamant* in Jer. xvii. 1; Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12.

20 And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be set in gold in their [1] inclosings.

21 And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, *like* the engravings of a signet; every one with his name shall they be according to the twelve tribes.

22 ¶ And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains at the ends *of* wreathen work *of* pure gold.

23 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate.

24 And thou shalt put the two wreathen *chains* of gold in the two rings *which are* on the ends of the breastplate.

25 And *the other* two ends of the two wreathen *chains* thou shalt fasten in the two ouches, and put *them* on the shoulderpieces of the ephod before it.

26 ¶ And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate in the border thereof, which *is* in the side of the ephod inward.

27 And two *other* rings of gold thou shalt make, and shalt put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart thereof, over against the *other* coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.

[1] Heb. *fillings.*

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19. *a ligure*] Heb. *leshem*, LXX. and Jos. λιγύριον, Vulg. *ligurius*. According to Theophrastus ('de Lapid.' 29) and Pliny ('H. N.' XXXVII. 11), **amber** came from Liguria, and this would exactly account for the names used by the LXX. and Vulg., if, as is not in any respect improbable, amber is here meant. On the name λυγκούριον, see Liddell and Scott. The *leshem* is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament except in xxxix. 12.

an agate] Heb. *shevoo*, LXX. ἀχάτης, Vulg. *achates*. Josephus appears to have transposed ἀχάτης with the next name: he makes several other changes in the order of the stones in the list given, 'Bel. Jud.' v. 5. § 7. No question has been raised that the agate is here meant. The word *shevoo* occurs only here and xxxix. 12; but another word (*kadkod*) is rendered *agate* in our version, Isa. liv. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 16.

an amethyst] Heb. *achlāmāh*, LXX. and Josephus ἀμέθυστος, Vulg. *amethystus*. Mentioned only here and xxxix. 12.

20. *a beryl*] Heb. *tarshish*, LXX. and Jos. χρυσόλιθος, Vulg. *chrysolithus*. This could hardly have been the beryl (see on *v.* 17) or the turkois, as Luther and Cranmer imagined. The Hebrew name is reasonably supposed to have been given to the stone because it came from Tarshish. A kind of carbuncle, or garnet, is spoken of by Pliny, called *carchedonius*, in connection with Carthage ('H. N.' XXXVII. 25), and this is supposed by some to be the *tarshish* (Knobel, Fürst). Others suppose that it was what Pliny calls the chrysolite, a brilliant yellow stone (see Plin. XXXVII. 42), which they identify with what is now known as the Spanish topaz (Gesenius, &c.). It would seem to be best, in such uncertainty, to retain the name **tarshish** in translating. The stone is mentioned Cant. v. 14; Ezek. i. 16, x. 9, xxviii. 13; Dan. x. 6.

an onyx] Heb. *shoham*. Josephus and the Vulgate take it for the onyx (see on *v.* 9); but the LXX., apparently by a copyist's transposition, have βηρύλλιον here, and ὀνύχιον for the next stone. The *shoham* is mentioned Gen. ii. 12; Ex. xxv. 7; 1 Chro. xxix. 2; Job xxviii. 16; Ezek. xxviii. 13.

a jasper] Heb. *yashpeh*. The similarity of the Hebrew name to our word *jasper*, to the Greek ἴασπις, the Latin *jaspis*, and the Arabic *jasb*, is obvious. Josephus and the Vulgate render it as *beryl*, and the LXX. as onyx (but see preceding note). The best authorities take it for jasper (Gesen., Bähr, Knobel, Fürst): it was probably the green jasper. It is mentioned nowhere else except Ex. xxxix. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 13.

their inclosings] **their settings** (see on *v.* 17).

22. *chains at the ends of wreathen work*] **chains of wreathen work, twisted like cords** (see on *v.* 14).

23. *on the two ends of the breastplate*] The extremities spoken of here, and in the next verse, must have been the upper corners of the square. The chains attached to them (*v.* 25) suspended the Breastplate from the ouches of the shoulder-pieces (*vv.* 9, 11, 12).

26. *two rings*] These two rings appear to have been fastened to the Breastplate, near its lower corners upon the inner side, so as to have been out of sight. See on the following two verses.

27. "And two rings of gold shalt thou make and put them on **the two shoulder-pieces of the Ephod, low down in the**

28 And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that *it* may be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod.

29 And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy *place*, for a memorial before the LORD continually.

30 ¶ And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the LORD: and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the LORD continually.

31 ¶ And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all *of* blue.

32 And there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of an habergeon, that it be not rent.

33 ¶ And *beneath* upon the ‖ hem of it thou shalt make pomegranates *of* blue, and *of* purple, and *of* scarlet, ‖ Or, *skirts.*

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front of it, near the joining, above the band for fastening it." It would seem that the shoulder-pieces were continued down the front of the Ephod as far as the band (see on *v.* 8); **the joining** appears to have been the meeting of the extremities of the shoulder-pieces with the band. These rings were attached to the shoulder-pieces just above this joining.

28. *the curious girdle of the ephod*] **the band for fastening it** (see on *v.* 8). The two lower rings of the Breastplate were to be tied to the rings near the ends of the shoulder-pieces, opposite to which they seem to have been placed, by laces of blue, so as to keep the Breastplate firmly in its place just above the band.

29. The names of the Tribes on the two onyx stones were worn on the shoulders of the High-priest to indicate the burden of the office which he bore (see on *v.* 12); the same names engraved on the stones of the Breastplate were worn over his heart, the seat of the affections, as well as of the intellect (see on *v.* 3), to symbolize the relation of love and of personal interest which the Lord requires to exist between the Priest and the People.

30. *put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim*] It is not questioned that this rendering (which agrees with the Vulgate, Saadia, Luther, and most modern versions) fairly represents the original words; and it most naturally follows that the Urim and the Thummim (whatever they were) were *put into* the bag that was formed by the doubling of the *Choshen* (see on *v.* 15), as the Tables of the Law were *put into* the Ark, the same verb and preposition being used in each case (xxv. 16). Most critics are in favour of this view. But it cannot be denied that the words may also mean, *upon the Breastplate.* So the LXX., the Syriac, de Wette, Knobel. See Note at the end of the Chapter.

the Urim and the Thummim] These were probably some well-known means for casting lots which, from this time forward, were kept in the bag of the *Choshen.* See Note.

The Robe of the Ephod.

31—35. (xxxix. 22—26.)

31. *the robe of the ephod*] The Robe of the Ephod was a frock or robe of the simplest form, woven without seam, wholly of blue (see Note at the end of ch. xxv. § II.). It was put on by being drawn over the head. It appears to have had no sleeves. It probably reached a little below the knees. It must have been visible above and below the Ephod, the variegated texture of which it must have set off as a plain blue groundwork.

32. *And there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof*] **And its opening for the head shall be in the middle of it.** So de Wette, Knobel, Kalisch, Herx., &c. The meaning appears to be that the opening through which the head was to be put should be a mere round hole, not connected with any longitudinal slit before or behind.

of woven work] **of the work of the weaver** (see on xxvi. 1, xxxv. 35). This was probably a stout binding of woven thread, sewn over the edge of the hole for the head, to strengthen it and preserve it from fraying.

an habergeon] The original word, *tacharāh*, is found in Egyptian papyri of the 19th dynasty (Brugsch, 'D. H.,' p. 1579), though its root appears to be Semitic (Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 518). Corselets of linen, such as appear to be here referred to, were well known amongst the Egyptians (Herodot. II. 182, III. 47; Plin. XIX. 2. Cf. Hom. 'Il.' II. 529).

33, 34. The skirt was to be adorned with a border of pomegranates in colours, and a

round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about:

34 A golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about.

35 [b] And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy *place* before the LORD, and when he cometh out, that he die not.

36 ¶ And thou shalt make a plate *of* pure gold, and grave upon it, *like* the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

37 And thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the mitre; upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be.

38 And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the LORD.

39 ¶ And thou shalt embroider the coat of fine linen, and thou shalt make the mitre *of* fine linen, and thou shalt make the girdle *of* needlework.

[b] Ecclus. 45. 9.

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small golden bell was to be attached to the hem between each two of the pomegranates.

35. *his sound*] its sound, i.e. the sound of the Robe. Some conceive that the bells furnished a musical offering of praise to the Lord (Knobel, &c.). But it seems more likely that their purpose was that the people, who stood without, when they heard the sound of them within the Tabernacle, might have a sensible proof that the High-priest was performing the sacred rite in their behalf, though he was out of their sight. The bells thus became an incentive to devotional feelings. This accords with very early tradition. See Ecclus. xlv. 9.

that he die not] The bells also bore witness that the High-priest was, at the time of his ministration, duly attired in the dress of his office, and so was not incurring the sentence of death which is referred to again in *v.* 43 in connection with the linen drawers that were worn by the whole body of the priests. An infraction of the laws for the service of the Sanctuary was not merely an act of disobedience; it was a direct insult to the presence of Jehovah from His ordained minister, and justly incurred a sentence of capital punishment. Cf. Ex. xxx. 21; Lev. viii. 35, x. 7.

The Mitre and the Garments of Fine Linen.

36—43. (xxxix. 27—31.)

36. In the narrative of the making of the holy things (xxxix. 28, 30) the Mitre of fine linen is mentioned before the Golden Plate, as having been first completed, and as that to which the plate itself was to be attached. But in these directions the plate is first described, as being the most significant part of the head-dress. For a similar transposition, shewing the strictly practical character of the narrative, see on xxxv. 11.

engravings of a signet] See on *v.* 11.

HOLINESS TO THE LORD] This inscription testified in express words the holiness with which the High-priest was invested in virtue of his sacred calling.

37. *a blue lace*] The plate was fastened upon a blue band or fillet, so tied round the mitre as to shew the plate in front.

the mitre] According to the derivation of the Hebrew word, and from the statement in *v.* 39, this was a twisted band of linen coiled into a cap, to which the name *mitre*, in its original sense, closely answers, but which, in modern usage, would rather be called a *turban*.

38. *bear the iniquity of the holy things*] The Hebrew expression "to bear iniquity" is applied either to one who suffers the penalty of sin (*v.* 43; Lev. v. 1, 17, xvii. 16, xxvi. 41, &c.), or to one who takes away the sin of others (Gen. l. 17; Lev. x. 17, xvi. 22; Num. xxx. 15; 1 S. xv. 25, &c. See on Gen. iv. 13). In several of these passages the verb is rightly rendered to *forgive*.—The iniquity which is spoken of in this place does not mean particular sins actually committed, but that condition of alienation from God in every earthly thing which makes reconciliation and consecration needful. Cf. Num. xviii. 1. It belonged to the High-priest, as the chief atoning mediator between Jehovah and His people (see on *v.* 36), to atone for the holy things that they might be "accepted before the Lord" (cf. Lev. viii. 15, xvi. 20, 33, with the notes): but the common priests also, in their proper functions, had to take their part in making atonement (Lev. iv. 20, v. 10, x. 17, xxii. 16; Num. xviii. 23, &c.).

39. *embroider the coat of fine linen*] This garment appears to have been a long tunic, or cassock. Josephus says that it was worn next the skin, that it reached to the feet, and that it had closely fitting sleeves ('Ant.' III. 7. § 2). The verb translated *embroider* (*shābatz*, a word of very rare occurrence) appears ra-

40 ¶ And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and bonnets shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.

41 And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and † consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office.

42 And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover † their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall † reach:

43 And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy *place;* that they bear not iniquity, and die: *it shall be* a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him.

† Heb. *fill their hand.*

† Heb. *flesh of their nakedness.*

† Heb. *be.*

ther to mean **weave in diaper work.** The tissue consisted of threads of one and the same colour diapered in checkers, or in some small figure. According to xxxix. 27 such tissue was woven by the ordinary weaver, not by the skilled weaver. (See on xxxv. 35; Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1356; Fürst, 'Lex.' s. v. Cf. Wilkinson, 'Pop. Account,' Vol. II. p. 86.) It has been inferred from *vv.* 40, 41, and from xxxix. 27, that this and the other linen garments of the High-priest, with the exception of the mitre, did not differ from the dress of the common priests mentioned in the next verse. See Lev. vi. 10; Ezek. xliv. 17.

the mitre of fine linen] See on *v.* 37.

the girdle of needlework] **the girdle of the work of the embroiderer** (xxvi. 1, xxxv. 35). The word translated *girdle* is a different one from that so rendered in *v.* 8 (see note). The name here used (*abnet*) has been supposed to be a Persian word (Gesenius), but it is more likely to be an Egyptian one (Fürst, Brugsch, Birch). It was embroidered in three colours (xxxix. 29). Josephus says that its texture was very loose, so that it resembled the slough of a snake, that it was wound several times round the body, and that its ends ordinarily hung down to the feet, but were thrown over the shoulder when the priest was engaged in his work.

40. *Aaron's sons*] The common priests are here meant. See on *v.* 4. The girdle worn by them is here called by the same name as that of the High-priest (*abnet*), and was probably of the same make. Cf. xxxix. 29. Instead of the mitre consisting of a coil of twisted linen, the common priests wore **caps** of a simple construction which, according to a probable explanation of the name, seem to have been cup-shaped. They were however of fine texture and workmanship (xxxix. 28). The word *bonnet* is, in our present English, less suitable than **cap.** The description of the head-dress of the priests given by Josephus ('Ant.' III. 3. § 6) perhaps indicates a change of form in his day. Cf. on *v.* 7.

for glory and for beauty] See *v.* 2 and the following note.

41—43. The dress of white linen was the strictly sacerdotal dress common to the whole body of priests (Ezek. xliv. 17, 18). These were "for glory and for beauty" not less than *the golden garments* (as they were called by the Jews) which formed the High-priest's dress of state (*v.* 2). The linen suit which the High-priest put on when he went into the Most Holy place on the Day of Atonement, appears to have been regarded with peculiar respect (Lev. xvi. 4, 23; cf. Exod. xxxi. 10), though it is nowhere stated that it was distinguished in its make or texture, except in having a girdle (*abnet*) wholly of white linen, instead of a variegated one.—It may here be observed that the statement in Josephus, that the High-priest wore his golden garments only when he went into the Most Holy place ('Bel. Jud.' V. 5. § 7) is an obvious mistake: the reading is probably corrupt (see Hudson's note).—The ancient Egyptian priests, like the Hebrew priests, wore nothing but white linen garments in the performance of their duties (Herod. II. 37, with Wilkinson's note; Hengst. 'Egypt and the Books of Moses,' p. 145).

43. *in unto the tabernacle*] **into the Tent.** See on xxvi. 1.

that they bear not iniquity, and die] See on *vv.* 35, 38.

NOTE on CHAP. XXVIII. 30.

ON THE URIM AND THE THUMMIM.

I. *Their names.* II. *They were previously known, and distinct from the Breastplate.* III. *Their purpose and history.* IV. *Their origin.* V. *Theories.*

I.

The expression *the Urim and the Thummim* (אֶת־הָאוּרִים וְאֶת־הַתֻּמִּים) appears to mean *the Light and the Truth.* The primary meaning of the latter term is *perfection.* The form

of the words is plural; but, according to the Hebrew idiom, this does not necessarily imply a plural sense. The rendering of the LXX. is, ἡ δήλωσις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια; that of Symmachus, φωτισμοὶ καὶ τελειότητες; that of the Vulgate, *Doctrina et Veritas*. The other ancient versions substantially agree with one or other of these. In most modern versions, except Luther's (*Licht und Recht*) and de Wette's (*das Licht und die Wahrheit*), the words are untranslated.

II.

From the way in which they are spoken of in Ex. xxviii. 30 and in Lev. viii. 8, compared with Ex. xxviii. 15—21, it would appear, taking a simple view of the words, that the Urim and the Thummim were some material things, and that they were separate from the Breastplate itself, as well as from the gems that were set upon it. It would seem most probable that they were kept in the bag of the Breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 16). And from the definite article being prefixed to each of the names, from their not being described in any way, and from their not being mentioned in the record of the construction of the Breastplate (xxxix. 21), it seems most likely that they were something previously existing and familiarly known. It is true that the Samaritan text says that Moses was *to make* them: but even if we accept this very weak authority, when the statement is compared with the fact that there is no direction given as to form or material, it leaves us to infer that they were no novelty as regards their use.

III.

The purpose of the Urim and the Thummim is clearly enough indicated in Num. xxvii. 21; 1 S. xxviii. 6; and also (as they were evidently regarded as belonging to the Ephod) in 1 S. xxiii. 9—12, xxx. 7, 8, cf. xxii. 14, 15. We are warranted in concluding that they were visible things of some sort by which the will of Jehovah, especially in what related to the wars in which His people were engaged, was made known, and that from this time they were preserved in the bag of the Breastplate of the High-priest, to be borne "upon his heart before the LORD continually" (Ex. xxviii. 30). They were formally delivered by Moses to Aaron (Lev. viii. 8), and subsequently passed on to Eleazar (Num. xx. 28, xxvii. 21). They were esteemed as the crowning glory of the Tribe of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 8). There is no instance on record of their being consulted after the time of David. They were certainly not in use after the Captivity; and it seems to have become a proverb in reference to a question of inextricable difficulty, that it should not be solved "till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim" (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; cf. Hos. iii. 4).—Such seem to be all the particulars that can be gathered immediately, or by easy inference, from Holy Scripture, regarding the nature, purpose, and history of the Urim and the Thummim.

IV.

Since the time of Spencer, the opinion has prevailed to a great extent that the Urim and the Thummim were wholly, or in part, of Egyptian origin. With this opinion is connected the notion that they were two small images of precious stone, which appears to have taken its rise from a passage in Philo; τὸ δὲ λογεῖον τετράγωνον διπλοῦν κατεσκευάζετο, ὡσανεὶ βάσις, ἵνα δύο ἀρετὰς ἀγαλματοφορῇ, δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν ('Vit. Mos.' III. 11). But may not the symbol of the two virtues in the fancy of Philo have been rather the two sides of the *Choshen* than two actual images? Philo's use of the verb ἀγαλματοφορεῖν in other connections may tend to confirm this view. See 'de Confus. Ling.' c. 13; 'de Mundi Opif.' c. 23; but still more to the point is a passage in which he says that the two webs of the *Choshen* were called *Revelation and Truth*.—'Επὶ δὲ τοῦ λογείου διττὰ ὑφάσματα καταποικίλλει, προσαγαρεύων τὸ μὲν δήλωσιν τὸ δὲ ἀλήθειαν ('de Monarch.' II. 5. See also 'Legis Alleg.' III. 40, where he substitutes σαφήνεια for δήλωσις). But it is alleged that a close analogy is furnished by the image of sapphire (*lapis lazuli*, see on Ex. xxviii. 18) called *Truth*, that was suspended by a gold chain on the breasts of the Egyptian Judges, with which they touched the lips of acquitted persons (Diod. Sic. I. 48, 75; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' XIV. 34). That such a custom as this was of old standing in Egypt, is rendered very probable by certain pictures of great antiquity in which the image is represented as a double one, bearing the symbols of *Truth and Justice*. The deity endowed with this dual character was called *Thmei*, and with this name some have connected the word *Thummim*, (Wilkinson, II. p. 205). But this etymology is entirely rejected by Egyptian scholars.—The Egyptian origin of the Urim and the Thummim has been advocated by Spencer, Gesenius, Knobel, Fürst, Hengstenberg, Plumptre (in Smith's 'Dict.' s. v.) and others.

But an argument on the other side seems to be furnished by the connection of the *Teraphim* with the Urim and the Thummim, which may be traced in the Old Testament. It has been suggested on very probable ground that the Teraphim may have been employed as an unauthorized substitute for the Urim and the Thummim[1]. Now we know that the Teraphim belonged to patriarchal times,

[1] See Judg. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17, 20; Hos. iii. 4; and, as rightly rendered in the margin, 2 K. xxiii. 24; Ezek. xxi. 21; Zech. x. 2: to these may be added, as it stands in the Hebrew, 1 S. xv. 23.

to the Semitic race, and to regions remote from Egypt (see Gen. xxxi. 19, &c.). Is not the supposition as easy that the Urim and the Thummim took the place of what must have been familiarly known to the Patriarchs, and which appear, in a renewal of the old degraded form, to have been in later times confounded with them, as that they were adopted from the Egyptians?

V.

As to the form and material of the Urim and the Thummim, and as to the mode in which they were consulted by the High-priest, there have been many conjectures, some of them very wild and startling. It would be out of place here to go at length into a subject in which there is so little to limit or to regulate the field of conjecture, that anything like certainty is beyond the reach of hope; but the inquiry must not be entirely passed over. We may first observe that the different views which have been taken are based on three distinct theories:—

1. That the Divine Will was manifested through the Urim and the Thummim by some physical effect addressed to the eye or the ear.

2. That they were some ordained symbol which, when the High-priest concentrated his sight and attention on it, became a means of calling forth the prophetic gift.

3. That they were some contrivance for casting lots.

1. Josephus, who identified the stones of the Breastplate with the Urim and the Thummim, says that they signified a favourable answer to the question proposed by shining forth with unusual brilliancy. He adds that they had not been known to exhibit this power for 200 years before his time ('Ant.' III. 8. § 9). As regards the mode of the answer, several Jewish, and many Christian, writers, have followed him. The rabbinists adopted the notion, and shewed their usual tendency by exaggerating it. They said that the answer was communicated in detail by particular letters in the inscriptions on the stones shining out in succession, so as to spell the words[1]. —Spencer, supposing that the Urim and the Thummim were two images, or Teraphim, imagined that an angel was commissioned to speak through the lips of one of them with an audible voice ('de Leg. Hebr.' lib. III. c. v. § 3). Prideaux and others have supposed that an audible voice addressed itself from the Mercy-seat as the High-priest stood before it wearing the Breastplate on his breast ('Connection,' &c., book I.).

2. Some of those who have held the second theory have conceived that the High-priest used to fix his eyes on the gems of the Breastplate until the spirit of Prophecy came upon him and gave him utterance. Others have conjectured that the object of his contemplation was not the gems themselves, but some distinct object with sacred associations, such as a gold plate or gem of some kind inscribed with the name JEHOVAH, attached to the outside of the Breastplate. This theory, in some form, is adopted by the Targum of Palestine, Theodoret, Lightfoot, Kalisch and many others; but it is most fully reasoned out by Plumptre in Smith's 'Dictionary.'

3. Michaelis, Jahn and others, have supposed that the Urim and the Thummim might have been three slips, one with *yes* upon it, one with *no*, and the third plain, and that the slip taken out of the pocket of the Breastplate at hap-hazard by the High-priest was regarded as giving the answer to the question proposed.—Gesenius and Fürst have adopted Spencer's notion, that they were two images, but supposed that they were used in some mode of casting lots.—Winer, following Zullig, imagined that the Urim were diamonds cut in the form of dice, and that the Thummim were rough diamonds (according to the meaning of the word, *entire*) with some sort of marks engraved on them, which the High-priest, when he sought for an answer, took out of the bag and threw down on a table in the Sanctuary, drawing a meaning from the mode in which they fell.

But the theory itself is not necessarily involved in these hollow and vain conjectures as to the material instruments which may have been employed. No attempted explanation seems to be more in accordance with such analogy as the history of the Israelites affords, or more free from objection, than that the Urim and the Thummim were some means of casting lots. That the Lord should have made His will known to His people by such means may indeed run counter to our own habits of thought. But we know that appeals to lots were made under divine authority by the chosen people on the most solemn occasions[2]. The divine will was manifested by circumstances in themselves of as little note, or of as little external connection with the question at issue, as the dampness or the dryness of a fleece laid on the ground (Judg. vi. 36—40). It must have been a truth commonly recognized by the people that though "the lot was cast into the lap, the whole disposing thereof was of the Lord" (Prov. xvi. 33).—The practice of casting lots was not wholly discontinued till it was exer-

[1] See Sheringham's note on *Yoma*, in Surenhusius, Vol. II. p. 251, and the notes of Drusius and Cartwright on Ex. xxviii. 30 in the 'Crit. Sac.'

[2] Lev. xvi. 8; Num. xxvi. 55; Josh. vii. 14—18, xiii. 6, xviii. 8; 1 S. xiv. 41, 42; Acts i. 26.

cised in completing the number of the twelve Apostles (Acts i. 26). It seems worthy of remark, that the Urim and the Thummim appear to have fallen into disuse as the prophetic office became more distinct and important in and after the reign of David; and that we hear nothing of the casting of lots in the Apostolic History after the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost was given to lead believers into all truth. In each case, the lower mode of revelation appears to give way to the higher[1].

[1] It has been objected that there is nothing in the etymology of the names of the Urim and the Thummim to justify the conjecture that they were connected with casting lots. But the words in their proper meaning probably referred to the result obtained (*i.e.* the knowledge of the divine will) rather than to the mere material instruments employed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *The sacrifice and ceremonies of consecrating the priests.* 38 *The continual burnt offering.* 45 *God's promise to dwell among the children of Israel.*

AND this *is* the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: [a] Take one young bullock, and two rams without blemish,

[a] Lev. 8. 2. & 9. 2.

2 And unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened tempered with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: *of* wheaten flour shalt thou make them.

3 And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams.

4 And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water.

5 And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the curious girdle of the ephod:

6 And thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown upon the mitre.

7 Then shalt thou take the anointing [b] oil, and pour *it* upon his head, and anoint him.

[b] chap. 30. 25.

8 And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.

9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and [†] put the bonnets on them: and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute: and thou shalt [†] [c] consecrate Aaron and his sons.

[†] Heb. *bind.*

[†] Heb. *fill the hand of.*

[c] chap. 28. 41.

10 And thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation: and [d] Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the bullock.

[d] Lev. 1. 4.

11 And thou shalt kill the bullock before the LORD, *by* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

12 And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put *it* upon the horns of the altar with thy finger, and pour all the blood beside the bottom of the altar.

[e] Lev. 3. 3. [‖] *It seemeth by anatomy, and the Hebrew doctors, to be the midriff.*

13 And [e] thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and [‖] the caul *that is* above the liver, and the

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CHAP. XXIX.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE PRIESTS. 1—37.

The account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, in accordance with the directions contained in this chapter, is given in Lev. viii., ix. The details of the ceremonies involve many important references to the Law of the Offerings contained in Lev. i.—vii. Most of the notes on these details are therefore given under the narrative of the consecration in Leviticus.

1, 2, 3. See on Lev. viii. 2, 26.

2. *cakes unleavened tempered with oil*] These are called *cakes of oiled bread* in Lev. viii. 26. See on Lev. ii. 4.

4. *door of the tabernacle*] **entrance of the Tent.** See on Lev. viii. 3.

wash them] See on Lev. viii. 6.

5, 6. See on Lev. viii. 7, 8, 9; Exod. xxviii. 7, 8, 31—39, xxxix. 30.

6. *the holy crown*] See on xxxix. 30.

7. *the anointing oil*] See Lev. viii. 10—12; Exod. xxx. 22—25.

8. See on Lev. viii. 13; cf. Exod. xxxix. 41.

10—14. See on Lev. viii. 14—17; cf. Lev. iv. 3.

two kidneys, and the fat that *is* upon them, and burn *them* upon the altar.

14 But the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, and his dung, shalt thou burn with fire without the camp: it *is* a sin offering.

15 ¶ Thou shalt also take one ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.

16 And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take his blood, and sprinkle *it* round about upon the altar.

17 And thou shalt cut the ram in pieces, and wash the inwards of him, and his legs, and put *them* unto his ‖ Or, *upon.* pieces, and ‖ unto his head.

18 And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar: it *is* a burnt offering unto the LORD: it *is* a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

19 ¶ And thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.

20 Then shalt thou kill the ram, and take of his blood, and put *it* upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.

21 And thou shalt take of the blood that *is* upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle *it* upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.

22 Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat and the rump, and the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul *above* the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that *is* upon them, and the right shoulder; for it *is* a ram of consecration:

23 And one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer out of the basket of the unleavened bread that *is* before the LORD:

24 And thou shalt put all in the hands of Aaron, and in the hands of his sons; and shalt ‖ wave them *for* a wave offering before the LORD. ‖ Or, *shake to and fro.*

25 And thou shalt receive them of their hands, and burn *them* upon the altar for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour before the LORD: it *is* an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

26 And thou shalt take the breast of the ram of Aaron's consecration, and wave it *for* a wave offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy part.

27 And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, and the shoulder of the heave offering, which is waved, and which is heaved up, of the ram of the consecration, *even* of *that* which *is* for Aaron, and of *that* which is for his sons:

28 And it shall be Aaron's and his sons' by a statute for ever from the children of Israel: for it *is* an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the sacrifice of their peace offerings, *even* their heave offering unto the LORD.

29 ¶ And the holy garments of Aaron shall be his sons' after him, to be anointed therein, and to be consecrated in them.

30 *And* † that son that is priest in his stead shall put them on seven days, † Heb. *he of his sons.*

15—18. See on Lev. viii. 18—21.

19—28. See on Lev. viii. 22—29.

27. On *Waving* and *Heaving*, first mentioned in their connection with the ceremonies of the Altar in this chapter, see preface to Leviticus. It should be noticed that the right shoulder (rather perhaps *the right leg*, see Lev. vii. 32) was to be formally presented to the priests (*vv.* 22, 24), in order to make a recognition of the Law of the Heave-offering, though, on this special occasion, it was not to be eaten like an ordinary heave-offering, but to be made part of the burnt-offering. (*v.* 25.)

28. This law is repeated Lev. vii. 34. *Cf.* Lev. x. 14, 15; Num. vi. 20.

29, 30. See on Lev. viii. 30, 33.

when he cometh into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister in the holy *place*.

31 ¶ And thou shalt take the ram of the consecration, and seethe his flesh in the holy place.

32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the [f] bread that *is* in the basket, *by* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

[f] Lev. 8. 31. Matt. 12. 4.

33 And they shall eat those things wherewith the atonement was made, to consecrate *and* to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat *thereof*, because they *are* holy.

34 And if ought of the flesh of the consecrations, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because it *is* holy.

35 And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all *things* which I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them.

36 And thou shalt offer every day a bullock *for* a sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an atonement for it, and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it.

37 Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar, and sanctify it; and it shall be an altar most holy: whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.

38 ¶ Now this *is that* which thou shalt offer upon the altar; [g] two lambs of the first year day by day continually.

[g] Numb. 28. 3.

39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even:

40 And with the one lamb a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine *for* a drink offering.

41 And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meat offering of the morning, and according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

31—34. See on Lev. viii. 31, 32.

33. *a stranger*] **one of another family**, *i.e.* in this case, one not of the family of Aaron. The Hebrew word (*zār*) is the same as is used xxx. 33, Deut. xxv. 5.

35, 36. See on Lev. viii. 33, 35.

37. See on Lev. viii. 11.

The Continual Burnt-offering.

38—46.

38. *this is that which thou shalt offer*] The primary purpose of the national Altar is here set forth. On it was to be offered "the continual Burnt-offering" (*v.* 42), consisting of a yearling lamb with its meat-offering and its drink-offering, and this was to figure the daily renewal of the consecration of the nation. The victim slain every morning and every evening was an acknowledgment that the life of the people belonged to Jehovah, and the offering of meal was an acknowledgment that all their right works were His due (see on Lev. ii.); while the incense symbolized their daily prayers. (See on xxx. 6—8.)

39. *at even*] Literally, *between the two evenings*. See on xii. 6.

40. *a tenth deal*] *i.e.* the tenth part of an Ephah; it is sometimes called an Omer (Exod. xvi. 36; Num. xxviii. 5. See on Lev. xxiii. 13). The Ephah seems to have been rather less than four gallons and a half (see on Lev. xix. 36); and the tenth deal of flour may have weighed about 3 lbs. 2 oz.

an hin] The word *hin*, which here first occurs, appears to be Egyptian. The measure was one-sixth of an ephah. The quarter of a hin was therefore about a pint and a half. See on Lev. xix. 36.

beaten oil] *i.e.* oil of the best quality. See on xxvii. 20.

wine for a drink-offering] The earliest mention of the Drink-offering is found in connection with Jacob's setting up the stone at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 14). But it is here first associated with the rites of the Altar. The Law of the Drink-offering is stated Num. xv. 5 sq. Nothing whatever is expressly said in the Old Testament regarding the mode in which the wine was treated: but it would seem probable, from the prohibition that it should not be poured upon the Altar of Incense (Exod. xxx. 9), that it used to be poured on the Altar of Burnt-offering. Josephus ('Ant.' III. 9. § 4) says that it was poured round the Altar (*περὶ τὸν βωμόν*): it may have been cast upon it in the same way as the blood of the Burnt-

42 *This shall be* a continual burnt offering throughout your generations *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee.

43 And there I will meet with the children of Israel, and [1] *the tabernacle* shall be sanctified by my glory.

[1] Or, Israel.

44 And I will sanctify the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar: I will sanctify also both Aaron and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office.

[h] Lev. 26. 12. [2] Cor. 6. 16

45 ¶ And [h] I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God.

46 And they shall know that I *am* the LORD their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I *am* the LORD their God.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 The altar of incense. 11 The ransom of souls. 17 The brasen laver. 22 The holy anointing oil. 34 The composition of the perfume.

AND thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: *of* shittim wood shalt thou make it.

2 A cubit *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits *shall be* the height thereof: the horns thereof *shall be* of the same.

3 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the [†] top thereof, and the [†] sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a crown of gold round about.

[†] Heb. *the roof and the walls.* [†] Heb. *walls.*

4 And two golden rings shalt thou make to it under the crown of it, by the two [†] corners thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make *it;* and

[†] Heb. *ribs.*

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offering and the Peace-offering (see on Lev. i.), or at its foot (ἐς θεμέλια), Ecclus. i. 15. This appears to agree with the patriarchal usage mentioned Gen. xxxv. 14.

42. *at the door of the tabernacle*] **at the entrance of the Tent.**

43. *the (tabernacle) shall be sanctified*] The word *tabernacle* is certainly not the right one to be here supplied. From the context it may be inferred that what is meant is the spot in which Jehovah promises to meet with the assembly of His people, who were not admitted into the *Mishkān* itself, as the priests were (see xxv. 22); that is, the Holy Precinct between the Tabernacle and the Altar. See Lev. x. 17, 18.—This verse should be rendered, **And in that place will I meet with the children of Israel, and it shall be sanctified with my glory.**

44, 45. The purpose of the formal consecration of the Sanctuary and of the priests who served in it was, that the whole nation which Jehovah had set free from its bondage in Egypt might be consecrated in its daily life, and dwell continually in His presence as "a kingdom of priests and an holy nation."

46. Cf. Gen. xvii. 7.

CHAP. XXX.

The Altar of Incense.

1—10. (xxxvii. 25—28, xl. 26, 27.)

This passage would seem naturally to belong to ch. xxv., where directions are given for the whole of the furniture of the Tabernacle, except the Altar of Incense. No satisfactory reason appears for its occurrence in this place. In the lists of the articles (xxxi. 8, xxxv. 15), and in the record of their construction (xxxvii. 25—28), and of their arrangement in the Sanctuary (xl. 26, 27), the Altar of Incense is mentioned in due order. It should however be observed, that the instructions here given respecting it are distinguished from those relating to the other articles in ch. xxv. in as far as they comprise directions for the mode in which it was to be used (*vv.* 7—10).

The Altar was to be a casing of boards of shittim wood (see on xxv. 5), 18 inches square and three feet in height (taking the cubit as 18 inches), entirely covered with plates of gold. Four "horns" were to project upwards at the corners like those of the Altar of Burnt-offering (xxvii. 2). A moulding of gold was to run round the top. On each of two opposite sides there was to be a gold ring through which the staves were to be put when it was moved from place to place.

3. *a crown of gold*] **a moulding of gold.** See on xxv. 11.

4. *by the two corners [thereof]*] The Hebrew word does not mean *corners*. See margin. The sense of the first part of the verse appears to be: *And two gold rings shalt thou make for it under its moulding; on its two sides shalt thou make them* (*i.e.* one ring on each side). So de Wette, Knobel, Schott, Wogue. The Ark and the Shewbread Table had each four rings, two for the pole on each side; but the Incense Altar, being shorter,

they shall be for places for the staves to bear it withal.

5 And thou shalt make the staves *of* shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.

6 And thou shalt put it before the vail that *is* by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that *is* over the testimony, where I will meet with thee.

7 And Aaron shall burn thereon † sweet incense every morning: when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn incense upon it.

† Heb. *incense of spices.*

8 And when Aaron ‖ lighteth the lamps † at even, he shall burn incense upon it, a perpetual incense before the LORD throughout your generations.

‖ Or, *setteth up.* Heb. *causeth to ascend.* † Heb. *between the two evens.*

9 Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon, nor burnt sacrifice, nor meat offering; neither shall ye pour drink offering thereon.

10 And Aaron shall make an atonement upon the horns of it once in a year with the blood of the sin offering of atonements: once in the year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations: it *is* most holy unto the LORD.

11 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

12 [a] When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after † their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when *thou* numberest them.

[a] Numb. 1. 2, 5. † Heb. *them that are to be numbered.*

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was sufficiently supported by a single ring on each side, without risk of its being thrown off its balance.

6. The place for the Altar of Incense was outside the vail, opposite to the Ark of the Covenant and between the Candlestick on the south side and the Shewbread Table on the north (xl. 22—24). It appears to have been regarded as having a more intimate connection with the Holy of Holies than the other things in the Holy Place (see 1 K. vi. 22; Rev. viii. 3; also Heb. ix. 4, if we are to identify it with the θυμιατήριον there mentioned, see on Lev. xvi. 12); and the mention of the Mercy-seat in this verse, if we associate with it the significance of incense as figuring the prayers of the Lord's people (Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4), seems to furnish additional ground for an inference that the Incense Altar took precedence of the Table of Shewbread and the Candlestick.

7. *the lamps*] See on xxvii. 21.

burn incense] The word here and elsewhere applied to the burning of incense is the same as that used xxv. 37. See note.

7, 8. The offering of the Incense accompanied that of the morning and evening sacrifice. The two forms of offering symbolized the spirit of man reaching after communion with Jehovah, both in act and utterance, according to the words of the Psalmist, "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense; and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." Ps. cxli. 2.

9. By this regulation, the symbolism of the Altar of Incense was kept free from ambiguity. Atonement was made by means of the victim on the Brazen altar in the court outside; the prayers of the reconciled worshippers had their type within the Tabernacle.

10. See on Lev. xvi. 18, 19.

shall he make atonement] rather, **shall atonement be made.**

The Ransom of Souls.

11—16. (xxxviii. 25—28.)

11, 12. The materials for the textile work, the wood, the gold, and the bronze, were to be the free-will offerings of those who could contribute them (xxv. 2, xxxv. 21 sq.). But the silver was to be obtained by an enforced capitation on every adult male Israelite, the poor and the rich having to pay the same (*v.* 15). Hence, in the estimate of the metals collected for the work (xxxviii. 24—31) the gold and the bronze are termed *offerings* (strictly, **wave-offerings**, see preface to Leviticus), while the silver is spoken of as "the silver of them that were numbered." But this payment is brought into its highest relation in being here accounted a spiritual obligation laid on each individual, a tribute expressly exacted by Jehovah. Every man of Israel who would escape a curse (*v.* 12) had in this way to make a practical acknowledgment that he had a share in the Sanctuary, on the occasion of his being recognised as one of the covenanted people (*v.* 16).—Silver was the metal commonly used for current coin. See Gen. xxiii. 16.

12. *When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel*] The silver must have been contributed at this time, along with the other materials, since it was used in the Tabernacle, which was completed on the first day of the first month of the second year after coming

13 This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (b a shekel *is* twenty gerahs:) an half shekel *shall be* the offering of the LORD.

b Lev. 27. 25. Numb. 3. 47. Ezek. 45. 12.

14 Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the LORD.

15 The rich shall not † give more, and the poor shall not † give less than half a shekel, when *they* give an offering unto the LORD, to make an atonement for your souls.

† Heb. *multiply.* † Heb. *diminish.*

16 And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the LORD, to make an atonement for your souls.

17 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

18 Thou shalt also make a laver *of* brass, and his foot *also of* brass, to wash *withal:* and thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein.

19 For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat:

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out of Egypt (xl. 17). But the command to take the complete census of the nation appears not to have been given until the first day of the second month of that year (Num. i. 1). On comparing the words of Exod. xxx. 12 with those of Num. i. 1—3, we may perhaps infer that the first passage relates to a mere counting of the adult Israelites at the time when the money was taken from each, and that what the latter passage enjoins was a formal enrolment of them according to their genealogies and their order of military service.

a ransom for his soul] What the sincere worshipper thus paid was at once the fruit and the sign of his faith in the goodness of Jehovah, who had redeemed him and brought him into the Covenant. (See Introd. note to ch. xxv.) Hence the payment is rightly called a *ransom* in as much as it involved a personal appropriation of the fact of his redemption. On the word *soul*, see on Lev. xvii. 11.

that there be no plague] *i.e.* that they might not incur punishment for the neglect and contempt of spiritual privileges. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 27—30; and the Exhortation in our Communion Service.

13. *half a shekel*] The probable weight of silver in the half-shekel would now be worth about 1*s.* 3½*d.* (See on Exod. xxxviii. 25.) *Gerah* is, literally, a *bean*, probably the bean of the carob or locust-tree (Aben-Ezra). It was used as the name of a small weight, as our word *grain* came into use from a grain of wheat. The purpose of the definition of the shekel here given is not quite certain. It might seem to countenance the rabbinical notion that there were two kinds of shekel, the shekel of the Sanctuary consisting of twenty gerahs, and the common shekel. (See on xxxviii. 24.) But it is more likely that the weight is defined rather for the sake of emphasis, to intimate that the just value should be given precisely. The words in question might rather be rendered: "half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary, **twenty gerahs to the shekel; the half shekel shall be the offering** (Heb. *terumah*, as in *vv.* 14, 15; see xxv. 2) **to Jehovah.**"

15. Every Israelite stood in one and the same relation to Jehovah. See on *vv.* 11, 12.

16. *tabernacle of the congregation*] **Tent of meeting.**

a memorial unto the children of Israel] The silver used in the Tabernacle was a memorial to remind each man of his position before the Lord, as one of the covenanted people.

The Laver of Brass.

17—21. (xxxviii. 8.)

18. *a laver of brass*] The bronze for the Laver and its foot was supplied from the bronze mirrors of the women "who assembled at the door of the tabernacle." The women seem to have voluntarily given up these articles of luxury (see on xxxviii. 8). Bronze mirrors were much used by the ancient Egyptians. Wilkinson, Vol. II. p. 345. No hint is given as to the form of the Laver. It may have been made with an immediate view to use of the simplest and most convenient form. The Brazen Sea and the ten Lavers that served the same purpose in the Temple of Solomon, were elaborately wrought in artistic designs and are minutely described (1 K. vii. 23—29).

tabernacle of the congregation] **Tent of meeting.**

19. *wash their hands and their feet*] Whenever a priest had to enter the Tabernacle, or to offer a victim on the Altar, he was required to wash his hands and his feet; but on certain solemn occasions he was required to bathe his whole person (xxix. 4; Lev. xvi. 4). The Laver must also have furnished the water for washing those parts of the victims that needed cleansing (Lev. i. 9).

20 When they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the LORD:

21 So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them, *even* to him and to his seed throughout their generations.

22 ¶ Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

23 Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred *shekels*, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, *even* two hundred and fifty *shekels*, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty *shekels*,

24 And of cassia five hundred *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of oil olive an [c] hin:

[c] chap. 29. 40.

20. *tabernacle of the congregation*] **Tent of meeting.**

that they die not] See on xxviii. 35.

to burn offering made by fire unto the LORD] Literally, *to send up in fire an offering to Jehovah.* The verb is the same as in *v.* 7 and xxv. 37.

The Holy Anointing Oil.

22—33. (xxxvii. 29.)

23. *principal spices*] *i.e.* the best spices.

pure myrrh] There cannot be much doubt as to the identity of this substance from its name in different languages (Hebrew, *mōr;* Arabic, *murr;* Greek, σμύρνα; Latin, *myrrha*). It is a gum which comes from the stem of a low, thorny, ragged tree, that grows in Arabia Felix and Eastern Africa, called by botanists *Balsamodendron myrrha.* The word here rendered *pure*, is literally, *freely flowing*, an epithet which is explained by the fact that the best myrrh is said to exude spontaneously from the bark (Plin. 'H. N.' XII. 35; Theophrast. 'de Odorib.' 29), while that of inferior quality oozes out in greater quantity from incisions made in the bark. On the estimation in which myrrh was held, see Cant. i. 13; Matt. ii. 11; on its use as a perfume, Ps. xlv. 8; Prov. vii. 17; Cant. v. 5; and on its use in embalming, John xix. 39. This is the first mention of it in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, but in our version it is named by mistake in Gen. xxxvii. 25, xliii. 11.

five hundred shekels] Probably rather more than 15¼ lbs. See on xxxviii. 24.

sweet cinnamon] This substance is satisfactorily identified, like the preceding one, on account of its name (Heb. *Kinnamon;* Gr. κιννάμωμον; Lat. *cinnamomum*). It is obtained from a tree allied to the laurel that grows in Ceylon and other islands of the Indian Ocean, known in Botany as the *Cinnamomun zeylanicum.* It is the inner rind of the tree dried in the sun. The origin of the name appears to be found in the Malay language (Ritter, Knobel), Herodotus says that the word is Phœnician, but this means no more than that the Greeks learned it from the Phœnicians. It is probable that Cinnamon was imported from India in very early times by the people of Ophir, and that it was brought with other spices from the south part of Arabia by the trading caravans that visited Egypt and Syria. Hence, even in later times, Cinnamon and other Indian spices were spoken of as productions of the land of the Sabæans (Strabo, XVI. pp. 769, 774, 778). If we accept this explanation, the mention of these spices in Exodus may be taken as the earliest notice we have connected with commerce with the remote East. Cinnamon is elsewhere mentioned in the Scriptures only, Prov. vii. 17; Cant. iv. 14; Rev. xviii. 13.

two hundred and fifty shekels] Probably about 7 lbs. 14 oz. See on xxxviii. 24.

sweet calamus] The word rendered calamus (*kanēh*) is the common Hebrew name for a *stalk, reed*, or *cane* (Gen. xli. 5; 1 K. xiv. 15; Ezek. xli. 8). The **fragrant cane** (or *rush*) here spoken of is mentioned in Isa. xliii. 24, in Jer. vi. 20 (where it is called in the Hebrew "**the good cane** from a far country"), and in Cant. iv. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 19, where it is called simply **cane**. It was probably what is now known in India as the Lemon Grass (*Andropogon schoenanthus*). Aromatic reeds were known to the ancients as the produce of India and the region of the Euphrates (Xenophon, 'Anab.' I. 5, § 1; Diosc. 'Mat. Med.' I. 16). The statements that such reeds were produced in the neighbourhood of Libanus (Theophr. 'H. P.' IX. 7; 'C. P.' VI. 18; Polybius, V. 45), near the Lake of Gennesaret (Strabo, XVI. p. 755) and in the Land of the Sabæans (Strabo, XVI. p. 778; cf. Diod. II. 49), may be regarded as some of the many mistakes which have arisen from confounding the country from which a commodity is obtained with that of its original production.

24. *cassia*] The Hebrew name (*kiddāh*) is found elsewhere only in Ezek. xxvii. 19, where it is associated, as it is here, with sweet cane. The word rendered *cassia* in Ps. xlv. 8 is a different one, but it is probable that the same substance is denoted by it. Most of the ancient versions, and all modern authorities, seem to be in favour of *cassia* being the true rendering of *kiddāh.* Cassia is the inner bark

25 And thou shalt make it an oil of holy ointment, an ointment compound after the art of the [1]apothecary: it shall be an holy anointing oil.

[1]Or, *perfumer.*

26 And thou shalt anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith, and the ark of the testimony,

27 And the table and all his vessels, and the candlestick and his vessels, and the altar of incense,

28 And the altar of burnt offering with all his vessels, and the laver and his foot.

29 And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.

30 And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them, that *they* may minister unto me in the priest's office.

31 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations.

32 Upon man's flesh shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make *any other* like it, after the composition of it: it *is* holy, *and* it shall be holy unto you.

33 Whosoever compoundeth *any* like it, or whosoever putteth *any* of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people.

34 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum;

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of an Indian tree (*Cinnamonum cassia*), which differs from that which produces cinnamon in the shape of its leaves and some other particulars. It bears a strong resemblance to cinnamon, but it is more pungent, and of coarser texture. It was probably in ancient times, as it is at present, by far less costly than cinnamon, and it may have been on this account that it was used in double quantity.

an hin] Probably about six pints. See on Lev. xix. 36.

25.] *an oil of holy ointment*] rather, **a holy anointing oil.**

after the art of the apothecary] According to Jewish tradition, the essences of the spices were first extracted, and then mixed with the oil (Otho, 'Lex. Rabb.' p. 486). That some such process was employed is probable from the great proportion of solid matter compared with the oil. The preparation of the Anointing Oil, as well as of the Incense, was entrusted to Bezaleel (xxxvii. 29), and the care of preserving it to Eleazar the son of Aaron (Num. iv. 16). In a later age, it was prepared by the sons of the priests (1 Chro. ix. 30).

26—31.] Cf. xl. 9—15. See on Lev. viii. 10—12.

26. *tabernacle of the congregation*] **Tent of meeting.**

29.] See on xxix. 37.

32. *upon man's flesh*] *i.e.* on the persons of those that were not priests who might employ it for such anointing as was usual on festive occasions (Ps. civ. 15; Prov. xxvii. 9; Matt. vi. 17, &c.).

33. *a stranger*] **one of another family.** See on xxix. 33. The Holy Anointing Oil was not even to be used for the anointing of a king. See on 1 K. i. 39.

cut off from his people.] See on Gen. xvii. 14, Exod. xxxi. 14, and Lev. vii. 20.

The Holy Incense.

34—38. (xxxvii. 29.)

34.] The Incense, like the Anointing Oil, consisted of four aromatic ingredients.

stacte] The Hebrew word is *nataph* (*i.e. a drop*), which occurs in its simple sense in Job xxxvi. 27. Our version and the Vulgate have adopted the word used by the LXX. (στακτή), which, like the Hebrew, may denote anything that drops, and was applied to the purest kind of myrrh that drops spontaneously from the tree (see on *v.* 23). But the substance here meant, which is nowhere else mentioned in the Old Testament, is generally supposed to be the gum of the Storax-tree (*Styrax officinalis*) found in Syria and the neighbouring countries. The gum was burned as a perfume in the time of Pliny ('H. N.' XII. 40). But it seems by no means unlikely that the *stacte* here mentioned was the gum known as Benzoin, or Gum Benjamin, which is an important ingredient in the incense now used in churches and mosks, and is the produce of another storax-tree (*Styrax benjoin*) that grows in Java and Sumatra. See on *v.* 23. It may be observed that the liquid storax of commerce is obtained from quite a different tree known to botanists as *Liquidambar syraciflua.*

onycha] Heb. *shechēleth* (which appears to mean a *shell*, or *scale*), LXX. ὄνυξ, Vulg. *onycha.* The word does not occur in any other place in the Old Testament. The Greek word was not only applied to the well-known precious stone, the onyx, from its resemblance to the human nail, but to the horny operculum, or cap, of a shell. The operculum of the strombus, or wing-shell, which

these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like *weight:*

35 And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, [o] [†] tempered together, pure *and* holy:

36 And thou shalt beat *some* of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation, where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

37 And *as for* the perfume which thou shalt make, ye shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof: it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD.

[o] [†] Heb. *salted.*

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abounds in the Red Sea, is said to be employed at this day in the composition of perfume, and to have been used as a medicine in the Middle Ages under the name of *Blatta Byzantina*. Pliny, most likely referring to the same substance with imperfect knowledge, speaks of a shell called *onyx* that was used both as a perfume and a medicine ('H. N.' XXXII. 46; cf. Dioscorides, 'Mat. Med.' II. 11). Its identification with the *shecheleth* of the text seems probable. Saadia uses the word *ladanum*, the name of the gum of the Lada tree (see Plin. 'H. N.' XII. 37). Bochart, on weak ground, imagined that bdellium (Gen. ii. 12) was meant. See Bochart, 'Op.' Vol. III. p. 803; Gesen. 'Thes.' p. 1388.

galbanum] Heb. *chelbenāh;* LXX. χαλβάνη; Vulg. *galbanum*. It is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament. No doubt has been raised as to its identity. Galbanum is now well known in medicine as a gum of a yellowish brown colour, in the form of either grains or masses. It burns with a pungent smell which is agreeable when it is combined with other smells, but not else. It is imported from India, Persia, and Africa; yet, strange to say, the plant from which it comes is not yet certainly known. (See 'English Cyclo.' s. v.)

pure frankincense] Heb. *lebonah;* LXX. λίβανος; Vulg. *thus*. This was the most important of the aromatic gums. Like myrrh, it was regarded by itself as a precious perfume (Cant. iii. 6; Matt. ii. 11), and it was used unmixed with other substances in some of the rites of the Law (Lev. ii. 1. 15, v. 11, vi. 15, &c.). The Hebrew name is improperly rendered *incense* in our Version in Isa. xliii. 23, lx. 6, lxvi. 3; Jer. vi. 20, xvii. 26, xli. 5. It is certain that the supplies of it, as well as of the other spices, were obtained from Southern Arabia (Isa. lx. 6, Jer. vi. 20. Cf. 1 K. x. 1, 2, 10, 15; 2 Chro. ix. 9. 14). The Greek and Latin writers in general speak of its being produced in that region. But they evidently knew but little of the subject, as their descriptions of the plant producing it differ greatly from each other. (Plin. 'H. N.' VI. 32, XII. 31; Diod. Sic. II. 49, V. 41; Theophrast. 'de Plant.' IX. 1; Arrian, 'Perip.' with Stuck's note, p. 49; Dioscor. I. 82; Strabo, XVI. p. 774. Cf. p. 782.) The tree from which it is obtained is not found in Arabia, and it was most likely imported from India by the Sabæans, like Cinnamon, Cassia, and Calamus (see on *v.* 23). The tree is now known as the *Boswellia serrata*, or *B. thurifera*, and grows abundantly in the highlands of India, where its native name is *Salai*. The native name of the gum is *olibanum*, and its Arabic name, *looban:* the Hebrew and Greek names seem to have been taken directly from the Arabic. The frankincense of commerce is a different substance, the resin of the spruce and of some other kinds of fir.

35. *after the art of the apothecary*] The four substances were perhaps pounded and thoroughly mixed together, and then fused into a mass.

tempered together] With this rendering, most Versions, modern as well as ancient, and many of the best critics, agree. But, according to its etymology, the Hebrew might mean *seasoned with salt*, or (as it stands in the margin) *salted*. It is thus explained in the Talmud, which has been followed by Maimonides, de Wette, Gesenius, Herxheimer, Kalisch, and Keil. It is urged that this accords with the law that every offering should be accompanied by salt (Lev. ii. 13). But this law appears to refer only to the offerings of what was used as food (see note in loc., and on Lev. xxiv. 7), and Knobel has well observed that the use of salt in incense is contrary to all known analogy, since no such combination is known to have been made in the incense of any people.—Josephus speaks of the incense of the Temple as consisting of thirteen ingredients, but he does not state what they were ('B. J.' v. 5. § 5). A list of them is however given by Maimonides. A change may have been made in the composition in later times.

36. A portion of the mass was to be broken into small pieces and put "before the testimony;" that is opposite to the Ark of the Covenant, on the outside of the vail, conveniently near the Golden Altar on which it was to be lighted. (See on *v.* 6, and on xl. 20.) It may be observed that the incense thus brought into relation with the Ark was styled "most holy," while the Oil is no more than "holy," *v.* 32.

37, 38. Cf. *vv.* 32, 33. The Holy Incense, like the Holy Anointing Oil, was to be

38 Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, shall even be cut off from his people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *Bezaleel and Aholiab are called and made meet for the work of the tabernacle.* 12 *The observation of the sabbath is again commanded.* 18 *Moses receiveth the two tables.*

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 See, I have called by name Bezaleel the [a] son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah:

[a] 1 Chron. ii. 20.

3 And I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship,

4 To devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,

5 And in cutting of stones, to set *them*, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.

6 And I, behold, I have given with him Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan: and in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put

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kept in the Sanctuary, exclusively for the service of Jehovah.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Call of Bezaleel and Aholiab.
1—11. (XXXV. 30—35.)

2—6. This solemn call of Bezaleel and Aholiab is full of instruction. Their work was to be only that of handicraftsmen. Every thing that they had to do was prescribed in strict and precise detail. There was to be no exercise for their original powers of invention, nor for their taste. Still, it was Jehovah Himself who called them by name to their tasks, and the powers which they were now called upon to exercise in their respective crafts, were declared to have been given them by the Holy Spirit. (See on XXVIII. 3.) Thus is every effort of skill, every sort of well-ordered labour, when directed to a right end, brought into the very highest sphere of association.

3. *the spirit of God*] Literally, *a spirit of Elohim.* Mr Quarry ('Genesis,' &c. pp. 271—275) endeavours to prove that this expression has a lower meaning than *the spirit of Jehovah* (which stands in our Bible, "the spirit of the LORD"), and he would rather translate it, "a divine spirit." The definite article is wanting in the Hebrew in both cases. Mr Quarry however conceives that the distinction lies in the fact that Jehovah is a proper name, while Elohim is an appellative. But there is certainly no fair ground to infer any difference of meaning from the general use of the two phrases in the sacred text. It is the spirit of Elohim who inspires Balaam (Num. XXIV. 2), Azariah, the son of Oded (2 Chro. XV. 1), and Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada (2 Chro. XXIV. 20), in their prophetic utterances; while it is the Spirit of Jehovah who inspires the Judges for their work as leaders of the people. (Judg. III. 10, VI. 34, XI. 29.) The Spirit of Jehovah who inspired Saul (1 S. X. 6) is the same as is more frequently called the Spirit of Elohim (1 S. X. 10, XI. 6, &c.). The terms would thus seem to be strictly equivalent.

wisdom] The Hebrew word is derived from a root of which the meaning is *to judge* or *decide.* It is used to denote the proper endowment of the ruler (2 S. XIV. 20; Is. XIX. 11), and that of the prophet (Ezek. XXVIII. 3, 4; Dan. V. 11); the highest exercise of the mind in a general sense (Job IX. 4, XI. 6, XII. 12, XV. 8), and, as in this place, the prime qualification of the workman in any manner of work. (Exod. XXVIII. 3, XXXI. 6, XXXV. 10, 25, 26, 31, 35, XXXVI. 1, 2, &c.) It is, in fact, that "right judgment in all things" for which we specially pray on Whitsun-day. LXX. σόφια; Vulg. *sapientia.*

understanding] The Hebrew word is from a root that signifies *to discern*, or *discriminate*; it denotes the perceptive faculty. LXX. σύνεσις; Vulg. *intelligentia.*

knowledge] *i.e.* experience, a practical acquaintance with facts. LXX. ἐπιστήμη; Vulg. *scientia.*

in all manner of workmanship] *i.e.* not only in the intellectual gifts of wisdom, understanding and knowledge, but in dexterity of hand.

4. *to devise cunning works*] Rather, **to devise works of skill.** The Hebrew phrase is not the same as that rendered "cunning work" in respect to textile fabrics in XXVI. 1.

4—6. There appears to be sufficient reason to identify Hur, the grandfather of Bezaleel, with the Hur who assisted Aaron in supporting the hands of Moses during the battle with Amalek at Rephidim (Ex. XVII. 10), and who was associated with Aaron in the charge of the people while Moses was on the mountain (Ex. XXIV. 14). Josephus says that he was the husband of Miriam ('Ant.' III. 2. § 4; VI. § 1). It is thus probable that Bezaleel was related to Moses. He was the chief artificer in metal, stone and wood; he had also to perform the apothecary's work in the composition of the Anointing Oil and the Incense (XXXVII. 29). He had precedence of all the artificers, but Aholiab appears to have had the entire charge of the textile work (XXXV. 35, XXXVIII. 23).

wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee;

7 The tabernacle of the congregation, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy seat that *is* thereupon, and all the furniture of the tabernacle,

8 And the table and his furniture, and the pure candlestick with all his furniture, and the altar of incense,

9 And the altar of burnt offering with all his furniture, and the laver and his foot,

10 And the cloths of service, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office,

11 And the anointing oil, and sweet incense for the holy *place:* according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

12 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

13 Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep: for it *is* a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that *ye* may know that I *am* the LORD that doth sanctify you.

14 [b] Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; for it *is* holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth *any* work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people.

15 Six days may work be done;

[a] Heb. *vessels.*

[b] chap. 20. 8. Deut. 5. 12. Ezek. 20. 12.

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6. *all that are wise hearted*] See on xxviii. 3.

7. *tabernacle*] **Tent**, in both places.
of the congregation] **of meeting.**

8. *the table and his furniture*] xxv. 23—30.
the pure candlestick] That is, the candlestick of pure gold; xxv. 31—40.
the altar of incense] xxx. 1—10.

9. *the altar of burnt offering*] xxvii. 1—8.
the laver] xxx. 17—21.

10. *And the cloths of service*] Rather, **And the garments of office**; that is, the distinguishing official garments of the High-priest. LXX. στολαὶ λειτουργικαί. With this agree, more or less clearly, the Syriac, Vulg., Targums, Saadia, Luther, Cranmer, both the Geneva Versions, de Wette, Zunz, Knobel, Kalisch, &c. The three kinds of dress mentioned in this verse appear to be the only ones which were peculiar to the Sanctuary. They were: (1) The richly adorned state robes of the High-priest (see xxviii. 6—38, xxxix. 1 sq.). (2) The "holy garments" of white linen for the High-priest, worn on the most solemn occasion in the year (see Lev. xvi. 4; Ex. xxviii. 39). (3) The garments of white linen for all the priests, worn in their regular ministrations (see xxviii. 40, 41).—From the connection in which the expression rendered "cloths of service" here occurs, and a comparison of this verse with xxxix. 1, it seems strange that any doubt should have arisen as to its meaning. But some Jewish writers have supposed that the wrapping cloths are denoted which are mentioned Num. iv. 6, 7, 11, &c., and our translators appear to have held some similar notion. Gesenius imagined that the inner curtains of the Tabernacle are meant. But neither of these interpretations appears to be supported by a single ancient authority, nor can either of them be well reconciled with the expression, "to do service in the holy place" (xxxv. 19, xxxix. 1, 41). Cf. xxviii. 35.

The Penal Law of the Sabbath.
12—17. (xxxv. 2, 3.)

In the Fourth Commandment the injunction to observe the Seventh Day is addressed to the conscience of the people (see on xx. 8): in this place, the object is to declare an infraction of the Commandment to be a capital offence. The two passages stand in a relation to each other similar to that between Lev. xviii. xix. and Lev. xx. See note on Lev. xviii. 24.—Considering the weighty bearing of the Sabbath upon the Covenant between Jehovah and His people, a solemn sanction of its observance might well form the conclusion of the string of messages which Moses was to deliver on this occasion. But from the repetition of the substance of these verses in the beginning of ch. xxxv. it seems likely (as many commentators have observed) that the penal edict was specially introduced as a caution in reference to the construction of the Tabernacle, lest the people, in their zeal to carry on the work, should be tempted to break the divine Law for the observance of the Day. In this chapter, the edict immediately follows the series of directions given to Moses on Sinai for the work; in ch. xxxv. Moses utters it before he repeats any of the directions to the people.

13. *a sign between me and you*, &c.] Cf. *v.* 17: Ezek. xx. 12, 20. See on Exod. xx. 8.

14. *put to death*] This Law was very soon put into operation in the case of the man who gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-

but in the seventh *is* the sabbath of rest, † holy to the LORD: whosoever doeth *any* work in the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death.

† Heb. *holiness.*

16 Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, *for* a perpetual covenant.

17 It *is* a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for [c] *in* six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.

[c] Gen. 1. 31. & 2. 2.

18 ¶ And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, [d] two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.

[d] Deut. 9. 10.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *The people, in the absence of Moses, cause Aaron to make a calf.* 7 *God is angered thereby.* 11 *At the intreaty of Moses he is appeased.* 15 *Moses cometh down with the tables.* 19 *He breaketh them.* 20 *He destroyeth the calf.* 22 *Aaron's excuse for himself.* 25 *Moses causeth the idolaters to be slain.* 30 *He prayeth for the people.*

AND when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, [a] Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for *as for*

[a] Acts 7. 40.

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day. Death was inflicted by stoning. Num. xv. 35.

cut off from among his people] This is distinctly assigned as a reason why the offender should, or might, be put to death. The passage seems to indicate the distinction between the meaning of the two expressions, *to be cut off from the people*, and *to be put to death*. He who was cut off from the people had, by his offence, put himself out of the terms of the Covenant, and was an outlaw. (See on Lev. xviii. 29.) On such, and on such alone, when the offence was one which affected the well-being of the nation, as it was in this case, death could be inflicted by the public authority.

17. *was refreshed*] Literally, *he took breath*. Cf. xxiii. 12; 2 S. xvi. 14. The application of the word to the Creator, which occurs nowhere else, is remarkable.

18. The directions for the construction of the Sanctuary and its furniture being ended, the Tables of Stone which represented the Covenant between Jehovah and His people, and which, when covered with the Mercy-seat were to give the Sanctuary its significance, are now delivered to Moses in accordance with the promise xxiv. 12; cf. xxxii. 15, 16.

The history of what relates to the construction of the Sanctuary is here interrupted, and is taken up again chap. xxxv. 1.

CHAP. XXXII.—XXXIV.

THE GOLDEN CALF. THE COVENANT AND THE TABLES BROKEN AND RENEWED.

The exact coherence of the narrative of all that immediately relates to the construction of the Sanctuary, if we pass on immediately from ch. xxxi. to ch. xxxv., might suggest the probability that these three chapters originally formed a distinct composition. This suggestion is in some degree strengthened, if we take account of some part of the subject matter of ch. xxxiv. (see on xxxiv. 12—27). But this need not involve the question of the Mosaic authorship of the three chapters. The main incidents recorded in them follow in due order of time, and are therefore in their proper place as regards historical sequence.

The Golden Calf. xxxii. 1—6.

The people had, to a great extent, lost the patriarchal faith, and were but imperfectly instructed in the reality of a personal unseen God. Being disappointed at the long absence of Moses, they seem to have imagined that he had deluded them and had probably been destroyed amidst the thunders of the mountain (xxiv. 15—18). They accordingly gave way to their superstitious fears and fell back upon that form of idolatry that was most familiar to them (see on *v.* 4). The narrative of the circumstances is more briefly given by Moses at a later period in one of his addresses to the people (Deut. ix. 8—21, 25—29, x. 1—5, 8—11). It is worthy of remark that Josephus, in his very characteristic chapter on the giving of the Law ('Ant.' III. 5), says nothing whatever of this act of apostasy, though he relates that Moses twice ascended the mountain, and renews his own profession that he is faithfully following the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Philo speaks of the calf as an imitation of the idolatry of Egypt, but he takes no notice of Aaron's share in the sin ('Vit. Mos.' III. 19. 37).

1. *unto Aaron*] The chief authority during the absence of Moses was committed to Aaron and Hur (xxiv. 14).

make us gods] The substantive (*elohim*) is plural in form and may denote *gods*. But according to the Hebrew idiom, the meaning need not be plural, and hence the word is used as the common designation of the true God (Gen. i. 1, &c. See on xxi. 6). It here denotes **a god**, and should be so rendered

this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

2 And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings, which *are* in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring *them* unto me.

3 And all the people brake off the golden earrings which *were* in their ears, and brought *them* unto Aaron.

[b] Psal. 106. 19. [1] Kings 12. 28.

4 [b] And he received *them*, at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These *be* thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

5 And when Aaron saw *it*, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To morrow *is* a feast to the LORD.

6 And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the [c] people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. [c] 1 Cor. 10. 7.

7 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, [d] Go, get thee down; for thy [d] Deut. 9. 12.

(Saadia and most modern interpreters). It is evident that what the Israelites asked for was a visible god. Our version follows the LXX., Vulg., &c.

2. *Break off the golden earrings*] It has been very generally held from early times, that Aaron did not willingly lend himself to the mad design of the multitude; but that, when overcome by their importunity, he asked them to give up such possessions as he knew they would not willingly part with, in the hope of putting a check on them (Augustin. 'Quæst.' 141; Theodoret. 'Quæst.' 66). Assuming this to have been his purpose, he took a wrong measure of their fanaticism, for all the people made the sacrifice at once (*v.* 3). His weakness, in any case, was unpardonable and called for the intercession of Moses (Deut. ix. 20). According to a Jewish tradition found in the later Targums, Aaron was terrified by seeing Hur, his colleague in authority (xxiv. 14), slain by the people because he had ventured to oppose them.

4. *And he received...a molten calf*] The Hebrew is somewhat difficult. The following rendering represents the sense approved by most modern critics;—*and he received the gold at their hand and collected it in a bag and made it a molten calf* (Bochart, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Fürst, Knobel, Kurtz, &c. with the later Targums). Our version is supported by the LXX., Onkelos, Luther, de Wette, Keil, &c. Other interpreters conceive the latter part of the passage to mean that Aaron *shaped the gold in a mould* (or, *after a pattern*) *and made it a molten calf* (Saadia, Syriac, Vulgate, Aben-Ezra, Michaelis, Zunz, Herx., &c.).

a molten calf] The word *calf* may mean a yearling ox. The Israelites must have been familiar with the ox-worship of the Egyptians; perhaps many of them had witnessed the rites of Mnevis at Heliopolis, almost on the borders of the Land of Goshen, and they could not have been unacquainted with the more famous rites of Apis at Memphis. It is expressly said that they yielded to the idolatry of Egypt while they were in bondage (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 8, xxiii. 3, 8). The earliest Jewish tradition derives the golden calf from an Egyptian origin (Philo, 'Vit. Mos.' III. 19). It seems most likely that the idolatrous tendency of the people had been contracted from the Egyptians, but that it was qualified by what they still retained of the truths revealed to their forefathers. In the next verse, Aaron appears to speak of the calf as if it was a representative of Jehovah—"To-morrow is a feast to the LORD." They did not, it should be noted, worship a living Mnevis, or Apis, having a proper name, but only the golden type of the animal. The mystical notions connected with the ox by the Egyptian priests may have possessed their minds, and, when expressed in this modified and less gross manner, may have been applied to the LORD, who had really delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. Their sin then lay, not in their adopting another god, but in their pretending to worship a visible symbol of Him whom no symbol could represent. The close connection between the calves of Jeroboam and this calf is shewn by the repetition of the formula, "which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (1 Kings xii. 28).

These be thy gods] **This is thy god.** See on *v.* 1.

5. *a feast to the* LORD] See on *v.* 4.

6. See 1 Cor. x. 7). Hengstenberg, Kurtz and others have laid a stress upon the similarity of what is briefly described in the words, "the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play," to certain rites of the Egyptians spoken of by Herodotus (II. 60. III. 27). But such orgies were too common amongst ancient idolaters for the remark to be of much worth.

The trial of Moses as a Mediator.
7—35.

The faithfulness of Moses in the office that had been entrusted to him was now to be put

people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted *themselves:*

[e] Deut. 9. 8. 8 [e] They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These *be* thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

[f] chap. 33. 3. Deut. 9. 13. 9 And the LORD said unto Moses, [f] I have seen this people, and, behold, it *is* a stiffnecked people:

10 Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.

[g] Psal. 106. 23. [i] Heb. *the face of the* LORD. 11 [g] And Moses besought [i] the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?

[h] Numb. 14. 13. 12 [h] Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people.

13 Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, [i] I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit *it* for ever.

[i] Gen. 12. 7. & 15. 7. & 48. 16.

14 And the LORD repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.

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to the test. It was to be made manifest whether he loved his own glory better than he loved the brethren who were under his charge; whether he would prefer that he should himself become the founder of a "great nation," or that the LORD's promise should be fulfilled in the whole people of Israel. As in the trial of Abraham, the object to be attained was not that He who knows the hearts of all men might be assured that the servant whom He had chosen was true and stedfast, but that the faith of the servant might be strengthened and instructed, by its being made known to him what power had been given to him to resist temptation. This may have been especially needful for Moses, in consequence of his natural disposition. See Num. xii. 3; cf. Ex. iii. 11.— With this trial of Moses may be compared the third temptation which the evil one was permitted to set before our Saviour. Matt. iv. 8—10.

Moses was tried in a twofold manner. The trial was at first based on the divine communication made to him in the mount respecting the apostasy of the people: on this occasion, he rejects the offer of glory for himself and intercedes for the nation; the exercise was a purely spiritual one, apart from visible fact, and no answer is given to his intercession (see on *v.* 14). But in the second case, stirred up as he was by the facts actually before his eyes, after he had unflinchingly carried out the judgment of God upon the persons of the obstinate idolaters, he not only again intercedes for the nation, but declares himself ready to sacrifice his own salvation for them (*v.* 32). It is thus that the hearts of God's saints in all ages are strengthened beforehand, by inward struggles that are witnessed by no human eye, to fight the battle when outward trials come upon them.—If the wonderful narrative in this passage should appear to any thoughtful reader incoherent or obscure, let him read it again and again and apply to it the key of his own spiritual experience.

On another occasion in the history, when the people had rebelled on account of the report of the ten spies, the trial of Moses' faithfulness was repeated in a very similar manner (Num. xiv. 11—23).

8. *These be thy gods...have brought*] **This is thy god, O Israel, who has brought—**

10. *let me alone*] But Moses did not let the LORD alone; he wrestled, as Jacob had done, until, like Jacob, he obtained the blessing (Gen. xxxii. 24).

12. *repent of this evil*] See on *v.* 14.

13. See Gen. xv. 5, 18, xxii. 17, xxxii. 12.

14. This states the fact that was not revealed to Moses till after his second intercession when he had come down from the mountain and witnessed the sin of the people (*vv.* 30—34). He was then assured that the Lord's love to His ancient people would prevail. God is said, in the language of Scripture, to repent, when his forgiving love is seen by man to blot out the letter of His judgments against sin (2 Sam. xxiv. 16; Joel ii. 13; Jonah iii. 10, &c.); or when the sin of man seems to human sight to have disappointed the purposes of grace (Gen. vi. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 35, &c.). As they exist in the

15 ¶ And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony *were* in his hand: the tables *were* written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other *were* they written.

16 And the [k] tables *were* the work of God, and the writing *was* the writing of God, graven upon the tables.

17 And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, *There is* a noise of war in the camp.

18 And he said, *It is* not the voice of *them that* shout for mastery, neither *is it* the voice of *them that* cry for [t] being overcome: *but* the noise of *them that* sing do I hear.

19 ¶ And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.

20 [l] And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt *it* in the fire, and ground *it* to powder, and strawed *it* upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink *of it*.

21 And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?

22 And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot: thou knowest the people, that they *are set* on mischief.

23 For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us: for *as for* this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

24 And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break *it* off. So they gave *it* me: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.

25 ¶ And when Moses saw that the people *were* naked; (for Aaron had made them naked unto *their* shame among [t] their enemies:)

26 Then Moses stood in the gate

[k] chap. 31. 18.

[t] Heb. *weakness.*

[l] Deut. 9. 21.

[t] Heb. *those that rose up against them.*

Eternal Father, wrath and love are essentially ONE, however they may appear to thwart each other to carnal eyes. The awakened conscience is said *to repent*, when, having felt its sin, it feels also the divine forgiveness: it is at this crisis that God, according to the language of Scripture, repents towards the sinner. Thus the repentance of God made known in and through the One true Mediator reciprocates the repentance of the returning sinner, and reveals to him Atonement.

17, 18. Moses does not tell Joshua of the divine communication that had been made to him respecting the apostasy of the people, but only corrects his impression by calling his attention to the kind of noise which they are making.

19. Though Moses had been prepared by the revelation on the Mount, his righteous indignation was stirred up beyond control when the abomination was before his eyes.

20. We need not suppose that each incident is here placed in strict order of time. What is related in this verse must have occupied some time and may have followed the rebuke of Aaron. Moses appears to have thrown the calf into the fire to destroy its form and then to have pounded, or filed, the metal to powder, which he cast into the brook (Deut. ix. 21). He then made the Israelites drink of the water of the brook. The act was of course a symbolical one. The idol was brought to nothing and the people were made to swallow their own sin (cf. Mic. vii. 13, 14). It seems idle to speculate, as many interpreters have done (Rosenmüller, Davidson, Kurtz, &c.), on the means by which the comminution of the gold was effected.

21. Moses, in grave irony, asks Aaron whether the people had offended him in any way to induce him to inflict such an injury on them as to yield to their request.

22. *my lord*] The deference here shown to Moses by Aaron should be noticed. His reference to the character of the people, and his manner of stating what he had done (*v.* 24), are very characteristic of the deprecating language of a weak mind.

23. *Make us gods*] **Make us a god.**

25. *naked*] Rather, **unruly**, or *licentious*. So the LXX., Onk., Syriac, and nearly all critical authorities.

shame among their enemies] Cf. Ps. xliv. 13; Deut. xxviii. 37; Ps. lxxix. 4.

26—29.] The Tribe of Levi, Moses' own Tribe, now distinguished itself by immediately returning to its allegiance and obeying the call to fight on the side of Jehovah. We need not doubt that the 3000 who were slain were those who persisted in resisting Moses: we may perhaps conjecture that they were

of the camp, and said, Who *is* on the LORD's side? *let him come* unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.

27 And he said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, *and* go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.

28 And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.

29 [1]For Moses had said, [†]Consecrate yourselves to day to the LORD, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.

30 ¶ And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin.

31 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold.

32 Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.

33 And the LORD said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.

34 Therefore now go, lead the people unto *the place* of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine Angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them.

[1] Or, *And Moses said, Consecrate yourselves to day to the LORD, because every man* hath been *against his son, and against his brother, &c.*

[†] Heb. *Fill your hands.*

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such as contumaciously refused to drink of the water of the brook (*v.* 20). The spirit of the narrative forbids us to conceive that the act of the Levites was anything like an indiscriminate massacre. An amnesty had first been offered to all in the words, "Who is on the LORD's side?" Those who were forward to draw the sword were directed not to spare their closest relations or friends; but this must plainly have been with an understood qualification as regards the conduct of those who were to be slain. Had it not been so, they who were on the LORD's side would have had to destroy each other. We need not stumble at the bold, simple way in which the statement is made. The Bible does not deign to apologise for itself; and hence at times it affords occasion to gainsayers, who shut their eyes to the spirit while they are captiously looking at dissevered fragments of the letter.

29. *Consecrate yourselves to day to the* LORD] The margin contains the literal rendering. Our version gives the most probable meaning of the Hebrew (see Lev. viii. 22, 27), and is supported by the best authority. The Levites were to prove themselves in a special way the servants of Jehovah, in anticipation of their formal consecration as ministers of the Sanctuary, by manifesting a self-sacrificing zeal in carrying out the divine command, even upon their nearest relatives (cf. Deut. x. 8). Kurtz, adopting the rendering of the Targums, supposes that what the Levites were commanded to do was to offer sacrifices upon the Altar to expiate the blood which they were directed to shed. But this interpretation cannot be well reconciled with the Hebrew, and it is hard to imagine that expiation could be required for what was done in direct obedience to the command of the LORD. It may be added that the Sin-offering, the only kind of sacrifice that would be suitable on such a hypothesis, had not yet been instituted.

31. *returned unto the* LORD] *i.e.* he again ascended the Mount.

gods of gold] **a god of gold.**

32. For a similar form of expression, in which the conclusion is left to be supplied by the mind of the reader, see Dan. iii. 15; Luke xiii. 9, xix. 42; John vi. 62; Rom. ix. 22.—For the same thought, see Rom. ix. 3. It is for such as Moses and St Paul to realize, and to dare to utter, their readiness to be wholly sacrificed for the sake of those whom God has entrusted to their love. This expresses the perfected idea of the whole Burnt-offering.

thy book] The figure is taken from the enrolment of the names of citizens. This is its first occurrence in the Scriptures. See Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; Dan. xii. 1; Luke x. 20; Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, &c.

33, 34. Each offender was to suffer for his own sin. On xx. 5 cf. Ezek. xviii. 4, 20. Moses was not to be taken at his word. He was to fulfil his appointed mission of leading on the people towards the Land of Promise.

34. *mine Angel shall go before thee*] See on xxiii. 20, and xxxiii. 3.

35 And the LORD plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The Lord refuseth to go as he had promised with the people.* 4 *The people murmur thereat.* 7 *The tabernacle is removed out of the camp.* 9 *The Lord talketh familiarly with Moses.* 12 *Moses desireth to see the glory of God.*

AND the LORD said unto Moses, Depart, *and* go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I sware unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, [a] Unto thy seed will I give it: [a] Gen. 12. 7.

2 [b] And I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: [b] Deut. 7. 22. Josh. 24. 11.

3 Unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou *art* a [c] stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way. [c] chap. 32. 9. Deut. 9. 13.

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in the day when I visit, &c.] This has been supposed to refer to the sentence that was pronounced on the generation of Israelites then living, when they murmured on account of the report of the ten spies, that they should not enter the land (Num. xiv.). On that occasion they were charged with having tempted God "these ten times" (*v.* 22). But though the LORD visited the sin upon those who rebelled, yet He "repented of the evil which He thought to do unto His people." He chastised the individuals, but did not take His blessing from the nation.

35. *and the LORD*] **Thus Jehovah.**

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Conference between Jehovah and His mediator is continued in this Chapter. It had been conceded to Moses that the nation should not be destroyed (see xxxii. 10 sq), and that he should lead them on towards the place of which the LORD had spoken (see xxxii. 34). But the favour was not to be awarded according to the terms of the original promise (xxiii. 20—23). The Covenant on which the promise was based had been broken by the people. Jehovah now therefore declared that though His Angel should go before Moses (xxxii. 34) and should drive out the heathen from the land, He would withhold His own favouring presence, *lest he should consume them in the way* (xxxiii. 2, 3). Thus were the people forcibly warned that His presence could prove a blessing to them only on condition of their keeping their part of the covenant (see on *v.* 3). If they failed in this, His presence would be to them "a consuming fire" (Deut. iv. 24). The people, when they heard the Divine message, mourned and humbled themselves, stripping off their accustomed ornaments in accordance with the command (*vv.* 4—6). Moses now appointed a religious service of a peculiar kind, dedicating a Tent pitched at some distance from the camp, as a meeting-place for Jehovah and himself (*vv.* 7—11). Here he again intercedes with persevering fervour until he obtains the answer, "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest" (*v.* 14; see note). He then dares to reason on this answer and to prove its necessity, as one man might discuss terms with another (*v.* 11). The answer is at last given in a still clearer and more gracious form: "I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name" (*v.* 17). Having proved himself worthy of his calling as a mediator, both in vindicating the honour of Jehovah and in his self-sacrificing intercession with Jehovah for the nation, he is rewarded by a special vision of the Divine nature: Jehovah reveals Himself to him in His essential character to the utmost point that such revelation is possible to a finite being (*vv.* 18—23).

2. See on iii. 8.

3. *milk and honey*] See on iii. 8.

for I will not go up in the midst of thee] This is the awful qualification with which the possession of the promised Land might have been granted: Jehovah Himself was not to go before the people. According to the Targums, it was the *shekinah* that was to be withheld (see on xiv. 19, 20). Hengstenberg supposes that the Angel promised in xxiii. 20—23 was "the Angel of Jehovah," κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Second Person of the Trinity, in whom Jehovah was essentially present, the same whom Isaiah called "the Angel of His presence" (lxiii. 9) and Malachi, "the Angel of the Covenant" (iii. 1); but that the Angel here mentioned was an ordinary Angel, one commissioned for this service out of the heavenly host (Christology, Vol. I. p. 107). It should however be noted that this Angel is expressly spoken of as *the Angel of Jehovah* in xxxii. 34. But in whatever way we understand the mention of the Angel in this passage as compared with xxiii. 20, the meaning of the threat appears to be that the nation should be put on a level with other nations, to lose its character as the people in special covenant with Jehovah (see on *v.* 16).—On the name *Angel*

4 ¶ And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.

5 For the LORD had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye *are* a stiffnecked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.

6 And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb.

7 And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation. And it came to pass, *that* every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which *was* without the camp.

8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, *that* all the people rose up, and stood every man *at* his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.

9 And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood *at* the door

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of Jehovah, see on Gen. xii. 7. Hengstenberg's arguments have been elaborately answered by Kurtz, 'Hist of O. C.' Vol. I. § 50 (2), and Vol. III. § 14 (3).

lest I consume thee in the way] See introd. note to this chap. St Augustine speaks of the mystery that Jehovah should declare Himself to be less merciful than His Angel (Quæst. 150). It would seem that the presence of Jehovah represented the Covenant with its penalties as well as its privileges. See preceding note.

4—6. See introd. note.

5. *I will come up...consume thee*] By far the greater number of versions put this conditionally; **If I were to go up for one moment in the midst of thee, I should consume thee** (see *v.* 3). This rendering seems best to suit the context. Our translators follow the earlier English versions, which are supported by the Syriac, Vulg. and Luther.

that I may know, &c.] **and I shall know** *by that* **what to do unto thee.** That is, by that sign of their repentance Jehovah would decide in what way they were to be punished.

6. *by the mount Horeb*] **from mount Horeb** *onwards*. The meaning, according to all the best authorities, appears to be that they ceased to wear their ornaments from the time they were at Mount Horeb.

The Temporary Tent of Meeting.
7—11.

7. *the tabernacle*] The original word signifies **the Tent**. The only word in the Old Testament which ought to be rendered *tabernacle* (*mishkān*) does not occur once in this narrative (see on xxvi. 1). What is here called The Tent has been understood in three different ways. It has been taken to denote:

1. The Tabernacle constructed according to the pattern showed to Moses in the Mount (our version and the earlier English ones, several Jewish authorities, Knobel, &c.). But if we are in any degree to respect the order of the narrative, the Tabernacle was not made until after the events here recorded (see xl. 2).

2. An old sanctuary, or sacred tent, which the Israelites had previously possessed (Michaelis, Rosenmüller, &c.). But it is incredible that such a structure should not have been spoken of elsewhere, had it existed.

3. A tent appointed for this temporary purpose by Moses, very probably the one in which he was accustomed to dwell. According to the Hebrew idiom, the article may stand for the possessive pronoun, and thus it is most likely that the right rendering is, *his tent*. This is by far the most satisfactory interpretation (LXX., Syriac, Jarchi, Aben-Ezra, Drusius, Grotius, Geneva French, Kurtz, Wogue, &c.).

pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp] This tent was to be a place for meeting with Jehovah, like the Tabernacle which was about to be constructed. But in order that the people might feel that they had forfeited the Divine presence (see xxv. 8), **the Tent of meeting** (as it should be called, see on xxvii. 21, and Note at the end of Chap. xl.) was placed "afar off from the camp," and the Mediator and his faithful servant Joshua were alone admitted to it (*v.* 11).

8. *the tabernacle*] **the Tent.**

at his tent door] **at the entrance of his tent** (see on xxvi. 36). The people may have stood up either out of respect to Moses, or from doubt as to what was going to occur. But as soon as the cloudy pillar was seen, they joined in worship (*v.* 10).

9. *as Moses entered...talked with Moses*] "As Moses entered into **the Tent**, the cloudy

of the tabernacle, and *the* LORD talked with Moses.

10 And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand *at* the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man *in* his tent door.

11 And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.

12 ¶ And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.

13 Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation *is* thy people.

14 And he said, My presence shall go *with thee*, and I will give thee rest.

15 And he said unto him, If thy presence go not *with me*, carry us not up hence.

16 For wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? *is it* not in that thou goest with us? so shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that *are* upon the face of the earth.

17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.

18 And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.

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pillar **came down and stood at the entrance of the Tent and talked with Moses**" (LXX., Vulg., Onk., de Wette, Knobel, &c.). *The Cloudy pillar* is the proper nominative to the verb *talked* (cf. xiii. 21, xix. 9, xxiv. 16, xl. 35).

10. *the tabernacle door*] **the entrance of the Tent.**

rose up and worshipped] or, *began to worship*. The people by this act gave another proof of their penitence.

in his tent door] **at the entrance of his tent.**

11. *face to face*] The meaning of these words is limited by *v.* 20, see note; cf. also Num. xii. 8; Deut. iv. 12.

Joshua] See on xvii. 9.

the tabernacle] **the Tent.**

The Mediator is rewarded.
12—13.

12. *let me know whom thou wilt send with me*] Jehovah had just previously commanded Moses to lead on the people and had promised to send an Angel before him (*v.* 2, xxxii. 34). Moses was now anxious to know who the Angel was to be.

I know thee by name] The LORD had called him by his name, iii. 4; cf. Isa. xliii. 1, xlix. 1.

found grace] xxxii. 10, &c.

13. *thy way*] He desires not to be left in uncertainty, but to be assured, by Jehovah's mode of proceeding, of the reality of the promises that had been made to him.

14.] Ewald considers that this verse should be read interrogatively, "Must my presence go with thee, and shall I give thee rest?" This rendering may make the connection more simple; but it appears to be supported by no other authority. See on xxxiv. 9.

rest] This was the common expression for the possession of the promised Land. Deut. iii. 20; Josh. i. 13, 15, xxii. 4, &c.; cf. Heb. iv. 8.

15, 16] Moses would have preferred that the people should forego the possession of the Land and remain in the wilderness, if they were to be deprived of the presence of Jehovah, as the witness for the Covenant, according to the original promise. It was this which alone **distinguished** (rather than "separated") them from other nations, and which alone would render the Land of Promise a home to be desired.

17. Cf. *v.* 13. His petition for the nation, and his own claims as a mediator, are now granted to the full.

18. *shew me thy glory*] The faithful servant of Jehovah, now assured by the success of his mediation, yearns, with the proper tendency of a devout spirit, for a more intimate communion with his Divine Master than he had yet enjoyed. He seeks for something surpassing all former revelations. He had talked with the LORD "face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend" (*v.* 11; cf. Deut. xxxiv. 10), but it was in the Cloudy pillar: he, and the people with him, had seen "*the* glory of the LORD," but it was in the form of "devouring fire" (xvi. 7. 10, xxiv. 16, 17):

19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the LORD before thee; [d]and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.

[d]Rom. 9. 15.

20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

21 And the LORD said, Behold, *there is* a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:

22 And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by:

23 And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *The tables are renewed.* 5 *The name of the LORD proclaimed.* 8 *Moses intreateth God to go with them.* 10 *God maketh a covenant with them, repeating certain duties of the first table.* 28 *Moses after forty days in the mount cometh down with the tables.* 29 *His face shineth, and he covereth it with a vail.*

AND the LORD said unto Moses, [a]Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon *these* tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest.

[a] D 1.

2 And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto

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he had even beheld the "similitude" of the LORD in a mystical sense (Num. xii. 8). But he asks now to behold the face of Jehovah in all its essential glory, neither veiled by a cloud nor represented by an Angel.

19, 20] But his request could not be granted in accordance with the conditions of human existence. The glory of the Almighty in its fulness is not to be revealed to the eye of man. A further revelation of the Divine goodness was however possible. Jehovah was to reveal Himself as the gracious One, whose mercy in forgiving iniquity included, and brought into harmony, all the claims of justice (xxxiv. 6, 7; see on xxxii. 14). The promise here given was to be fulfilled on the morrow, when the mediator was to receive the twofold reward of his spiritual wrestling; the covenant was to be renewed with the nation according to its original terms, and he himself was to be permitted to penetrate more deeply into the mysteries of the Divine nature than had ever before been granted to mortal man.

It was vouchsafed to St Paul, as it had been to Moses, to have special "visions and revelations of the Lord" (2 Cor. xii. 1—4). He was "caught up into the third heaven" and heard "unspeakable words which it is not *possible* for a man to utter." But he had, also like Moses, to find the narrow reach of the intellect of man in the region of Godhead. It was long after he had heard the unspeakable words in Paradise that he spoke of the Lord as dwelling "in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see" (1 Tim. vi. 16). He knew of the Mediator greater than Moses (Heb. iii. 5, 6), who being "in the bosom of the Father" had declared Him in a higher sense than He had been declared to Moses, but still it remains true that "no man hath seen God at any time" (John i. 18). However intimate may be our communion with the Holy One, we are still, as long as we are in the flesh, "to see through a glass darkly," waiting for the time when we shall see, with no figure of speech, "face to face" (1 Cor. xiii. 12). Then we know "that we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (1 John iii. 2). It was in a tone of aspiration lower than that of Moses or St Paul, that St Philip said, "Lord, shew us the Father" (John xiv. 8).

19. *will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy*] Jehovah declares His own will to be the ground of the grace which He is going to shew the nation. St Paul applies these words to the election of Jacob in order to overthrow the self-righteous boasting of the Jews (Rom. ix. 15).

20. Cf. xix. 21. Such passages as this, being clearly in accordance with what we know of the relation of spiritual existence to the human senses, shew how we are to interpret the expressions "face to face" (*v.* 11), "mouth to mouth" (Num. xii. 8), and others of the like kind. See especially xxiv. 10, 11; Isa. vi. 1; and cf. John xiv. 9.

21—23.] The conjectures and traditions on the place of this vision, inconclusive as they must be, are given by Robinson, 'Bib. Res.' Vol. I. p. 153.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Covenant and the Tables are renewed—The second revelation of the Divine Name to Moses.

1—10.

1. *Hew thee*] See *v.* 4. The former tables are called "the work of God," xxxii. 16.

the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest] These were "the words

mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me in the top of the mount.

[b] chap. 19. 12. 3 And no man shall [b] come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.

4 ¶ And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone.

5 And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the LORD.

6 And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, The LORD God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering, and abundant in goodness and truth,

7 Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear *the guilty*; [c] visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth *generation*.

[c] chap. 20. 5. Deut. 5. 9. Jer. 32. 18.

8 And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.

9 And he said, If now I have found

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of the covenant, the ten commandments" (*v.* 28); see Deut. iv. 13, ix. 10, 11, x. 1, 4, and especially Deut. v. 6—22. These passages would seem to leave no room for doubt that what we recognize as the Ten Commandments were inscribed on the second as well as the first pair of Tables. But Göthe, in one of his early works, started the notion that what was written on these Tables was the string of precepts, which may be reckoned as Ten, contained in this chap. *vv.* 12—26. Falsely regarding the Mosaic Covenant as essentially narrow and exclusive, he could not see how an expression of universal morality like the Ten Commandments of Ex. xx. could possibly have formed its basis. Hitzig has taken a similar view. Hengstenberg ('Pent.' Vol. II. p. 31) and Kurtz ('Old Cov.' III. 182) have answered Hitzig at length.—Ewald holds that the Tables mentioned in this verse contained the original Ten Commandments, but that the tables spoken of in *v.* 28 were distinct ones, on which Moses engraved this string of precepts. But this seems an utterly gratuitous supposition.

3. These are similar to the instructions given on the first occasion. See xix. 12, 13.

6, 7. This was the second revelation of the name of the God of Israel to Moses. The first revelation was of Jehovah as the self-existent One, who purposed to deliver His people with a mighty hand (iii. 14); this was of the same Jehovah as a loving Saviour who was now forgiving their sins. The two ideas that mark these revelations are found combined, apart from their historical development, in the Second Commandment, where the Divine unity is shewn on its practical side, in its relation to human obligations (cf. xxxiv. 14). Both in the Commandment and in this passage, the Divine Love is associated with the Divine Justice; but in the former there is a transposition to serve the proper purpose of the Commandments, and the Justice stands before the Love. This is strictly the legal arrangement, brought out in the completed system of the ceremonial Law, in which the Sin-offering, in acknowledgment of the sentence of Justice against sin, was offered before the Burnt-offering and the Peace-offering (see pref. to Leviticus). But in this place the truth appears in its essential order; the retributive Justice of Jehovah is subordinated to, rather it is made a part of, His forgiving Love (see on xxxii. 14). The visitation of God, whatever form it may wear, is in all ages working out purposes of Love towards all His children. The diverse aspects of the Divine nature, to separate which is the tendency of the unregenerate mind of man and of all heathenism, are united in perfect harmony in the Lord Jehovah, of whom the saying is true in all its length and breadth, "God is love" (1 Joh. iv. 8). It was the sense of this, in the degree to which it was now revealed to him, that caused Moses to bow his head and worship (*v.* 8). But the perfect revelation of the harmony was reserved for the fulness of time when "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" was made known to us in the flesh as both our Saviour and our Judge. —Moses quotes the words here pronounced to him in his supplication after the rebellion that arose from the report of the ten spies (Num. xiv. 18).

9. Moses had been assured of the pardon of the people and the perfect restoration of the Covenant (xxxiii. 14, 17): he had just had revealed to him, in a most distinguished manner, the riches of the Divine forgiveness. Yet now, in the earnest travail of his spirit, he supplicates for a repetition of the promise, adding the emphatic petition, that Jehovah would take Israel for his own inheritance (ch. xv. 17). This yearning struggle after assurance

grace in thy sight, O Lord, let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us; for it *is* a stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.

[d] Deut. 5. 2.

10 ¶ And he said, Behold, [d] I make a covenant: before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which thou *art* shall see the work of the LORD: for it *is* a terrible thing that I will do with thee.

11 Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.

[e] chap. 23. 32. Deut. 7. 2.

12 [e] Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee:

[f] Heb. *statues.*

13 But ye shall destroy their altars, break their [f] images, and cut down their groves:

[f] chap. 20. 5.

14 For thou shalt worship no other god: for the LORD, whose name *is* Jealous, *is a* [f] jealous God.

15 Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and *one* call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice;

[g] 1 Kings 11. 2.

16 And thou take of [g] their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods.

17 Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

[h] chap. 23. 15.

18 ¶ The feast of [h] unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, in the time of the month Abib: for in the [i] month Abib thou camest out from Egypt.

[i] chap. 13. 4.

[k] chap. 22. 29. Ezek. 44. 30.

19 [k] All that openeth the matrix *is* mine; and every firstling among thy cattle, *whether* ox or sheep, *that is male.*

[l] Or, *kid.*

20 But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [l] lamb: and if thou redeem *him* not, then shalt thou break his neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me [l] empty.

[l] chap. 23. 15.

[m] chap. 23. 12. Deut. 5. 12. Luke 13. 14.

21 ¶ [m] Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

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is like the often-repeated utterance of the heart, when it receives a blessing beyond its hopes, "can this be real?" These words of Moses wonderfully commend themselves to the experience of the prayerful spirits of all ages.—A hint may perhaps be gathered from this verse in favour of reading the verbs in xxxiii. 14 (see note) affirmatively rather than interrogatively.

10. *marvels*] These marvels are explained in the following verse. Cf. Deut. vii. 1, &c.

Conditions of the Covenant.
11—27.

11. The names of the nations are the same as occur in the first promise to Moses in iii. 8.

12—27. The precepts contained in these verses are, for the most part, identical in substance with some of those which follow the Ten Commandments and are recorded in "the Book of the Covenant" (xx.—xxiii.; see xxiv. 7). Such a selection of precepts in this place, connected with the account of the restored Covenant and the new Tables, may tend to support the probability that chapters xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv. originally formed a distinct composition. See introd. note to xxxii.

12. See on xxiii. 32, 33.

13. See on xxiii. 24.

cut down their groves] See Note at the end of the Chap.

14. See on xx. 5.

15, 16] An expansion of *v.* 12 (cf. Deut. xxxi. 16). The unfaithfulness of the nation to its Covenant with Jehovah is here for the first time spoken of as a breach of the marriage bond. The metaphor is, in any case, a natural one, but it seems to gain point, if we suppose it to convey an allusion to the abominations connected with heathen worship, such as are spoken of Num. xxv. 1—3. Cf. Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5, 6; Num. xiv. 33.

15. *eat of his sacrifice*] See Num. xxv. 2.

17. *molten*] See on xx. 4.

18. See xxiii. 15.

19. See on xiii. 2, 12 and Lev. xxvii. 26.

20. See xiii. 13.

shall appear before me empty] See xxiii. 15.

21. See xx. 9, xxiii. 12. There is here added to the Commandment a particular cau-

22 ¶ [n] And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the [t] year's end.

23 ¶ [o] Thrice in the year shall all your men children appear before the Lord GOD, the God of Israel.

24 For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the LORD thy God thrice in the year.

25 [p] Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning.

26 The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a [q] kid in his mother's milk.

27 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou [r] these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.

28 [s] And he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten [t] commandments.

29 ¶ And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai with the two tables of testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.

30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him.

31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses talked with them.

32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him in mount Sinai.

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tion respecting those times of year when the land calls for most labour.—The old verb *to ear* (*i.e.* to plough) is genuine English. Though it appears to be cognate with the Latin *arare*, it is certainly not derived from it. The English verb is found Gen. xlv. 6, in Shakespeare ('Rich. II.' III. 2; 'Ant. and Cleo.' I. 4), and elsewhere.

22. See xxiii. 16.

23. See xxiii. 14, 17.

24. *for I will cast out*] See xxiii. 23.

enlarge thy borders] See xxiii. 31; Deut. xii. 20.

neither shall any man desire, &c.] This is the only place in which the promise is given to encourage such as might fear the consequences of obeying the Divine Law in attending to their religious duties. But cf. xxiii. 27.

25, 26.] See xxiii. 18, 19.

27. *Write thou*] Moses is here commanded to make a record in his own writing of the preceding precepts (see on *vv.* 12—27). The Book of the Covenant was written in like manner (xxiv. 4, 7).—On the words "he wrote," in the next verse, see note.

Moses receives the New Tables, comes down from the Mount, and converses with the people.

28—35.

28. Cf. xxiv. 18.

he wrote] According to Hebrew usage, the name of Jehovah *may* be the subject of the verb; that it must be so, is evident from *v.* 1. Cf. xxxii. 16.

29. *the two tables of testimony*] Cf. xxxi. 18.

the skin of his face shone] Cf. Matt. xvii. 2. The brightness of the Eternal Glory, though Moses had witnessed it only in a modified manner (xxxiii. 22, 23), was so reflected in his face, that Aaron and the people were stricken with awe and feared to approach him until he gave them words of encouragement. The Hebrew verb *kāran*, to *shine*, is connected through a simple metaphor with *keren*, a *horn*; and hence Aquila and the Vulgate have rendered the verb *to be horned*. The latter part of the verse in the Vulg. is, *et ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua ex consortio sermonis Domini*. From this use of the word *cornuta* has arisen the popular representation of Moses with horns on his forehead.

33—35. St Paul refers to this passage as shewing forth the glory of the Law, though it was but a "ministration of condemnation," and was to be done away, in order to enhance the glory of the Gospel, "the ministration of the spirit," which is concealed by no vail from the eyes of believers, and is to last for ever (2 Cor. iii. 7—15).

[n] chap. 23. 16.
[t] Heb. *revolution of the year.*
[o] chap. 23. 14, 17. Deut. 16. 16.
[p] chap. 23. 18.
[q] chap. 23. 19. Deut. 14. 21.
[r] Deut. 4. 13.
[s] chap. 24. 18. Deut. 9. 9.
[t] Heb. *words.*

33 And *till* Moses had done speaking with them, he put [t] a vail on his face.

[t] 2 Cor. 3. 13.

34 But when Moses went in before the LORD to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel *that* which he was commanded.

35 And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

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33. *And till Moses had done*] Our translators give what may seem to be the easiest sense of the original by supplying the word *till*. But the Hebrew rather requires that **when**, not *till*, should be inserted; and this agrees better with *v.* 35 (so the LXX., Vulg., the Targums, Syriac, Saadia, and nearly all modern versions, not excepting Luther and Cranmer). If we adopt this rendering, Moses did not wear the vail when he was speaking to the people, but when he was silent. See on *v.* 35.

34. *Moses went in*] *i.e.* to the Tent of meeting.

35. Our version accords with the Hebrew and all the ancient versions, except the Vulgate, which has this remarkable rendering, for which it is difficult to account unless we may suppose it to represent a different reading in the original:—*videbant faciem egredientis Moysi esse cornutam; sed operiebat ille rursus faciem suam, siquando loquebatur ad eos.* It has been suggested that if we may imagine St Paul to have had such a reading in his mind, it would simplify the use he makes of the passage in 2 Cor. iii. 12—15. But it is not necessary to resort to any such supposition, since St Paul's application of the narrative may be well explained as referring to the simple fact that it was distinctive of the old dispensation that a vail should conceal the glory. There was no occasion to notice the particular that Moses did not wear the vail just in the act of speaking.

NOTE ON CHAP. XXXIV. 13.

THE GROVES.

This is the first reference to what is commonly known as grove-worship. The original word for *grove* in this connection is אֲשֵׁרָה (*ashērāh*), a different one from that so rendered in Gen. xxi. 33 (אֶשֶׁל, *ēshel*). Our translators have followed the sense given in most of the passages in which the word occurs by the LXX., Vulg., and Saadia, and which has been adopted by most Jewish authorities, by Luther, and other modern translators. It was supposed that what the Law commands is the destruction of groves dedicated to the worship of false deities. The allusions to such groves in classical writers are familiar enough. The connection of sacred groves and trees with the worship of the powers of nature may be traced very generally amongst the ancient nations of Asia and Europe (see Humboldt, 'Cosmos,' Vol. II. p. 95, Sabine's translation). But there appear to be insuperable difficulties in the way of thus rendering *ashērāh*. Since the times of Selden and Spencer most critics have taken the word to denote either a personal goddess or some symbolical representation of one.

The following conclusions seem to be fairly deduced from the references to the subject in the Old Testament:

(1) According to the most probable derivation of the name the *ashērāh* represented something that was upright, which was fixed, or planted, in the ground; hence, if it was not a tree, it must have been some sort of upright pillar or monument.

(2) It was formed of wood, and when it was destroyed it was cut down and burned (Deut. vii. 5; Judg. vi. 25, 26; 2 K. xxiii. 6, 15). It might be made of any sort of wood. See note on Deut. xvi. 21.

(3) That it could not be a grove appears from an *ashērāh* having been set up "under every green tree" in Judah in the time of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 23), and in Israel in the time of Hoshea (2 K. xvii. 10); from an *ashērāh idol* (not "an idol in a grove," as it stands in our version) having been destroyed and burnt near the brook Kidron by Asa (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16); and from a carved image of *the ashērāh* having been set up in the Temple by Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 7), which was brought out by Josiah and burnt and stamped to powder (2 K. xxiii. 6).

The worship of *ashērāh* is found associated with that of Baal (Judg. iii. 7; 1 K. xviii. 19, 2 K. xxi. 3; xxiii. 4), like that of Astarte, or *Ashtoreth* (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת) (Judg. ii. 13, x. 6; 1 S. vii. 4). Hence it has been inferred by de Wette and others that *Ashērāh* was another name for Astarte. This opinion might seem to be countenanced by the LXX. in

2 Chron. xv. 16 (where the Vulgate has *simulacrum Priapi*), and by the Vulgate in Judg. iii. 7. But it has been proved that the words have no etymological connection with each other, and are not likely to have had the same denotation. Movers, resting his main argument upon 2 K. xxiii. 13—15, conceived them to be the names of two distinct deities. On the whole, the most probable result of the inquiry seems to be that while Astarte was the personal name of the goddess, the *ashērāh* was a symbol of her, probably in some one of her characters, wrought in wood in some conventional form. If we suppose it to have symbolized her as a goddess of nature, the conjecture that its form resembled that of the sacred tree of the Assyrians, with which we have become familiar from the monuments of Nineveh[1] (see Fergusson, 'Nineveh and Persepolis,' p. 299), gains something in probability.

It has been supposed, on what seems to be good ground, that the image, or rather pillar (מַצֵּבָה, *matzēvāh*), spoken of here and elsewhere in the same connection, was a stone pillar, set up in honour of Baal, as the *Ashērāh* was a wooden pillar, set up in honour of Astarte (1 K. xiv. 23; 2 K. xvii. 10, xviii. 4, &c.). But Gesenius rightly observes that these monuments may have lost in later times their original meaning as regards Baal and Astarte, as the *hermæ* of the Greeks did in regard to Hermes. They probably became connected with a debased and superstitious worship of Jehovah, like the figure of the calf (see on xxxii. 4). This perhaps explains the need of the prohibition that an *ashērāh* should be placed near the Altar of Jehovah. See Deut. xvi. 21. (Selden, 'de Diis Syr.' p. 343 sq.; Spencer, 'de Leg. Heb.' lib. II. c. xxvii. §1; Gesenius, 'Thes.' and 'Handwörterbuch,' s.v.; Fürst, 'Lex.' s.v.; Movers, 'Phönizier,' I. p. 560; Keil on 1 Kings xiv. 23.)

[1] It has been conjectured from the sculptured figures that this was an upright stock which was adorned at festive seasons with boughs, flowers, and ribbons. Such might have been the *ashērāh*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *The sabbath.* 4 *The free gifts for the tabernacle.* 20 *The readiness of the people to offer.* 30 *Bezaleel and Aholiab are called to the work.*

AND Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and said unto them, These *are* the words which the LORD hath commanded, that *ye* should do them.

2 [a] Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you [f] an holy day, a sabbath of rest to the LORD: whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death.

[a] chap. 20. 9. Lev. 23. 3. Deut. 5. 12. Luke 13. 14.
[f] Heb. *holiness.*

3 Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day.

4 ¶ And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, This *is* the thing which the LORD commanded, saying,

5 Take ye from among you an offering unto the LORD: [b] whosoever *is* of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering of the LORD; gold, and silver, and brass,

[b] chap. 25. 2.

6 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair*,

7 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,

8 And oil for the light, and spices for anointing oil, and for the sweet incense,

9 And onyx stones, and stones to be set for the ephod, and for the breastplate.

10 And every wise hearted among you shall come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded;

11 [c] The tabernacle, his tent, and his covering, his taches, and his boards, his bars, his pillars, and his sockets,

[c] chap. 26. 31.

CHAP. XXXV. The narrative of what relates to the construction of the Sanctuary is now resumed from xxxi. 18.

Moses delivers to the people the messages on the supply of materials for the Sanctuary. 1—19.

1. Moses here addresses the whole people. See xxv. 1; cf. on Lev. viii. 3. On *v.* 2 see on xxxi. 12.

3. This prohibition is here first distinctly expressed, but it is implied xvi. 23.

10. *wise hearted*] See on xxviii. 3.

11. See on xxvi. 1—37. It has been already observed that in the instructions for making the Sanctuary, the Ark of the Covenant, as the principal thing belonging to it, is mentioned first; but in the practical order of the work, as it is here arranged, the

12 The ark, and the staves thereof, *with* the mercy seat, and the vail of the covering,

13 The table, and his staves, and all his vessels, and the shewbread,

14 The candlestick also for the light, and his furniture, and his lamps, with the oil for the light,

[d] chap. 30. 1. 15 [d] And the incense altar, and his staves, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the hanging for the door at the entering in of the tabernacle,

[e] chap. 27. 1. 16 [e] The altar of burnt offering, with his brasen grate, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,

17 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and their sockets, and the hanging for the door of the court,

18 The pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their cords,

19 The cloths of service, to do service in the holy *place*, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.

20 ¶ And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses.

21 And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, *and* they brought the LORD's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments.

22 And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, *and* brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold: and every man that offered *offered* an offering of gold unto the LORD.

23 And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair*, and red skins of rams, and badgers' skins, brought *them*.

24 Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass brought the LORD's offering: and every man, with whom was found shittim wood for any work of the service, brought *it*.

25 And all the women that were

Tabernacle with its Tent and covering come first. See on xxv. 10—16.

12. On the Ark and the Mercy Seat, see on xxv. 10—22.

the vail of the covering] The second Hebrew word is not the same as that in the preceding verse, which is rendered *covering*, and denotes the Covering of the Tent (see on xxvi. 14): but it is the one used for the entrance curtains (see on xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16). The same phrase occurs Ex. xxxv. 12, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5.

13, 14. See on xxv. 23—38.

15. *the incense altar*] See on xxx. 1

the anointing oil] See on xxx. 22—33.

the sweet incense] See on xxx. 34—38.

the hanging for the door] **the entrance curtain.** See on xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16.

16. *the altar of burnt offering*] See on xxvii. 1—8.

the laver] See on xxx. 18—21.

17. See on xxvii. 9—18.

18. These were the tent-pins and cords of the Tent of the Tabernacle and those of the pillars of the Court. See Note at the end of Ch. xxvi. The word *Tabernacle* (*mishkān*) is here used for the full name, **the Tabernacle of the Tent of meeting** (see xl. 2, 6, 29, note on xxvi. 1, &c.). It denotes the entire structure.

19. *the cloths of service to do service in the holy place*] Rather;—**the garments of office to do service in the Sanctuary,** &c. See on xxxi. 10.

21. See on xxv. 2.

22. *bracelets*] Rather, **brooches.**

earrings] The Hebrew word signifies a ring, either for the nose (Prov. xi. 22; Isa. iii. 21) or for the ear (xxxii. 2; Gen. xxxv. 4; Judg. viii. 24). That ear-rings, not nose-rings, as some have imagined, are here meant is confirmed by what we know of early Hebrew and Egyptian customs. See Gen. xxxv. 4; Wilkinson, 'Pop. Acc.' I. p. 145, II. p. 338.

rings] **signet rings.**

tablets] It is not certain what the Hebrew word denotes. Gesenius and others have taken it for *gold beads;* but Fürst, with more probability, for **armlets,** in accordance with the Ancient Versions. It is most likely that all the articles mentioned in this verse were of gold. The indulgence of private luxury was thus given up for the honour of the LORD. Cf. xxxviii. 8.

23, 24. See on xxv. 3, 4, 5.

25. See on xxv. 4.

wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, *both* of blue, and of purple, *and* of scarlet, and of fine linen.

26 And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goats' *hair*.

27 And the rulers brought onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate;

28 And spice, and oil for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense.

29 The children of Israel brought a willing offering unto the LORD, every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all manner of work, which the LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.

30 ¶ And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the LORD hath called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah;

31 And he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship;

32 And to devise curious works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,

33 And in the cutting of stones, to set *them*, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work.

34 And he hath put in his heart that he may teach, *both* he, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan.

35 Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, *even* of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work.

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27. See on xxviii. 9—20. The precious stones and spices were contributed by the rulers, who were more wealthy than the other Israelites.

28. See on xxx. 22—38.

29. Cf. *v.* 21. Observe the emphatic repetition.

30. Cf. xxxi. 2

31. Cf. xxxi. 3.

32. *to devise curious works*] **to devise works of skill.** Cf. xxxi. 4.

33 *to make any manner of cunning work*] **to work in all manner of works of skill.**

34. "And he hath put **it into his heart to teach, both into his heart and into Aholiab's**," &c.—They were qualified by the Lord not only to work themselves, but to instruct those who were under them

35. *of the engraver*] **of the artificer.** The branches of work committed to Bezaleel are here included under the general term **the work of the artificer**: they are distinctly enumerated *vv.* 32, 33 and xxxi. 4, 5. But what was under the charge of Aholiab is here for the first time clearly distinguished into the work of **the skilled weaver**, that of the embroiderer, and that of the weaver.

the cunning workman] **the skilled weaver**, literally, *the reckoner*. He might have been so called because he had nicely to count and calculate the threads in weaving figures in the manner of tapestry or carpet. His work was chiefly used in the curtains and vail of the Tabernacle, in the Ephod and the Breastplate (xxvi. 1, 31, xxviii. 6, 15, &c.). It is generally called "cunning work" in our version, but the name is unfortunately not restricted to it.

the embroiderer] He worked with a needle, either shaping his design in stitches of coloured thread, or in pieces of coloured cloth sewn upon the groundwork. His work was employed in the **entrance curtains** of the Tent and the court, and in the girdle of the High-priest (xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16, xxviii. 39).—The Hebrew root *rākam* = to work with a needle, has survived in Arabic, but is not found in Syriac, nor in the Targums. It is a curious fact that through the Arabic have come from the same Semitic root the Spanish *recamare* and the Italian *ricamare*.

the weaver] He appears to have worked in the loom in the ordinary way with materials of only a single colour. The tissues made by him were used for the Robe of the Ephod and its binding and for the coats of the priests (xxviii. 32, xxxix. 22, 27). The distinctions in the kinds of work mentioned in this and the two preceding notes are clearly expressed in the LXX. and are in accordance with Jewish tradition (Bähr, 'Symb.' I. p. 266; Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 1310).

As the names of the three classes of workers are in the masculine gender, we know that they denote men, while the spinners and dyers were women (*v.* 25). From what we know of the proficiency

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 The offerings are delivered to the workmen. 5 The liberality of the people is restrained. 8 The curtains of cherubims. 14 The curtains of goats' hair. 19 The covering of skins. 20 The boards with their sockets. 31 The bars. 35 The vail. 37 The hanging for the door.

THEN wrought Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whom the LORD put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that the LORD had commanded.

2 And Moses called Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart the LORD had put wisdom, *even* every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it:

3 And they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it *withal*. And they brought yet unto him free offerings every morning.

4 And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they made;

5 ¶ And they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work, which the LORD commanded to make.

6 And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing.

7 For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

8 ¶ [a] And every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work of the tabernacle made ten curtains *of* fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: *with* cherubims of cunning work made he them. [a] chap. 26. 3, 4.

9 The length of one curtain *was* twenty and eight cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: the curtains *were* all of one size.

10 And he coupled the five curtains one unto another: and *the other* five curtains he coupled one unto another.

11 And he made loops of blue on the edge of one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the uttermost side of *another* curtain, in the coupling of the second.

12 [b] Fifty loops made he in one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain which *was* in the coupling of the second: the loops held one *curtain* to another. [b] chap. 26. 10.

13 And he made fifty taches of gold, and coupled the curtains one unto another with the taches: so it became one tabernacle.

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of the textile arts in Egypt in early times, we need not wonder at the exact division of labour among the Hebrews which the use of the terms in this verse indicates. —It is remarkable in regard to the other arts of construction, that the workman in each of them was called by the general name *artificer* (in Hebrew, literally, *one who cuts*) added to the name of the material in which he worked: thus the carpenter was called **an artificer in wood**; the smith, **an artificer in iron**; the mason, or the lapidary (xxviii. 11), **an artificer in stone**. —The view given in these notes of the three kinds of workers in textile fabrics, is substantially that of Gesenius, Bähr, Fürst, Winer and others. But Knobel and Keil take a different view respecting the embroiderer, and consider that he worked not with a needle but with a loom of some peculiar kind.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Bezaleel and his men are set to work: 1—7.

1. *Then wrought—that the Lord had commanded*] This may be rendered, **Then shall work—that the Lord has commanded.** The verse should thus be taken as the conclusion of Moses' speech.

4. *the wise men*] *i.e.* the skilful men. See on xxxi. 3.

3, 5—7. See on xxv. 2.

The Tabernacle is made. 8—38.

8—13. See on xxvi. 1—6.

8. *made he them*] Rather, **were they made.** A corresponding change should be made in other verses. See on xxxvii. 1—5.

14 ¶ And he made curtains *of* goats' *hair* for the tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them.

15 The length of one curtain *was* thirty cubits, and four cubits *was* the breadth of one curtain: the eleven curtains *were* of one size.

16 And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves.

17 And he made fifty loops upon the uttermost edge of the curtain in the coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which coupleth the second.

18 And he made fifty taches *of* brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one.

19 And he made a covering for the tent *of* rams' skins dyed red, and a covering *of* badgers' skins above *that.*

20 ¶ And he made boards for the tabernacle *of* shittim wood, standing up.

21 The length of a board *was* ten cubits, and the breadth of a board one cubit and a half.

22 One board had two tenons, equally distant one from another: thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

23 And he made boards for the tabernacle; twenty boards for the south side southward:

24 And forty sockets of silver he made under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

25 And for the other side of the tabernacle, *which is* toward the north corner, he made twenty boards,

26 And their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

27 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward he made six boards.

28 And two boards made he for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

29 And they were [t]coupled beneath, and coupled together at the head thereof, to one ring: thus he did to both of them in both the corners.

[t] Heb. *twinned.*

30 And there were eight boards; and their sockets *were* sixteen sockets of silver, [t]under every board two sockets.

[t] Heb. *two sockets, two sockets under one board.*

31 ¶ And he made [c]bars of shittim wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

[c] chap. 25. 28. & 30. 5.

32 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the tabernacle for the sides westward.

33 And he made the middle bar to shoot through the boards from the one end to the other.

34 And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings *of* gold *to be* places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35 ¶ And he made a vail *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: *with* cherubims made he it of cunning work.

36 And he made thereunto four pillars *of* shittim *wood*, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks *were of* gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver.

37 ¶ And he made an hanging for the tabernacle door *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, [t]of needlework;

[t] Heb. *the work of a needle-worker,* or, *embroiderer.*

38 And the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: but their five sockets *were of* brass.

14—18. See on xxvi. 7—13.
19. See on xxvi. 14.
20—34. See on xxvi. 15—29.
22. *equally distant one from another*] set in order one against another. See xxvi. 17.
27. *for the sides*] for the back. See xxvi. 22.
33. *to shoot through the boards*] rather, to reach across the boards. See xxvi. 28.
35, 36. See on xxvi. 31, 32.
37. *an hanging for the tabernacle door*] an entrance curtain for the entering of the Tent. See on xxvi. 36.
38. *their chapiters and their fillets*] their capitals and their connecting rods.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 The ark. 6 The mercy seat with cherubims. 10 The table with his vessels. 17 The candlestick with his lamps and instruments. 25 The altar of incense. 29 The anointing oil and sweet incense.

1 AND Bezaleel made [a] the ark *of* shittim wood: two cubits and a half *was* the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it:

[a] chap. 25. 10.

2 And he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a crown of gold to it round about.

3 And he cast for it four rings of gold, *to be set* by the four corners of it; even two rings upon the one side of it, and two rings upon the other side of it.

4 And he made staves *of* shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

5 And he put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, to bear the ark.

[b] chap. 25. 17.

6 ¶ And he made the [b] mercy seat *of* pure gold: two cubits and a half *was* the length thereof, and one cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

7 And he made two cherubims *of* gold, beaten out of one piece made he them, on the two ends of the mercy seat;

8 One cherub [1] on the end on this side, and another cherub [1] on the *other* end on that side: out of the mercy seat made he the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

[1] Or, *out of, &c.*
[1] Or, *out of, &c.*

9 And the cherubims spread out *their* wings on high, *and* covered with their wings over the mercy seat, with their faces one to another; *even* to the mercy seatward were the faces of the cherubims.

10 ¶ And he made the table *of* shittim wood: two cubits *was* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof:

11 And he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereunto a crown of gold round about.

12 Also he made thereunto a border of an handbreadth round about; and made a crown of gold for the border thereof round about.

13 And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put the rings upon the four corners that *were* in the four feet thereof.

14 Over against the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table.

15 And he made the staves *of* shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table.

16 And he made the vessels which *were* upon the table, his [c] dishes, and his spoons, and his bowls, and his covers [1] to cover withal, *of* pure gold.

[c] chap. 25. 29.
[1] Or, *to pour out with-al.*

17 ¶ And he made the [d] candlestick *of* pure gold: *of* beaten work made he the candlestick; his shaft, and his branch, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, were of the same:

[d] chap. 25. 31.

18 And six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof:

19 Three bowls made after the

These rods united the heads of the pillars, like the connecting rods of the Court (xxvii. 10). Neither these nor the capitals are mentioned in the instructions in xxvi. 37. See Note at the end of Ch. xxvi.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Furniture of the Tabernacle is made.

1—29.

1—5. See on xxv. 10—16 and on xxxv. 11. It has been observed that the Ark, as the most precious thing made for the Sanctuary, is expressly spoken of as the workmanship of Bezaleel himself. The expression here is quite free from ambiguity; but to prevent misunderstanding, it may be well to observe that in chap. xxxvi. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, &c., and elsewhere, there is no nominative expressed in the Hebrew, and the verb is used indefinitely, as in the German phrase with *man* and the French one with *on*. In translating into English, it would be better in such cases to use the passive voice. See on xxxvi. 8.

6—9. See on xxv. 17—22.

7. *beaten out of one piece*] See on xxv. 18.

10—16. See on xxv. 23—30.

17—24. See on xxv. 31—39.

fashion of almonds in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three bowls made like almonds in another branch, a knop and a flower: so throughout the six branches going out of the candlestick.

20 And in the candlestick *were* four bowls made like almonds, his knops, and his flowers:

21 And a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches going out of it.

22 Their knops and their branches were of the same: all of it *was* one beaten work *of* pure gold.

23 And he made his seven lamps, and his snuffers, and his snuffdishes, *of* pure gold.

24 *Of* a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

[c] chap. 30. 34. 25 ¶ [c]And he made the incense altar *of* shittim wood: the length of it *was* a cubit, and the breadth of it a cubit; *it was* foursquare; and two cubits *was* the height of it; the horns thereof were of the same.

26 And he overlaid it with pure gold, *both* the top of it, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: also he made unto it a crown of gold round about.

27 And he made two rings of gold for it under the crown thereof, by the two corners of it, upon the two sides thereof, to be places for the staves to bear it withal.

28 And he made the staves *of* shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

[f] chap. 30. 35. 29 ¶ And he made [f]the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, according to the work of the apothecary.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *The altar of burnt offering.* 8 *The laver of brass.* 9 *The court.* 21 *The sum of that the people offered.*

[a] chap. 27. 1. AND [a]he made the altar of burnt offering *of* shittim wood: five cubits *was* the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof; *it was* foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof.

2 And he made the horns thereof on the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of the same: and he overlaid it with brass.

3 And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, *and* the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he *of* brass.

4 And he made for the altar a brasen grate of network under the compass thereof beneath unto the midst of it.

5 And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grate of brass, *to be* places for the staves.

6 And he made the staves *of* shittim wood, and overlaid them with brass.

7 And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made the altar hollow with boards.

8 ¶ And he made the laver *of* brass, and the foot of it *of* brass, of

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25—28. See on xxx. 1—10.

29. See on xxx. 22—38.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Brazen Altar, the Laver, and the Court are made.

1—20.

1—7. See on xxvii. 1—8.

8. *the laver*] See on xxx. 18—21. It appears that the metal for this laver was supplied by women, who gave up their bronze mirrors, such as were commonly used in Egypt and elsewhere (Wilkinson, 'Pop. Acc.' II. p. 336). This is generally approved by critics as the simple meaning of the Hebrew, and it agrees with the ancient versions and the Targums. The other interpretations—one, that the laver was furnished with mirrors for the use of the women who served in the Sanctuary (Michaelis, Bähr); and another, that its sides were adorned with figures in relief of women ranged in a religious procession (Knobel)—only deserve notice from the learning and reputation of their authors. The women who assembled **at the entrance of the Tent of meeting** were most probably devout women who loved the public service of religion. The giving up their mirrors for the use of the Sanctuary was a fit sacrifice for such women to make (cf. on

[1]Or, *brasen glasses.* [2]Heb. *assembling by troops.*

the [1] lookingglasses *of the women* [2]assembling, which assembled *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

9 ¶ And he made the court: on the south side southward the hangings of the court *were of* fine twined linen, an hundred cubits:

10 Their pillars *were* twenty, and their brasen sockets twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *were of* silver.

11 And for the north side *the hangings were* an hundred cubits, their pillars *were* twenty, and their sockets of brass twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *of* silver.

12 And for the west side *were* hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *of* silver.

13 And for the east side eastward fifty cubits.

14 The hangings of the one side *of the gate were* fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

15 And for the other side of the court gate, on this hand and that hand, *were* hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

16 All the hangings of the court round about *were* of fine twined linen.

17 And the sockets for the pillars *were of* brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *of* silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters *of* silver; and all the pillars of the court *were* filleted with silver.

18 And the hanging for the gate of the court *was* needlework, *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits *was* the length, and the height in the breadth *was* five cubits, answerable to the hangings of the court.

19 And their pillars *were* four, and their sockets *of* brass four; their hooks *of* silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets *of* silver.

20 And all the [b]pins of the tabernacle, and of the court round about, *were of* brass. [b] c 19

21 ¶ This is the sum of the tabernacle, *even* of the tabernacle of testimony, as it was counted, according to the commandment of Moses, *for* the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, son to Aaron the priest.

22 And Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that the LORD commanded Moses.

23 And with him *was* Aholiab, son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

24 All the gold that was occupied

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xxxv. 22). We know from the instance of Anna (Luke ii. 36) that pious women, in later ages, used to spend much time within the precincts of the Temple. But there seems to be but weak ground for the notion of Hengstenberg and others that these women ever formed a regularly constituted order, like the widows, or deaconesses, of the early Church, and the Nazarites for life in the time of the Prophets (Lam. iv. 7; Amos ii. 11). Hengstenberg conceives that Moses made no specific law on the subject because the institution had been adopted from the customs of the Egyptian temples. The only passages quoted from the Old Testament in support of the existence of such an order of women are 1 Sam. ii. 22, Lam. ii. 21 (Hengst. 'Egypt,' &c. p. 184).

9—20. See on xxvii. 10—19.

18. *the height in the breadth was five cubits*] The meaning seems to be that the height of the curtain answered to the breadth of the stuff of which it was formed; *i.e.* five cubits. See xxvii. 18.

The sum of the metals used in the Sanctuary. 21—31.

21. "This is the **reckoning** of the Tabernacle, **the Tabernacle of the Testimony** (see on xxv. 16) **as it was reckoned up** according to the *commandment* of Moses, by the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar," &c. The weight of the metals was taken by the Levites, under the direction of Ithamar.

23. *an engraver*] **an artificer.**—*a cunning workman*] **a skilled weaver.** See on xxxv. 35.

24. *of the holy place*] Rather, **of the Sanctuary.** The gold was employed not only in the Holy Place, but in the Most Holy

for the work in all the work of the holy *place*, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary.

25 And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation *was* an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:

† Heb. a poll.

26 A bekah for † every man, *that is*, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty *men*.

27 And of the hundred talents of silver were cast the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the vail; an hundred sockets of the hundred talents, a talent for a socket.

28 And of the thousand seven

Place and in the entrance to the Tent (xxxvi. 38).

the gold of the offering] **the gold of the wave offering** (see pref. to Leviticus).

talents...the shekel of the sanctuary] The Shekel was the common standard of weight and value with the Hebrews: but what its weight was in early times, as compared with our standard, is a matter on which there has been much difference of opinion. There is however no particular reason to suppose that the Hebrew standard underwent much alteration in the course of ages; and in regard to later times, we have three distinct elements of calculation which lead to a tolerably harmonious result. (*a*) According to the rabbinists, the shekel weighed 320 barley grains, which are equal to about 214 English grains, the weight of which was originally taken from a grain of wheat. (*b*) There are several silver shekels in existence coined in the Maccabean times (see 1 Macc. xv. 6), and, making allowance for wear, each of these appears to have weighed 220 grains. (*c*) The LXX., when they do not retain the original name in the form σίκλος, render it by δίδραχμον (Gen. xxiii. 15; Ex. xxi. 32, xxx. 13, 15; Lev. xxvii. 3; Num. iii. 47, &c.): they also render *bekah*, the half shekel, by δραχμή (see *v.* 26). Now the Macedonian didrachmon, with which they must have been familiar, weighed 218 grains. It hence appears that we cannot be far wrong in estimating the shekel at 220 English grains (just over half an ounce avoidupois) and its value in silver as 2*s.* 7*d.*—The statement of Josephus ('Ant.' III. 8. § 2), that the shekel was equal to four Attic drachms (252 grains) is evidently a rough estimate: and still further from accuracy is his turning the fifty shekels of 2 K. xv. 20 into fifty drachms ('Ant.' IX. 11. § 1)—A question is raised as to the meaning of the term, "a shekel of the sanctuary." The rabbinists speak of a common shekel of half the weight of the shekel of the sanctuary. But there is no sufficient reason to suppose that such a distinction existed in ancient times, and the Shekel of the Sanctuary (or, *the Holy Shekel*) would seem to denote no more than an *exact* Shekel, "after the king's weight" (2 S. xiv. 26), "current money of the merchant" (Gen. xxiii. 16).

In the reign of Joash, a collection similar to the one here mentioned, apparently at the same rate of capitation, was made for the repairs of the Temple (2 Chron. xxiv. 9). The tax of later times, called *didrachma* (Matt. xvii. 27), which has often been connected with this passage of Exodus, and which was recognized by our Lord as having the same solemn meaning as this payment of half a shekel, was not, like this one and that of Joash, a collection for a special occasion, but a yearly tax for the support of the Temple, of a whole shekel (δίδραχμον).—See on xxx. 13.

The Talent (Heb. *kikkār*, LXX. τάλαντον) contained 3000 shekels, as may be gathered from *vv.* 25, 26. According to the computation here adopted, the Hebrew Talent was $94\frac{3}{7}$ lbs. avoirdupois. The Greek (Æginetan) Talent, from which the LXX. and most succeeding versions have taken the name *talent*, was $82\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. The original word, *kikkār*, would denote a circular mass, and nearly the same word, *kerker*, was in use amongst the Egyptians for a mass of metal cast in the form of a massive ring with its weight stamped upon it.

26. *A bekah*] Literally, *a half:* the words "half a shekel," &c. appear to be inserted only for emphasis, to enforce the accuracy to be observed in the payment. See on xxx. 13, where there is a similar expression, and cf. xxx. 15.—Respecting the capitation and the numbering of the people, see on xxx. 12. There must have been, in addition to the sum of the half shekels, the free-will offerings of silver (see xxxv. 24), of which no reckoning is here made. They may perhaps have been amongst what was returned to the donors as being more than enough (xxxvi. 7).

27. *sockets*] **bases**. See on xxvi. 19.

28. The hooks, chapiters and fillets here spoken of belonged to the pillars of the Court. See xxvii. 10, 17.

hundred seventy and five *shekels* he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and filleted them.

29 And the brass of the offering *was* seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels.

30 And therewith he made the sockets to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grate for it, and all the vessels of the altar,

31 And the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the court gate, and all the pins of the tabernacle, and all the pins of the court round about.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *The cloths of service and holy garments.* 2 *The ephod.* 8 *The breastplate.* 22 *The robe of the ephod.* 27 *The coats, mitre, and girdle of fine linen.* 30 *The plate of the holy crown.* 32 *All is viewed and approved by Moses.*

AND of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made cloths of service, to do service in the holy *place*,

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30. *sockets to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation*] **bases for the entrance of the Tent of meeting.** See xxvi. 37.

the brasen altar] See xxvii. 1—8.

31. *the sockets of the court*] See xxvii. 10, 17.

the pins of the tabernacle ... the pins of the court] See on xxvii. 19.

According to the estimate of the shekel that has here been adopted, the weight of the metals mentioned in this chapter would be nearly as follows, in avoirdupois weight:—

Gold,	1 ton	4 cwt.	2 qrs.	13 lbs.
Silver,	4 tons	4 cwt.	2 qrs.	20 lbs.
Bronze,	2 tons	19 cwt.	2 qrs.	11 lbs.

The value of the gold, if pure, in our money would be £175075. 13*s.*, and of the silver £38034. 15*s.* 10*d.* The quantities of the precious metals come quite within the limits of probability, if we consider the condition of the Israelites when they left Egypt (see introd. note to Exod. and on xxv. 3), and the object for which the collection was made. There is no reasonable ground to call in question the substantial accuracy of the statements of Strabo (XVI. p. 778) and Diodorus (III. 45) regarding the great stores of gold collected by the Arab tribes near the Ælanitic Gulf, and they were probably still more abundant at this time when the tribes must have come into frequent contact with the Israelites. There may be no trace of native gold in those regions at present; but the entire exhaustion of natural supplies of the precious metals is too familiarly known to need more than a bare notice in this place (see 'Bib. Atlas' of the S. P. C. K. p. 38). Bähr, Knobel and others have remarked that the quantities collected for the Tabernacle are insignificant when compared with the hoards of gold and silver collected in the East in recent, as well as ancient, times. In communities in which there is not much commercial stir, and in consequence not much use for a circulating medium, the precious metals will be more readily accumulated either for a great national object, as in this case, or for the gratification of a ruler. The enormous wealth of the sovereigns, and also of the temples, of India, a century ago, taking the most moderate statements, may furnish examples. As instances in ancient times, we may refer to the accounts of gold in the temple of Belus (Diod. Sic. II. 9; cf. Herodot. I. 183); of the wealth of Sardanapalus (Ctesias, edit. Bähr, p. 431); and of the spoils taken by Cyrus (Plin. 'H. N.' XXXIII. 15, 47) and by Alexander (Diod. Sic. XVII. 66). All reasonable allowance may be made for exaggeration in these statements, and the argument, in its connection with well ascertained facts, will still be left amply strong enough for our purpose. For more examples, see Bähr, 'Symbolik,' I. p. 259; Knobel on Ex. xxv. and xxxviii.

It is worthy of notice that silver, in the time of Homer, appears to have been more precious than gold amongst the Greeks (Gladstone, 'Juventus Mundi,' p. 531). The treasures of Thrace and Laurium were then unknown. But it seems to have been otherwise with the Asiatic nations. The word *silver* (according to Pictet) is Sanscrit. This would tend to shew that the metal was known to the Aryan race before the Germanic nations migrated to the West. The forefathers of the Greeks and Romans probably lost all knowledge of it, and when they again met with it, they gave it quite a different name (*ἀργύριον, argentum*). This same argument may be applied to other metals. But what distinguishes silver is, that it was at first obtained by the people of Southern Europe from sparing, and, perhaps, distant sources. We know that the quantity of silver at Rome was very greatly increased by the contributions obtained in the Punic Wars (Niebuhr, 'Hist. of Rome,' Vol. III. p. 613). By this time Spain had begun to yield its supply. The Hebrews and Egyptians probably obtained the metal in the earliest times both from Asia and Africa.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Priests' Dresses are made.

1—31.

1. See on xxviii. 5. The fine linen is omitted in this verse, but is mentioned in the next.

[a] chap. 31. 10. & 35. 19. and [a]made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD commanded Moses.

2 And he made the ephod *of* gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.

3 And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut *it into* wires, to work *it* in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, *with* cunning work.

4 They made shoulderpieces for it, to couple *it* together: by the two edges was it coupled together.

5 And the curious girdle of his ephod, that *was* upon it, *was* of the same, according to the work thereof; *of* gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; as the LORD commanded Moses.

[b] chap. 28. 9. 6 ¶ [b]And they wrought onyx stones inclosed in ouches of gold, graven, as signets are graven, with the names of the children of Israel.

7 And he put them on the shoulders of the ephod, *that they should be* stones

[c] chap. 28. 12. for a [c]memorial to the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.

8 ¶ And he made the breastplate *of* cunning work, like the work of the ephod; *of* gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.

9 It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span *was* the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, *being* doubled.

10 And they set in it four rows of

[1] Or, *ruby*. stones: *the first* row *was* a [1]sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this *was* the first row.

11 And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond.

12 And the third row, a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst.

13 And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: *they were* inclosed in ouches of gold in their inclosings.

14 And the stones *were* according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, *like* the engravings of a signet, every one with his name, according to the twelve tribes.

15 And they made upon the breastplate chains at the ends, *of* wreathen work *of* pure gold.

16 And they made two ouches *of* gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings in the two ends of the breastplate.

17 And they put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings on the ends of the breastplate.

18 And the two ends of the two wreathen chains they fastened in the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, before it.

19 And they made two rings of gold, and put *them* on the two ends of the breastplate, upon the border of it, which *was* on the side of the ephod inward.

20 And they made two *other* golden rings, and put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart of it, over against the *other* coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.

21 And they did bind the breastplate by his rings unto the rings of the

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cloths of service] more properly, **the garments of office**. On these and the Holy Garments, see on xxxi. 10.

2. *the ephod*] See on xxviii. 6 sq.

3. *the gold*] See on xxviii. 5.

with cunning work] **with work of the skilled weaver.** See on xxvi. 1, xxxv. 35.

5. *the curious girdle*] See on xxviii. 8.

6, 7. See on xxviii. 9—12.

8. *the breastplate*] See on xxviii. 15, 16.

10—13. On the precious stones, see on xxviii. 17—20.

13. *in their inclosings*] Rather, **in their settings.** See on xxviii. 11, 17.

15. *chains at the ends, of wreathen work*] **chains of wreathen work twisted.** See on xxviii. 14.

16. See on xxviii. 13, 23.

19. See on xxviii. 26, 27.

20. "And they made **two rings of gold** and put them on the two **shoulder-pieces of the Ephod, low down in the front of it, near the joining, above the band for fastening it.**" See on xxviii. 27.

21. See on xxviii. 28.

ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod; as the LORD commanded Moses.

22 ¶ And he made the robe of the ephod *of* woven work, all *of* blue.

23 And *there was* an hole in the midst of the robe, as the hole of an habergeon, *with* a band round about the hole, that it should not rend.

24 And they made upon the hems of the robe pomegranates *of* blue, and purple, and scarlet, *and* twined *linen*.

[d] chap. 28. 33. 25 And they made [d] bells *of* pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the hem of the robe, round about between the pomegranates;

26 A bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, round about the hem of the robe to minister *in;* as the LORD commanded Moses.

27 ¶ And they made coats *of* fine linen *of* woven work for Aaron, and for his sons,

28 And a mitre *of* fine linen, and [e] chap. 28. 42. goodly bonnets *of* fine linen, and [e] linen breeches *of* fine twined linen,

29 And a girdle *of* fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, *of* needlework; as the LORD commanded Moses.

30 ¶ And they made the plate of the holy crown *of* pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, *like to* the engravings of a signet, [f] chap. 28. 26. HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

31 And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten *it* on high upon the mitre; as the LORD commanded Moses.

32 ¶ Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished: and the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

33 ¶ And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the tent, and all his furniture, his taches, his boards, his bars, and his pillars, and his sockets,

34 And the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of badgers' skins, and the vail of the covering,

35 The ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the mercy seat,

36 The table, *and* all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread,

37 The pure candlestick, *with* the lamps thereof, *even with* the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for light,

38 And the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and [t] the sweet incense, and the hanging for the tabernacle door, [t] Heb. *the incense of sweet spices.*

39 The brasen altar, and his grate of brass, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,

40 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and his sockets, and the hanging for the court gate, his cords, and his pins, and all the vessels of the service of the tabernacle, for the tent of the congregation,

41 The cloths of service to do service in the holy *place*, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and his sons' garments, to minister in the priest's office.

42 According to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel made all the work.

43 And Moses did look upon all the work, and, behold, they had done it as the LORD had commanded, even so had they done it: and Moses blessed them.

22—26. See on xxviii. 31—35.

27. See on xxviii. 40, 41.

28. *a mitre*] See on xxviii. 37.
bonnets] See on xxviii. 40.
breeches] See on xxviii. 42.

29. *a girdle*] See on xxviii. 40.

30. *the holy crown of pure gold*] Cf. xxix. 6. See on xxviii. 36.
HOLINESS TO THE LORD] See on xxviii. 36.

The whole work of the Sanctuary is submitted to Moses and approved. 32—43.

33—38. See on xxxv. 11—15, and on xxvi. 1.

39, 40. See on xxxv. 16—18.

41. See *vv.* 1, 27, xxxi. 10.

CHAPTER XL.

1 The tabernacle is commanded to be reared, 9 and anointed. 13 Aaron and his sons to be sanctified. 16 Moses performeth all things accordingly. 34 A cloud covereth the tabernacle.

AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 On the first day of the first month shalt thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.

3 And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and cover the ark with the vail.

4 And [a] thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order [†] the things that are to be set in order upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and light the lamps thereof.

5 And thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the hanging of the door to the tabernacle.

6 And thou shalt set the altar of the burnt offering before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.

7 And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and shalt put water therein.

8 And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the hanging at the court gate.

9 And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that *is* therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof: and it shall be holy.

10 And thou shalt anoint the altar of the burnt offering, and all his vessels, and sanctify the altar: and it shall be an altar [†] most holy.

11 And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it.

12 And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and wash them with water.

13 And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him; that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

14 And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats:

15 And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations.

[a] chap. 26. 35.
[†] Heb. *the order thereof.*
[†] Heb. *holiness of holinesses.*

CHAP. XL.

Moses is commanded to arrange the holy things, and to anoint them and the priests. 1—11.

2. *On the first day of the first month*] See *v.* 17.

4. *the things that are to be set in order*] The directions given in Lev. xxiv. 5—9 are here presupposed, and must have been issued before this chapter was written.

5. *before the ark*] See on xxx. 6.

the hanging of the door to the tabernacle] **the curtain at the entrance of the Tabernacle.**

6. *before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation*] **before the entrance of the Tabernacle of the Tent of meeting.**

7, 8. See Note at the end of Ch. xxvi. § VI.

8. *hang up the hanging*] **hang up the entrance curtain.**

9—11. The directions to anoint and consecrate the Tabernacle and the Priests had been previously given xxx. 26—31. They are here repeated in a summary form. The anointing is described Lev. viii. 10—12.

9. *vessels*] **utensils.** The name includes the whole of the furniture of the Tabernacle. See on xxvii. 19.

10. *vessels*] **utensils.**

most holy] In the preceding verse the Tabernacle and its utensils are said to be rendered *holy* by the anointing; the Altar and its utensils are here, and in xxx. 10, said to be *most holy*. The term *most holy* must not in this case be taken as expressing a higher degree of holiness than that which belonged to the Tabernacle; it is only used for emphasis, as a caution (it has been conjectured) in reference to the position of the Altar exposing it to the chance of being touched by the people when they assembled in the Court, while they were not permitted to enter the Tabernacle. The Tabernacle itself, with all that belonged to it, is called *most holy* in xxx. 29.

12. *the door of the tabernacle of the congregation*] **the entrance of the Tent of meeting.** The directions in *vv.* 12—15 had been previously given xxix. 4—9, xxx. 30; the ceremony is described Lev. viii. 5, 6.

16 Thus did Moses: according to all that the LORD commanded him, so did he.

17 ¶ And it came to pass in the first month in the second year, on the
[b] Numb. 7. 1. first *day* of the month, *that* the [b] tabernacle was reared up.

18 And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and fastened his sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up his pillars.

19 And he spread abroad the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses.

20 ¶ And he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the mercy seat above upon the ark:

21 And he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and [c] set up *the vail of* [c] chap. 35. 12. the covering, and covered the ark of the testimony; as the LORD commanded Moses.

22 ¶ And he put the table in the tent of the congregation, upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the vail.

23 And he set the bread in order upon it before the LORD; as the LORD had commanded Moses.

Moses puts the Tabernacle in order. 17—33.

17. *on the first day of the month*] That is, on the first of the month Nisan (xii. 2, xiii. 4), one year, wanting fourteen days, after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. They had been nearly three months in reaching the foot of Mount Sinai (xix. 1); Moses had spent eighty days on the mountain (xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28), and some time must be allowed for what is related in chap. xxiv., as well as for the interval between the two periods which Moses spent on the mountain (xxxiii. 1—23). The construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture would thus appear to have occupied something less than half a year. Bleek's objection to this period as too short for the completion of such a work ('Introd. to O. T.' Vol. I. p. 247) is worth nothing if we duly consider the interest which the whole people must have felt in it, and the nature of the structure, so unlike one of solid masonry.

19. The tent cloth was spread over the tabernacle cloth, and the covering of skins was put over the tent cloth. See xxvi. 1, 6, 11, 14; and Note at the end of Ch. xxvi. § II.

20. *the testimony*] *i.e.* the Tables of stone with the Ten Commandments engraved on them (see xxv. 16, xxxi. 18). Nothing else is said to have been put into the Ark. These were found there by themselves in the time of Solomon (1 K. viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10). The Pot of Manna was "laid up before the testimony" (Ex. xvi. 34); Aaron's rod was also placed "before the testimony" (Num. xvii. 10); and the Book of the Law was put at "the side of the Ark" (Deut. xxxi. 26). The expression "before the testimony" appears to mean the space immediately in front of the Ark. Most interpreters hold that the Pot of Manna and Aaron's rod were placed between the Ark and the Vail. It is however said in the Epistle to the Hebrews that the Ark contained "the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant" (ix. 4). From this statement, and from the mode of expression in Kings and Chronicles (which appears to indicate that the fact of the Ark's containing nothing at that time but the Tables was unexpected), it would seem that the other articles were at some period put within the Ark; and this accords with some rabbinical traditions. It has however been conjectured that "before the testimony" may mean the space within the Ark, at the back of which the Tables are supposed to have been placed. But from a comparison of Ex. xxx. 36 with xl. 5, it appears that the two expressions "before the testimony," and "before the ark of the testimony," are equivalent and denote the space in front of the Ark, even extending to the outside of the Vail. Besides this, it is plain that Aaron's Rod, when it was brought "before the testimony," was merely restored to the place "before the Lord in the tabernacle of witness," where it was first placed along with the other rods (Num. xvii.; cf. *v.* 7 with *v.* 10). These considerations, added to the presumption from Ex. xxv. 16, xl. 20, that nothing but the Tables were put into the Ark, seem to afford sufficient evidence that the articles in question were not at first placed within it, but in front of it. It is very probable that the pot and the rod had been put into the Ark before it was taken by the Philistines, but that they were not sent back with the Ark and the Tables. 1 Sam. iv. 11, vi. 11.

the mercy seat] See on xxv. 21.

21. *the vail of the covering*] See on xxxv. 12.

22—24. See on xxv. 23—29, and Lev. xxiv. 5—9.

23. *he set the bread in order*] Moses performed these priestly functions (see on xxviii. 1) of setting the Bread on the Table, lighting

24 ¶ And he put the candlestick in the tent of the congregation, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward.

25 And he lighted the lamps before the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses.

26 ¶ And he put the golden altar in the tent of the congregation before the vail:

27 And he burnt sweet incense thereon; as the LORD commanded Moses.

28 ¶ And he set up the hanging *at* the door of the tabernacle.

29 And he put the altar of burnt offering *by* the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation, and offered upon it the burnt offering and
[d] chap. 30. 9. the meat offering; as the [d] LORD commanded Moses.

30 ¶ And he set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and put water there, to wash *withal*.

31 And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat:

32 When they went into the tent of the congregation, and when they came near unto the altar, they washed; as the LORD commanded Moses.

33 And he reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the hanging of the court gate. So Moses finished the work.

34 ¶ [e] Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. [e] Numb. 9. 15. 1 Kings 8. 10.

35 And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle.

36 And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel [f] went onward in all their journeys: [f] Heb. *journeyed*.

37 But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up.

38 For the cloud of the LORD *was* upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys.

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the Lamps (*v.* 25), burning Incense (*v.* 27), and offering the Daily Sacrifice (*v.* 29), before the holy things with which they were performed were anointed. The things had been made expressly for the service of Jehovah, by His command, and in this fact lay their essential sanctity, of which the anointing was only the seal and symbol. Aaron and his sons, on similar ground, having had the divine call, took part in the service of the Sanctuary as soon as the work was completed (*v.* 31). But Moses took part with them, and most likely took the lead, until they were consecrated and invested (Lev. viii.) and publicly set apart for the office. See on Lev. viii. 14.

26. *before the vail*] that is, opposite to the Ark, in the middle between the Table of Shewbread on the North and the Candlestick on the South (see on xxx. 36).

28. *set up the hanging*, &c.] **put up the curtain at the entrance to the Tabernacle.**

29. *by the door*] **at the entrance.** It is here evident that the term denoted a broad space in front of the Tabernacle. See Plan, p. 378.

31, 32. See xxx. 18—21.

33. *set up the hanging*] **put up the curtain.** See on xxvi. 36.

The glory of the Lord is manifested on the completed work.
34—38.

34, 35. On the distinction between the Tent as the outer shelter and the Tabernacle as the *dwelling-place* of Jehovah, which is very clear in these verses, see on xxvi. 1. The glory appeared as a light within and as a cloud on the outside.

35. Cf. the entrance of the High-priest into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. 2, 13. For special appearances of this glory in the Tabernacle, see Num. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, 42; cf. Ex. xvi. 10; 1 K. viii. 10, 11.

36—38. This is more fully described Num. ix. 15—23, x. 11, 12, 34.

The Tabernacle, after it had accompanied the Israelites in their wanderings in the Wilderness, was most probably first set up in the Holy Land at Gilgal (Josh. iv. 19, v. 10, ix. 6, x. 6, 43). But before the death of

Joshua, it was erected at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1, xix. 51). Here it remained as the national Sanctuary throughout the time of the Judges (Josh. xviii. 8, xxi. 2, xxii. 19; Judg. xviii. 31, xxi. 19; 1 S. i. 3, iv. 3). But its external construction was at this time somewhat changed, and *doors*, strictly so called, had taken the place of the entrance curtain (1 S. iii. 15): hence it seems to have been sometimes called *the Temple* (1 S. i. 9, iii. 3), the name by which the structure of Solomon was afterwards commonly known. After the time of Eli it was removed to Nob in the canton of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem (1 S. xxi. 1—9). From thence, in the time of David, it was removed to Gibeon (1 Chro. xvi. 39, xxi. 29; 2 Chro. i. 3; 1 K. iii. 4, ix. 2). It was brought from Gibeon to Jerusalem by Solomon (1 K. viii. 4). After this, it disappears in the narrative of Scripture. When the Temple of Solomon was built, "the Tabernacle of the Tent" had entirely performed its work; it had protected the Ark of the Covenant during the migrations of the people until they were settled in the Land, and the promise was fulfilled, that the Lord would choose out a place for Himself in which His name should be preserved and His service should be maintained (Deut. xii. 14, 21, xiv. 24).

In accordance with its dignity as the most sacred object in the Sanctuary, the original Ark of the Covenant constructed by Moses was preserved and transferred from the Tabernacle to the Temple. The Golden Altar, the Candlestick and the Shewbread table were renewed by Solomon. They were subsequently renewed by Zerubbabel, and lastly by the Maccabees (see on xxv. 23). But the Ark was preserved in the Temple until Jerusalem was taken by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chro. xxxv. 3; Jer. iii. 16). It was never replaced in the Second Temple. (Jos. 'Bell. Jud.' v. 5. § 5; Tacitus, 'Hist.' v. 9). According to a rabbinical tradition, its place was occupied by a block of stone.

NOTE ON CHAP. XL.

ON THE SANCTUARY AS A WHOLE.

I. *The Altar and the Tabernacle.* II. *Names of the Tabernacle.* III. *Order of the Sacred things.* IV. *The Ark and its belongings.* V. *Allegorical explanations.* VI. *Originality of the Tabernacle.*

I.

The two chief objects within the Court were the Brazen Altar and the Tabernacle. As sacrificial worship was no new thing, there is nothing said or intimated as to the purpose of the Altar, either in the instructions for the Sanctuary or in the record of its completion[1]. The intention was merely to provide a *single* Altar of suitable construction for the offerings of the whole nation in such juxtaposition with the Tabernacle as to suit the order of the inspired ritual.

But the Tabernacle was an entirely new matter belonging to the dispensation of the Mosaic Covenant. Its purpose was therefore distinctly set forth at this time. It was to be the symbolical dwelling-place of Jehovah, where He was to meet with His people or their representatives. His own words were: "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them."—"I will meet you, to speak there unto thee, and there will I meet with the Children of Israel[2]."

II.

The name most frequently given to the Tabernacle in our Version is, "The Tabernacle (or Tent[3]) of the congregation[4]." But the latter word in Hebrew (מוֹעֵד) signifies *meeting*, in its most general sense, and is always used without the article. The better rendering of the name is **The Tabernacle** (or **The Tent**) **of meeting**, and the idea connected with it is that of Jehovah meeting with either Moses, or the priests, or (in only a few cases[5]) with the people gathered into a congregation at the entrance of the Tent. The English translation is not supported by the old Versions, nor by the best critical authorities. The complete designation is given as "the Tabernacle of the Tent of **meeting**." Ex. xl. 1, 29, &c.

The Tabernacle is also called, **The Tabernacle** (or **The Tent**) **of the Testimony**[6]. Now this designation evidently relates to the Tabernacle as the depository of the Testimony[7], that is, the Tables of the Law. It has been preferred by the LXX. (ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτύριου) and the Vulgate (*tabernaculum testimonii*), to render not only the Hebrew, which strictly answers to it, but also the name in more common use, which means The Tabernacle of **meeting**. It occurs in the New Testament, Acts vii. 44; Rev. xv. 5.

[1] Ex. xxvii. 1—8, xxxviii. 1—7. See note on Ex. xx. 24.

[2] Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 42, 43. See also Ex. xxvii. 21, xxviii. 12.

[3] On the words *Tabernacle* and *Tent*, in some cases used indifferently for the whole structure, see on xxvi. 1.

[4] Ex. xxvii. 21, xxviii. 43, xxix. 4, 10, 11, 30, xxx. 16, 18, 20, 36, xxxi. 7, xxxv. 21, xl. 2, 6, 7, 12; Lev. i. 1, 3, 5, &c. &c.

[5] Lev. viii. 3, 4; Num. x. 3; cf. Ex. xxxiii. 7.

[6] The Hebrew word (עֵדוּת), in this connection, always has the article. Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, 53, ix. 15, x. 11, xvii. 7, 8, xviii. 2.

[7] See Note on Ex. xx. 1—17, § V.

The second name, of itself, suggests that the Tabernacle owed its character and significance to the Ark with its sacred contents and the Mercy-seat that covered it. Above the Mercy-seat, in a concentrated sense, was the spot where Jehovah communed with His people[1]. The furniture of the Holy Place held a subordinate position, and all its symbolism pointed to the truth which had its deepest and fullest expression in the Ark. In the form and materials of the Tabernacle itself there appears to have been nothing, either in its wood-work or its curtains, but what was most convenient for the arrangement and protection of the holy things and most becoming for beauty. It was in fact a regal Tent[2], in which the Ark symbolized the constant presence of Jehovah, who now condescended to dwell amongst the people whom He had redeemed.

III.

The order in which the chief facts connected with the construction of the Sanctuary are related in the sacred narrative, closely corresponds with the essential relation in which the several parts stand to each other. The Ten Commandments are uttered by the voice of Jehovah from the summit of Mount Sinai, with every circumstance that can show their solemn importance[3]: a short practical compendium of the Law, called the Book of the Covenant[4], is written out by Moses for the occasion: after the Covenant is sealed by sprinkling on the people the blood of Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings, a mysterious manifestation of the Divine presence is made to Moses, Aaron and the Elders[5]: Moses is then summoned to the Mount and receives instructions first for making the Ark that was to contain the tables of the Ten Commandments with the Mercy-seat that was to cover them[6], next for the holy things that were to be placed in the Holy Place, and not till then, for the Tabernacle with its Tent and its Covering[7]: after this, the Brazen Altar and the Court are described[8], and directions are given for the consecration of those who had to minister at the Altar and the Tabernacle[9]: what may be regarded as a supplementary section relating to the Golden Altar[10] and some other things, is followed by the appointment of the workmen and a repetition of the Law for the observance of the Sabbath-day[1]. These practical instructions being completed, the precious gift of the Tables of the Law is put into the hands of Moses[2]. This arrangement of the particulars is the more noticeable, because the articles are named in reversed order in the account of the construction of the work[3].

IV.

The Ten Commandments conveyed no new revelation in the details of their subject matter. Every duty enjoined in them may be found expressed in no obscure terms in the earlier portion of the Pentateuch. But the old truths were now for the first time embodied and proclaimed to the people in connection with their lately recovered freedom. Hence they were put into new relations with other truths, and were combined with them in expressing the will of Jehovah. The tables of the Testimony did not however, by themselves, form the central point of the Sanctuary. It required the complete Ark that contained them, with the Mercy-seat that covered them, to convey the true meaning of the Covenant that was based on the name of Jehovah as it was revealed to Moses[4].

We may regard then the sacred contents of the Tabernacle as figuring what was peculiar to the Covenant of which Moses was the Mediator, the closer union of God with Israel and their consequent election as "a kingdom of priests, an holy nation[5]:" while the Brazen Altar in the Court not only bore witness for the old sacrificial worship by which the Patriarchs had drawn nigh to God, but formed an essential part of the Sanctuary, signifying, by its now more fully developed system of Sacrifices[6] in connection with the Tabernacle, those ideas of Sin and Atonement, which were first distinctly brought out by the revelation of the Law and the sanctification of the nation[7].

V.

Keeping strictly to the conclusions that appear clearly to follow from the sacred narrative, there seems to be neither occasion nor place for those allegorical explanations of the Tabernacle which are so often found in commentators, both Jewish and Christian. Philo[8], Josephus[9], Theodoret[10], Jerome[11], with other Fathers, and some of the Rabbinists, supposed

[1] Ex. xxv. 22.
[2] See Note on chap. xxvi.
[3] Ex. xix, xx.
[4] See on Ex. xx. 22.
[5] Ex. xxiv. According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Book was sprinkled as well as the people; see Heb. ix. 19.
[6] See on Ex. xxv. 10—16.
[7] See Note on Ex. xxvi.
[8] Ex. xxvii.
[9] Ex. xxviii, xxix.
[10] See on Ex. xxx. 1.

[1] Ex. xxxi. 1—17. [2] Ex. xxxi. 18.
[3] Ex. xxxvi, xxxvii.
[4] Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. See Note on ch. xx. § VI.
[5] Ex. xix. 6.
[6] See Lev. i.—vii.
[7] See notes on Lev. iv.
[8] 'Vit. Mos.' III. 6.
[9] 'Ant.' III. 7. § 7. Cf. 'Bel. Jud.' v. 5. § 4, where the same explanation is applied to the Temple.
[10] 'Quæst. in Exod.' 60.
[11] 'Epist.' LXIV. § 9.

that the structure was a type of the material universe of heaven and earth which the Lord had created as an abode for Himself. It appears however that no two of these writers agree together in the application of this theory to the several parts. Bähr[1], following in this general track, has elaborated with curious ingenuity an explanation of almost every recorded particular in the description of Moses.—In other lines of speculation, the Tabernacle has been taken as a symbol of human nature (Luther), and as a prophetic type of the Christian Church (Cocceius).

VI.

It has been usual, especially since the time of Spencer, to seek out parallels from heathen antiquity for the Tabernacle itself, but more particularly for the Ark of the Covenant. The Tabernacle has been compared with several moveable temples of which there are notices in ancient writers, the most remarkable of which seems to be "the Sacred Tent" (ἡ ἱερὰ σκηνή) of the Carthaginians mentioned by Diodorus[2].

The Ark of the Covenant has been most generally likened to the arks, or moveable shrines, which are represented on Egyptian monuments[3]. The Egyptian arks were carried in a similar manner by poles resting on men's shoulders, and some of them had on the cover two winged figures not unlike what we conceive the golden Cherubim to have been. Thus far the similarity is striking. But there were points of great dissimilarity. Between the winged figures on the Egyptian arks there was placed the material symbol of a deity, and the arks themselves were carried about in religious processions, so as to make a show in the eyes of the people. We know not what they contained. As regards the Ark of the Covenant, the absence of any symbol of God was one of its great characteristics. It was never carried in a ceremonial procession: when it was moved from one place to another, it was closely packed up, concealed from the eyes even of the Levites who bore it[4]. When the Tabernacle was pitched, the Ark was never exhibited, but was kept in solemn darkness. Rest, it is evident, was its appointed condition. It was occasionally moved out of its place in the Holy of Holies, but only as long as the nation was without a settled capital, and had something of the character of an army on the march. During this period it accompanied the army on several occasions[1]. But it had been foretold that the time should come when the Sanctuary was to be fixed[2], and when this was fulfilled, we are told that "the Ark had rest[3]." It was never again moved till the capture of Jerusalem by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar[4]. Not less, we may fairly suppose, was it distinguished from all other arks in the simple grandeur of its purpose: it was constructed to contain the plain text of the Ten Commandments written on stone in words that were intelligible to all.

Such resemblances to foreign patterns as have been mentioned are without doubt interesting; but it should always be kept in view that they are extremely superficial. The Israelites could hardly have been in contact with the Egyptians for so long a period without learning much of their arts and customs. It is most likely that they were in the habit of using the same tools and modes of construction. In order to attain a given end they probably used similar mechanical contrivances. There are certain points of likeness in the descriptions of Moses and what we know of Egyptian art, which would clearly prove that the Israelites had dwelt in Egypt[5]. But on the whole, it seems wonderful that there is so little in the Sanctuary to remind us of any foreign association. Besides such distinctions as might naturally be ascribed to the difference between an idol's temple and a structure meant to express the Covenant between the unseen Lord and His people, there is in the Tabernacle an originality, both in its general arrangement and in its details, which is by far more striking than any resemblance that may be traced between it and heathen models.

[1] 'Symbolik,' Vol. I. p. 75.

[2] Lib. XX. 65: others are mentioned by Knobel.

[3] Wilkinson, 'Pop. Acc.' Vol. I. p. 267.—The articles in Smith's and Kitto's Dictionaries.—Smith, 'The Pentateuch,' p. 260, &c. &c.—On the arks of other ancient nations, see Bähr, 'Symbolik,' Vol. I. 399, and Knobel, p. 262.

[4] Num. iv. 5, 6, 19, 20.

[1] 1 S. iv. 3, xiv. 18; 2 S. xi. 11.

[2] Deut. xii. 10, 11.

[3] 1 Chro. vi. 31; cf. xvi. 1.

[4] See concluding note on Exod. xl.—It is strange that Knobel and others should regard such occasions as are described Josh. vi. 8, 2 S. vi. 12—16, as of the nature of ceremonial processions.

[5] Hengstenberg has not stated the argument too confidently in his 'Egypt and the Books of Moses,' but he has certainly brought some very faithful instances to its support.

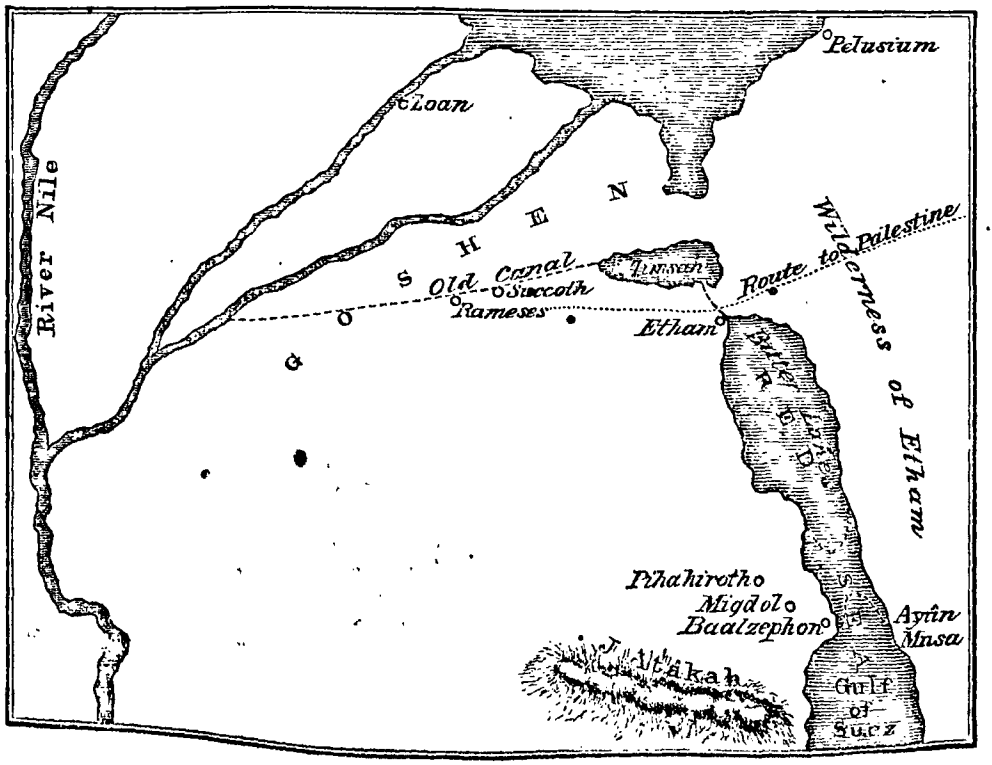
NOTE ON THE ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES FROM RAMESES TO SINAI. F. C. C.

(CHAPS. XVI. XVII. XIX.)

The commentary on the first nineteen chapters of Exodus had been some time in print, when the results of the survey of the western districts of the Sinaitic peninsula were communicated to the writer. Some conclusions to which he had been led by the researches of travellers, of which the fullest account is given in Ritter's work on Sinai and Palestine (see Band I. p. 517—638), were materially affected by the information which he received from Captain Wilson, of the Royal Engineers, who with Captain Palmer, R. E., conducted the survey, and from the Rev. F. W. Holland, who accompanied the expedition, and had previously spent much time in exploring the Peninsula, of which he has prepared a valuable map, published by the Geographical Society.

The first part of the route, from Rameses to Elim, is not affected by these new sources of information, and the notes remain untouched. It may, however, be convenient to touch briefly on this portion in order to present a clear and connected view of the circumstances which may have determined the direction of the march. The first two days' march brought the Israelites from Rameses to Etham. Rameses was the general name of the district in the time of Jacob; the principal city built by the Israelites was probably situate on the ancient canal at some distance from the frontier. Etham was on the edge of the wilderness, at the point where the road towards Palestine branched off; and the direction of the journey was turned southwards, towards the encampment by the sea at Baal-zephon. See xii. 37, xiii. 20, xiv. 2, 3. Etham, which is probably identical with Pithom, is held by the writer of this note to correspond to the ancient Heroopolis, the frontier city of Egypt, near the southern extremity of Lake Timsah. The journey from this place to Suez would occupy sufficient time for a communication to be made to Pharaoh, and for the rapid march of his army[1]. The Israelites

[1] The subjoined sketch, prepared by the Rev. S. Clark, shows the route of the Israelites from Rameses to 'Ayún Músa, and the probable extent of the Red Sea north of its present bed in the time of Moses. Mr Clark identifies Etham with a spot near Serapeum.



must have had a considerable start in order to reach the encampment of Suez before they were overtaken, but they could scarcely have been so near to Suez when at Etham as the site fixed upon by Robinson would bring them, or the passage could have been effected without interruption. That passage took place, as nearly all modern critics admit, near Suez, where sands of considerable extent were passable when "the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind," which blew all the night; see c. xiv. 21. After crossing the sea the Israelites would naturally make their first station at 'Ayún Músa, where they would find an ample supply of water: passing thence by Marah they reached Elim, when they encamped under the palm-trees, by the waters. Elim is generally identified with the Wady Gharandel. It is probable that the Israelites remained there several days and then advanced to the station on the Red Sea, near the headland called Ras-Selima, or, as in the map, Ras Abu Zenimeh.

The difference of opinions as to the course pursued by the Israelites up to this point is limited to questions of secondary importance; but from Elim two principal routes lead to Sinai, one by El Markha and Wady Feiran, the other, less circuitous, through a succession of Wadys on the north-east. Both these routes are reported by Captain Wilson, R.E. to be practicable even for a large host like that of the Israelites: the former is the more easy of transit; the latter has the advantage of an abundant supply of excellent water at the distance of 26 miles. At the one end of the route it may be regarded as settled that the station by Ras-Selima was the starting-point, if not for the whole host, yet for the head-quarters of the Israelites. At the other extremity the reasons which will be adduced appear to prove that Ras Sufsafeh was the summit from which the Law was delivered, and the Wady er Rahah the wilderness of Sinai on which the people were assembled to hear it.

The facts stated in Exodus and in the itinerary in Numbers xxxiii. are these. The first station was in the wilderness of Sin, which lay between Elim and Sinai. The people remained there some days: we find no complaint of want of water, but they suffered from want of food, and were supplied first with quails and then with manna. From this wilderness they advanced, encamping first at Dophkah, then at Alush; thence they went to Rephidim, where they found no water until it was supplied by a miracle from the rock of Horeb. At Rephidim they were attacked by the Amalekites. Their next encampment was in the wilderness of Sinai. Some fifteen days elapsed between the first encampment in the wilderness of Sin and their arrival at the Mount of God: compare xvi. 1, and xix. 1.

We may first consider the claims of the more direct route, advocated with great ability by Knobel, whose view has been adopted by Keil, and is accepted in the foot-notes of this commentary. It has been fully described by Burckhardt, Robinson and other travellers, whose accounts are generally corroborated by Captains Wilson and Palmer and by Mr Holland.

From Ras Abu Zenimeh this route passes through several Wadys to a wide undulating plain, the Debbet er Ramleh. This desert is identified by Knobel with the wilderness of Sin. It corresponds in many striking particulars with the accounts of that wilderness: bare, wild, and desolate, it would offer no refreshment to the Israelites after their first long and laborious march. It lies, properly speaking, between Elim and the Sinaitic group in which greenstone and porphyry take the place of the sandstone of the desert. The word Debbet moreover corresponds exactly in meaning to Sin[1]; and at Wady Nasb, the first station on this route, there is a copious supply of water: a circumstance which, combined with the supply of quails and manna, gives a probable reason for the delay of some days in this wilderness. From Wady Nasb the road passes by Sarábít el Khadim. At this place the Egyptians worked mines of great extent, and the remains of buildings with numerous inscriptions prove that it was occupied by an Egyptian colony before the time of Moses. The existence of this settlement presents conflicting arguments for and against the selection of this route by Moses. On the one hand it may be reasoned that he would avoid coming into contact with Egyptians, especially since this must have been a military station, and a conflict would seem inevitable, since the sojourn in the district extended over some days. On the other hand it is admitted that the Egyptians would keep the entire route from Ras Selima in good order, and take great care to protect the sources of water: nor considering that the whole colony, as Captain Wilson states, could not consist of more than 1000 men, is it at all probable that they would attempt to arrest the advance of the vast host of the Israelites; especially if, as may be assumed, they had received information of the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea.

The road from Sarábít el Khadim is extremely rough; but, as military authorities affirm, not impracticable even for light waggons, such as the Israelites probably used. Dophkah is assumed by Knobel to be in the Wady Sih, both names having the same meaning[2]. Alush,

[1] Freytag, in his Arabic lexicon, s.v. explains the former to mean "arena æquabilis et plana," the latter Sin, or Sinin, "arena elatior et longius protensa per regionis superficiem," a most exact description of this district.

[2] سيح, *sih*, flowing waters, the same being the meaning of دفق, *dafaka*, from which דפקה was probably derived. The ordnance survey however has *sik*, a straight road.

Country through which the Israelites must have passed on their way to Mount Sinai.

according to the same critic, may be the Wady el 'Esh, where there is a spring of good water: a journey of two hours from this point ends in the Wady es Sheikh.

The correspondence of the sites and even of the names on this route, and of the circumstances of the journey, presents a strong if not conclusive argument in its favour, nor is the argument affected by any discoveries made in the late survey. The notes on the text are therefore left in their original form; the writer still retaining, though with some diffidence in face of the opinions of the explorers, his conviction that Knobel is right, so far as this part of the route is concerned.

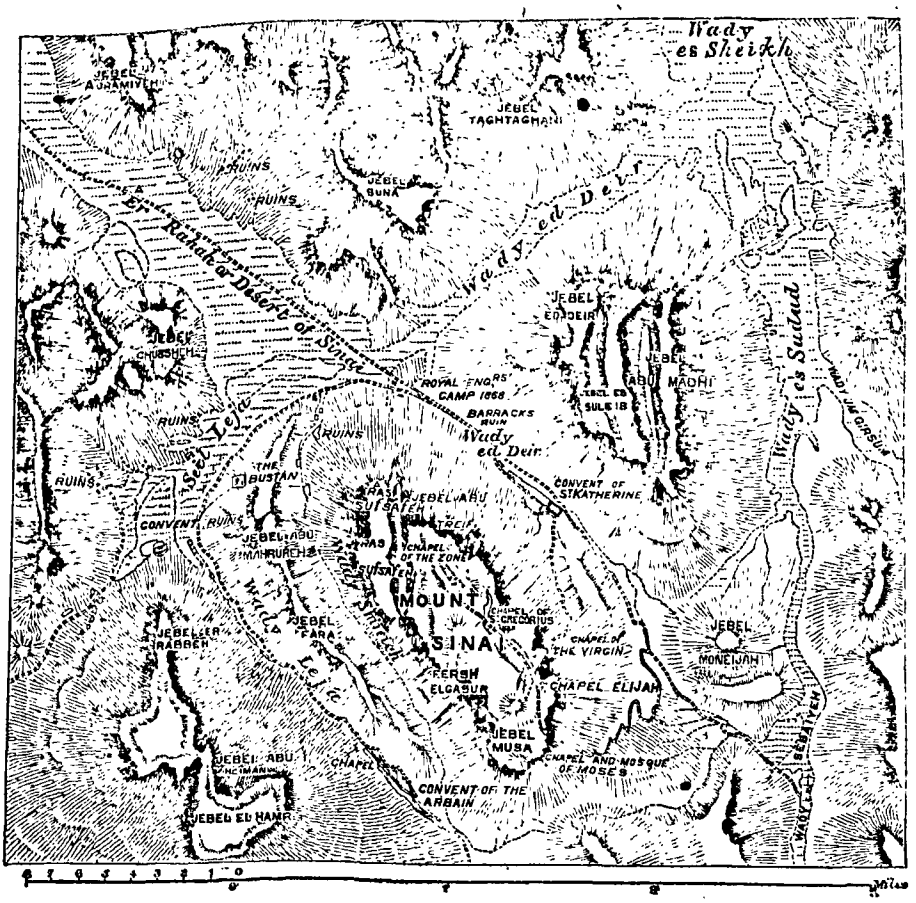
We have now to consider the other main route. The first day's journey from Ras Abu Zenimeh southwards leads through a narrow slip of barren sand to the open plain of El Markha. From this a Wady at once opens on the east, leading to the Wady Feiran. This route is most unlikely to have been selected by the Israelites: it would have brought them into contact with Egyptians in a district occupied by that people for centuries, nor do the narrow passes present any features corresponding to the wilderness of Sin. On the south, however, a very even and tolerably wide tract of desert land extends through El Markha, and at its southern extremity, by a sudden turn eastwards, through the Wady Feiran just described. This tract is identified by the conductors of the survey and by Mr Holland with the wilderness of Sin. They consider it to be the route which Moses would naturally have followed having once reached the station by Ras Selima. The chief objection to this view is that there are no springs of water in the district; to which it is answered that the Israelites who had waggons (see Num. vii. 3) and oxen would of course bring with them a supply, which might suffice for a rapid march until they reached the upper part of the Wady Feiran. The march however was not rapid, since there was a considerable delay, probably a whole week, in the wilderness of Sin. The route then passes north east of Mount Serbal, till it meets the Wady Sheikh, from which point two routes lead to Er Rahah and Ras-Sufsafeh; the one direct, but rough at the upper end; the other circuitous, but well adapted for the march and encampment of the Israelites. In Wady es Sheikh about midway this route meets the upper route previously described.

The question on which the explorers differ is one of great importance. It touches the site of Rephidim, where the Israelites first suffered for want of water, and where they defeated the Amalekites. Captains Wilson and Palmer hold that the battle was fought in the Wady Feiran, under Mount Serbal. Mr. Holland places Rephidim at the pass of Al Watiyeh, at the eastern end of Wady es Sheikh, to the north of the point where it joins the Wady ed Deir, which leads to Sinai.

If indeed the Israelites passed through Wady Feiran, it seems improbable that they should not have come into collision with the natives. From El Hesweh it is a well-watered district, winding for a considerable distance through defiles which could be easily defended by a people who had been trained for warfare by centuries of fierce struggles with the Egyptians: on the adjoining highlands towards Jebel Serbal remains of curious buildings, which undoubtedly belong to a very ancient period, still attest the presence of a numerous population along this route[1]. The site of the battle with the Amalekites is fixed by Captain Wilson near the ancient city of Feiran. The hill on which Moses witnessed the combat is supposed by Dr Stanley, 'S. and P.' p. 41, to be the rocky eminence which commands the palm-grove, on which in early Christian times stood the church and palace of the bishops of Paran. Captain Wilson holds it to be the Jebel Tahûneh, on the opposite side of the Wady. The whole of the Wady Feiran may have been cleared of the Amalekites by the decisive victory; after which the Israelites halted some time, with their head-quarters under the palm-groves, when they were visited by Jethro. This view assumes the identification of the Mount of God where Jethro encamped in the wilderness, c. xviii. 5, with Mount Serbal, a conjecture of Ritter's which seems open to grave objection, since the Mount of God in Exodus is in all probability the group of Sinai, and the term "wilderness" is scarcely applicable to the palm-groves of Feiran. From this place the Israelites might have proceeded to the Wady er Rahah, either by Wady es Sheikh, the longer route, but presenting no impediments; or by the W. Solaf, which though rugged in part is not impracticable, and in Captain Wilson's opinion would most probably have been pursued.

Mr Holland, on the other hand, believes that the Israelites passed through the Wady Feiran without encountering opposition, and that they then traversed the Wady es Sheikh; Rephidim he places at the pass, called El

[1] Mr Holland describes them in a paper read at the Church Congress, 1869. After careful examination he came to the conclusion that they were probably the tombs and store-houses of the ancient Amalekites. They evidently were the work of a large and powerful people who inhabited the peninsula at a very early period. There are indications that they were, to some extent, an agricultural, as well as a pastoral people, a point of great importance in its bearings upon the probable condition of the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai at the time of the Exodus. See Introduction, p. 245. The Egyptian names of the old inhabitants were Anu and Mentu.



Group of Mount Sinai from the Ordnance Survey[1].

Watíyeh; it is shut in by perpendicular rocks on either side. The Amalekites holding this defile would be in a position of great strength: and their choice of this point for the attack is well accounted for, supposing the Israelites to have reached it without previous molestation. It commands the entrance to the Wadys surrounding the central group of Sinai, on and about which the Bedouins pasture their flocks during the summer. All the requirements of the narrative appear to be satisfied by this assumption. On the north is a large plain destitute of water for the encampment of the Israelites; there is a conspicuous hill to the north of the defile commanding the battle-field, presenting a bare cliff, such as we may suppose the rock to have been which Moses struck with his rod. On the south of the pass is another plain sufficient for the encampment of the Amalekites, within easy reach of an abundant supply of water. At the foot of the hill on which Moses most probably sat, if this be Rephidim, the Arabs point out a rock, which they call "the seat of the prophet Moses."

Taking all points into consideration we feel constrained to adopt one of the following alternatives. If, as the explorers hold, the Israelites passed through the Wady Feiran, the conflict with the Amalekites must have taken place on the spot fixed upon by Captains Wilson

[1] The engravings which accompany this note were supplied by General Sir Henry James, F.R.S.

The first is an accurate representation of a raised model of that group, together with the adjoining Wadys, which is at the Topographical department. The model is on the scale of six inches to the mile, and represents the natural features in their true proportions.

The other is taken from a photograph, which represents the northern end of the Sinaitic group, with Ras-Sufsafeh in the centre, and the extensive plain of the Wady Rahah in front.

and Palmer. If however the battle field was at El Watiyeh the Israelites may have reached it by the upper route, which meets the lower about midway in the Wady es Sheikh. The arguments appear to the writer to preponderate in favour of this view, which accepts all the facts ascertained by the Expedition of Survey, and presents a series of coincidences of great weight in the settlement of the question.

From this point the writer accepts without hesitation the conclusion to which all the persons concerned in the Survey unanimously arrive touching the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai. The representation of the Sinaitic group here given will enable the reader to judge of the weight of the arguments which led to that conclusion.

The opinion which formerly appeared to the writer to be sustained by the strongest evidence identified Jebel Musa with the peak of Sinai. This view was advocated by Ritter. He supposed that on the south of Jebel Musa there is a plain of great extent, the Wady Sebaîyeh, in which the Israelites could assemble in front of the mount. The pyramidal height of Jebel Musa is described as rising over it like a monolithic wall of granite, a sheer precipice of 2000 feet; on the summit the mosque, the Christian chapel, and even the so-called stone of Moses, are seen distinctly from the plain; which Wellsted, Vol. II. p. 34, describes in terms which might have seemed conclusive.

"We crossed a large plain terminating in a broad and extensive valley. It has been objected to the identification of Jebel Musa with Mount Sinai, that the narrow valleys and ravines contiguous to it could not have contained the immense multitude of Israelites. *In this valley however there is more than ample space for them:* while at the same time at its termination Mount Sinai stands forth in naked majesty." A traveller who spent some time in the neighbourhood lately informed the writer of this note that the description is quite accurate, and that it is the only plain where the host could have been assembled. Tischendorf, who notices the extent of the plain, specially adapted for so great an event, observes that "the situation supplies an excellent illustration of the words in c. xix. 12, 'that ye go not up unto the mount, nor touch the border of it;' for in this plain the mountain can be touched in the literal sense, rising sheer from the plain, standing before the eye from base to summit as a whole;" and again, "Seldom could one so properly be said to stand at the nether part of the mount as in the plain at the foot of Sinai looking upwards to the granite summit 2000 feet high."

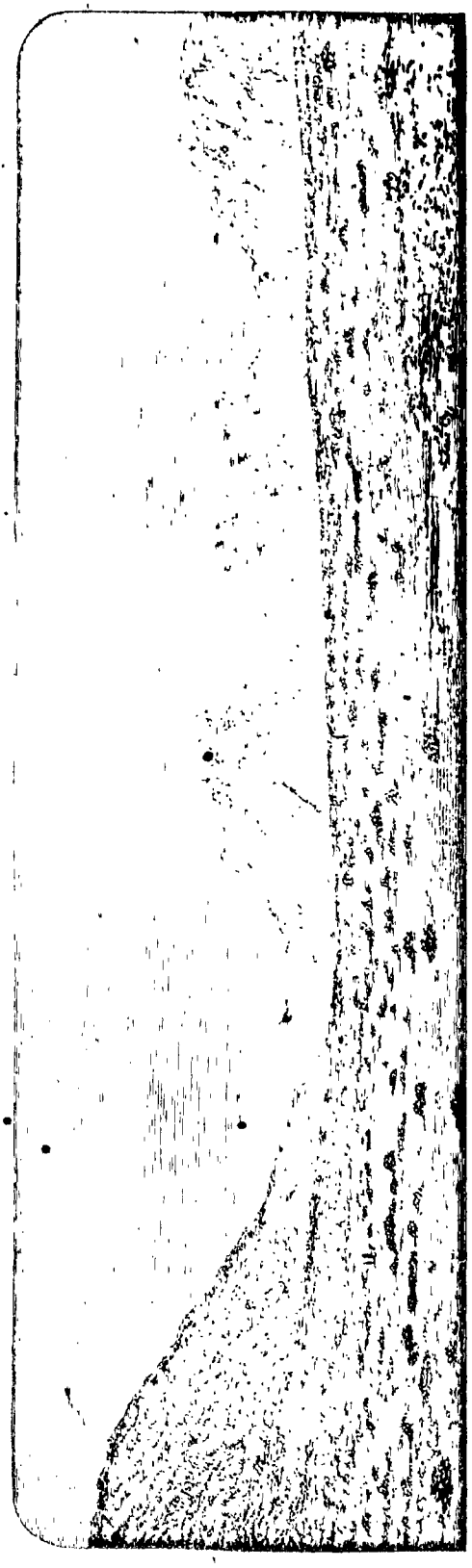
The view of Jebel Musa is admitted to be singularly striking. Lepsius says of the ascent that it lies between vast heights and rocks of the wildest and grandest character, giving the impression of an approach to a spot of historical interest. The ascent from the chapel of Elijah occupies about three-quarters of an hour to the summit, of which the height is 7359 feet. On the top is a level space 70 or 80 feet in width. Travellers give different accounts of the view from this spot. Seetzen and Burckhardt could see nothing; when they visited it the whole district was covered with a dense mist. Robinson speaks slightingly of the effect: and Ruppell says that the view is shut in by higher mountains on all sides except the north, on which he looked over a vast expanse including the desert of Er Ramleh, which is identified in these notes with the wilderness of Sin. Wellsted, however, who explored the district with unusual care, gives a most impressive description of the view. Vol. II. p. 97. He ascended the mount in very clear weather in January 1833, and took accurate trigonometrical measurements over an extent of 90 miles. "The view comprehends a vast circle. The gulphs of Suez and Akaba were distinctly visible, and from the dark blue waters of the latter the island of Tiran, sacred to Isis, rears itself. Mount Agrib on the other side points to the land of bondage. Before me is St Catherine, its bare conical peak now capped with snow. In magnificence and striking effect few parts of the world can surpass the wild naked scenery everywhere met with in the mountain-chain which girds the sea-coast of Arabia. Several years wholly passed in cruising along its shores have rendered all its varieties familiar to me, but I trace no resemblance to any other in that before me: it has a character of its own. Mount Sinai itself and the hills which compose the district in its immediate vicinity, rise in sharp, isolated conical peaks. From their steep and shattered sides huge masses have been splintered, leaving fissures rather than valleys between their remaining portions. These form the highest part of the range of mountains that, spread over the peninsula, are very generally in the winter months covered with snow, the melting of which occasions the torrents which everywhere devastate the plains below. The peculiarities of its conical formation render this district yet more distinct from the adjoining heights which appear in successive ridges beyond it, while the valleys between them are so narrow that they can scarcely be perceived. No villages and castles as in Europe here animate the picture: no forests, lakes, or falls of water break the silence and monotony of the scene. All has the appearance of a vast and desolate wilderness either grey, or darkly brown, or wholly black. Few who stand on the summit of Mount Sinai, and gaze from its fearful height upon the dreary wilderness below, will fail to be impressed with the fitness of the whole scene for the sublime and awful dispensation, which an almost universal tradition declares to have been revealed there." Schubert's description,

quoted by Ritter, 'Sinai,' p. 586, fully corroborates this account. "The summit of the mount was reached, a holy place to the mightier half of the nations of the earth, to Jews, Moslems and Christians. The view from its height of 7000 feet extends over a circle of more than 360 miles in diameter, and 1600? miles in circumference: a rugged outline of a desert panorama of terrible beauty under the blue vault of the purest and brightest heaven of Arabia. No other place comes near to it in all this. On the east and west the eye catches glimpses of the girdle of sea which encircles the highlands of the Peninsula: beyond it are seen the ranges of Arabian and Egyptian heights. In the space between no green meadow, no cultivated field, no wood, no brook, no village, no Alpine hut. Only storm and thunder resound in the wilderness of Sinai, else for ever silent: a chain of rock standing as on the third day of creation when as yet there was no grass, no tree upon the earth: a mass of granite, unmingled with later formations; none of its abrupt deep ravines are filled up with sandstone, or chalk, or other alluvial deposits: strata of Greywacke and Basalt run like black veins for leagues through its walls and peaks. Here on such a spot as this was the law given, which pointed to Christ by whom it was fulfilled."

The accuracy of these descriptions is borne out by the accounts of other travellers. Thus Henniker quoted by Dr Stanley, 'S. P.' p. 12: "The view from Jebel Musa (where the particular aspect of the infinite complication of jagged peaks and varied ridges is seen with the greatest perfection) is as if Arabia Petræa were an ocean of lava, which, whilst its waves were running mountains high, had suddenly stood still."

Unfortunately for this hypothesis the raised model, from which the plan is taken, proves that the valley immediately below Jebel Musa could not have held a considerable portion of the Israelites; it is, as Dean Stanley describes it, rough, uneven, and narrow. It is proved, moreover, that there is no level plain in the Wady Sebaiyeh on which the Israelites could be assembled within sight of the summit of Jebel Musa, which however is visible at many points between the entrance of the Wady (which lies to the south-east) and its farthest end, a distance of nearly seven miles. This circumstance, which rests on the authority of military surveyors, seems conclusive. Jebel Musa, the loftiest and grandest summit of the group, may have been included in the tremendous manifestations of divine power, but the announcement of the Law must have taken place elsewhere.

On the northern extremity however there is a concurrence of circumstances in favour of Ras Sufsafeh. At its foot lies the plain Wady ed Deir extending to the north-east, meeting the Wady es Sheikh, part of which has been



The Mountains of Sinai, Ras Sufsafeh in the centre. The foreground is the extensive plain of *Wady Rahah*.
(Photograph by the Ordnance Survey.)

identified with Rephidim, and immediately in front the far wider plain Er Rahah; to the left a plain of greater extent than was previously supposed, the Seil Leja. From every part of these two Wadys the granite rock of Ras Sufsafeh is distinctly visible, and there is space for the entire host of the Israelites, taking the highest calculation of their numbers. This fact, of cardinal importance in the question, is attested by the military officers who conducted the survey.

Indeed Sir Henry James concurs with those officers in the opinion 'that no spot in the world can be pointed out which combines in a more remarkable manner the conditions of a commanding height, and of a plain in every part of which the sights and sounds described in Exodus would reach an assembled multitude of more than two million souls. The description of Ras Sufsafeh, the central height in the subjoined engraving, taken from the photographs, presents many remarkable coincidences; and though inferior in height to the peak of Jebel Musa, it satisfies the main conditions of the narrative.

Dean Stanley, 'S. P.' p. 42—44, has drawn out, with his usual felicity of expression, the most striking characteristics of the scenery. He observes that the existence of such a plain in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not only of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness. He then dilates upon other not less impressive circumstances. The awful and lengthened approach as to some natural sanctuary; the plain not broken and narrowly shut in, like almost all others in the range, but presenting a long retiring sweep against which the people could remove and stand afar off; the cliff rising like a huge altar in front of the whole congregation, and visible against the sky in lonely grandeur from end to end of the whole plain, the very image of the "mount that might be touched," and from which the "voice" of God might be heard far and wide over the stillness of the plain below, widened at that point to the utmost extent by the confluence of all the contiguous valleys; the place where beyond all other parts of the Peninsula is the adytum withdrawn as if in the end of the world from all the stir and confusion of earthly things. We are also indebted to Dean Stanley for noting other details which are fully borne out by the late exploration, and scarcely leave room for doubt as to the exact point of the delivery of the Law. A small eminence at the entrance of the convent valley is marked by the name of Aaron, from which he is believed to have witnessed the festival of the golden calf; a tradition which fixes the locality of the encamption on Wady Rahah. Two other points meet here and nowhere else; first Moses is described as descending the mountain without seeing the people, the shout strikes the ear of his companion before they ascertain the cause; the view breaks on him suddenly as he draws nigh to the camp, and he throws down the tables and dashes them in pieces "beneath the mount:" now any one descending the mountain path by which Ras Sufsafeh is accessible (according to Captain Wilson in three-quarters of an hour to a practised mountaineer) through the oblique gullies which flank it, would hear the sounds borne through the silence of the plain, but would not see the plain itself until he emerged from the lateral Wady; and when he did so he would be immediately under the precipitous cliff of Sufsafeh. The brook which came down from the mount is probably identified with that which flows through the Seil Leja.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the Law was delivered on Ras Sufsafeh, to the Israelites encamped in the plain below.

ESSAY I.

ON THE BEARINGS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY UPON THE PENTATEUCH.

1. SOURCES of Egyptian history. 2. General results. 3. List of Pharaohs from 12th to 20th Dynasty. 4. Time of Abram's visit; objections and proofs; Story of the two Brothers; Benihassan; Story of Saneha; presents to Abram. 5. Time of Joseph; invasion of Hyksos; inquiry into Manetho's statements; era of Set Nubte. 6. Apepi or Apophis not the Pharaoh of Joseph. 7. Connection of 12th Dynasty with On. 8. Tomb of Chnumhotap; Egyptian nomes. 9. Egyptian irrigation; labyrinth under Amenemha III. 10. Probable condition of the Israelites under the Hyksos. 11. Inquiry into date of Exodus. 12. Amosis or Aahmes I., a new king, a conqueror, builder of ports, &c., employs forced labourers. 13. Chronology, dates examined. 14. Last year of Tothmosis II.; probable date of the Exodus. 15. Amenophis I. 16. Tothmosis I. 17. Tothmosis II.; events of reign; character of Queen Hatasou. 18. Campaigns of Tothmosis III. concluded 40 years after decease of Tothmosis II. 19. Objections considered. 20. Amenophis II. and Tothmosis IV. 21. Amenophis III. and the Queen Tei. 22. Religious revolution in Egypt. 23. Statements of Manetho, Cheremon, Lysimachus, and Diodorus. 24. The identification of Rameses II. with the Pharaoh of Moses considered. 25. State of Palestine under the early Judges. 26. Campaigns of Seti I. against the Cheta. 27. Rameses II., length of reign, first campaign in Syria. 28. Fortresses built or enlarged. 29. Employment of Aperu identified with Hebrew captives. 30. Alliance of Rameses with Cheta. 31. State of Palestine described in Egyptian Papyrus. 32. State of Goshen at the same time incompatible with occupation by Israelites. 33. Reign of Merneptah; events and dates coincide with the first hypothesis in this Essay. 34. Rameses III.

(1.) OUR knowledge of early Egyptian history is derived chiefly from monumental inscriptions and papyri, which have been deciphered within the last few years; partly also from fragments of Manetho, and from the accounts of Greeks who visited Egypt after the close of the Old Testament history.[1]

The historical notices drawn from the last source have little independent value. Facts of importance, corroborated by modern researches, are recorded by Herodotus, Diodorus, and other Greeks, but they are mixed with legends, disfigured by manifest forgeries, and their statements, so far as regards the chronology, are irreconcileable with contemporary inscriptions.

The fragments of Manetho[2] have a higher value. He was a priest, conversant with the literature of ancient Egypt, and had access to monuments which, under the Ptolemies, were for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. The original history perished at a very early period, and is only known from extracts in Josephus. The catalogue of Kings begins with gods, and continues through thirty dynasties of mortals, ending with Nectanebo 343 B.C. The list is derived from authentic sources, but there are numerous errors and mis-statements attributable in part to the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers. This remark applies to names, but still more to dates, which are seldom confirmed, and often contradicted, by the monuments.[3]

The facts drawn from old Egyptian docu-

[1] The principal object of this dissertation is to bring the latest discoveries to bear upon biblical questions, reference is therefore seldom made to works of great value already well known to all students. It is right to observe that it was printed in 1868; a few references have been made in the notes, and two or three in the text, to works which have appeared before the last revision in 1870.

[2] The best account of Manetho is given by Rev. H. Browne in Kitto's 'Cyclopædia.' All the fragments are to be found in the first volume of Bunsen's 'Egypt.' The extracts in Josephus are taken from the Αἰγυπτιακά; the catalogue of dynasties is preserved by Syncellus, 800 A.D., in two widely-differing recensions, one from the lost 'Chronographia' of Julius Africanus, 220 A.D., the other from the 'Chronicon' of Eusebius, of which we have now the Armenian version.

[3] The regnal years of many kings are deter-

ments are of the highest importance. Some refer to past transactions, and are chiefly valuable as showing what view the Egyptians took of their ancient history, more especially of the succession and character of their ancient kings.[4] Other inscriptions relate to contemporary events, which they describe for the most part in highly coloured and inflated language, but apparently without careless or wilful misstatement of the facts.

(2.) From these monuments the history of a large portion of the ancient and middle empire, with which alone we are now concerned, has been constructed, though not without long intervals of partial or total obscurity. The earliest part of that history has lately been investigated with great care, and the results given in a work by M. de Rougé,[5] to which reference will frequently be made in the following pages. The names of nearly all the Pharaohs of the first six dynasties have been found, together with notices which prove the extent and complete organisation of their kingdom.

The interval between the sixth and the eleventh dynasties is of uncertain duration. No light is thrown upon it by contemporary monuments. M. de Rougé[6] considers it probable that "the royal families placed here in the lists of Manetho do but represent sovereigns of a part of the country, contemporary with other Pharaohs."

The twelfth dynasty again stands out in clear and strong relief. The Pharaohs were lords of all Egypt; their monuments represent the highest development of sculpture and architecture, and the main events of their reigns are recorded in numerous inscriptions. Some facts of importance have also been lately ascertained in reference to the early kings of the thirteenth dynasty, proving that they too were masters of all Egypt, and therefore that the invasion of the Shepherd kings could not have taken place at the time formerly assumed by Lepsius.[7]

The interval between the fourth king of the thirteenth dynasty and the last of the seventeenth is a period of confusion and disturbance. The monuments supply no data by which the order of events and the chronology can be determined, or even probably conjectured. That Egypt during that time was invaded by the Hyksos, who were masters of the north, has been proved by the researches of M. Mariette: part of the country appears to have been governed throughout the period by contemporary dynasties, ending with Rasekenen; but the most complete list of the ancestors of Seti I. gives the name of no Pharaoh between Amenemha, the last king but one of the twelfth dynasty, and Aahmes, or Amosis, the first of the eighteenth.

From the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, when the Hyksos were expelled by Aahmes I., the monumental history of Egypt is tolerably complete; the succession of nearly all the Pharaohs and the principal events in the reigns of the most distinguished are distinctly recorded. The chronology, however, is uncertain; the regnal years are often found on the monuments, but without even an approximation to completeness; with one exception, to be noticed presently, no general era, or computation of lengthened periods, is based on the authority of ancient inscriptions.

(3.) The subjoined list embraces the whole period within which the Israelites and their ancestors are assumed by any scholars to have been in contact with Egypt before or soon after the settlement in Canaan.

12th Dynasty.—Amenemha, Osirtasin I., Amenemha II., Osirtasin II., Osirtasin III., Amenemha III., Amenemha IV., and a Queen, Ra-Sebek-Nefrou.

13th Dynasty.—A series of Pharaohs bearing a general name, Sebek-hotep.

14th to 17th Dynasty.—Hyksos, and Egyptians; the last of the Hyksos, Apepi, or Apophis; the last of the contemporary Egyptians, Ta-aaken Rasekenen.

18th Dynasty. — Aahmes I. (Nefertari Queen), Amenhotep I., Tothmosis I. (Aahmes Regent), Tothmosis II., Tothmosis III., Amenhotep II., Tothmosis IV., Amenhotep III., Amenhotep IV. (who took the name Khun-Aten), three other kings not recognised as legitimate, Horemheb.

19th Dynasty.—Rameses I., Seti I., Rameses II., Merneptah I., Seti II. or Merneptah II., Ammeses, Siptah, and Tauser.

20th Dynasty.—Rameses III., twelve kings bearing the name Rameses with special designations.

(4.) The first contact with Egypt is generally admitted,[8] and may be here assumed to have

mined from contemporary inscriptions. The discrepancies in Manetho are so numerous that they can scarcely be accounted for by errors of transcription.

[4] The two most important documents referring to the past are the Turin Papyrus (published by Lepsius, 'Auswahl,' 1842, and 'Kœnigsbuch,' 1858), and the list of kings lately discovered in the temple of Abydos by M. Mariette. It is printed in the 'Zeitschrift,' 1864, by M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' pl. ii., and by M. Mariette, 'Fouilles,' vol. ii. It represents Seti I., accompanied by his son Rameses II., in the act of rendering homage to seventy-six of his ancestors, beginning with Mena or Menes.

[5] 'Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières Dynasties de Manethon.' Paris, 1866.

[6] 'Recherches,' p. iv. This statement is again made in M. de Rougé's 'Exposé de l'État actuel des Études égyptiennes,' 1867. See p. 17.

[7] See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' pp. vi. vii.

[8] Lepsius is the only exception. All other scholars in England, France, and Germany, are

taken place before the eighteenth dynasty: the first question to be considered is whether the visit of Abram, and the immigration of the Israelites, are to be referred to the period of disturbance and general misery which followed the invasion of the Hyksos, and lasted till their expulsion, or to the earlier period when Egypt was united and prosperous under its native sovereigns.

The natural impression made by the narrative in the Book of Genesis would certainly be that the transactions which it sets before us so fully and distinctly, belong to the earlier period. The account of Abram's visit (Gen. xii. 10-20) is very brief, but it evidently represents Egypt as in a condition of great prosperity. It was the resort of foreigners in times of famine. Pharaoh and his princes are rich and luxurious, nor are there any indications of war or intestine troubles.

It has, however, been argued that some facts in this short narrative point rather to the habits of a nomad and half-savage race, than to the polished and civilised Pharaohs of the ancient empire. It is urged that representations of camels are not found on Egyptian monuments; but they formed part of the property which Abram acquired by the favour of Pharaoh. It is, however, known that long before that period the Pharaohs were masters of a large part of the Peninsula of Sinai, and of the intervening district, nor is it likely that they would have kept up their communications without using the 'ships of the desert.' Camels were not likely to be represented on the sepulchral monuments at Benihassan,[9] far from the frontiers of Egypt; they were not used in the interior of the country, and were probably regarded as unclean.

Two objections of more importance rest on the supposed habits and feelings of the early Egyptian kings: late discoveries have converted these objections into strong arguments in favour of the earlier date.

The fear which Abram felt lest his wife should be taken from him, and that he should be slain for her sake, would seem to indicate wild and savage habits, such as can scarcely be attributed to native Egyptians. But in the story of the two brothers,[10] the Pharaoh of the time, acting on the advice of his counsellors, sends two armies to fetch a beautiful woman by force and then to murder her husband. The story is full of wild superstitions, but the portraiture of manners is remarkably simple and graphic, and it unquestionably represents the feelings of the Egyptians at the time of their highest civilisation. It belongs to the age of Rameses II., and the act is attributed not to a tyrant and oppressor, but to a Pharaoh beloved by his people, and passing into heaven at his decease.

Another curious coincidence has been pointed out by M. Chabas, 'Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin,' p. xiv. In a very ancient papyrus of Berlin, referring to the 12th dynasty, the wife and children of a foreigner are confiscated as a matter of course, and become the property of the king. M. Chabas observes, "C'est ainsi qu'à une époque probablement un peu postérieure à celle des événements que raconte notre papyrus, Abraham se vit enlever sa femme Sarai, qui fut placée dans la maison du Roi."

It is again objected that Abram was not likely to be admitted into the presence, much less into the favour, of a native Egyptian king, whereas a nomad of kindred origin and similar habits might willingly receive him.

We have, however, two distinct and absolute proofs that under the twelfth dynasty a personage of the race, habits, and position of Abram would be welcomed under such circumstances as those described in Genesis.

In the sepulchral monuments at Benihassan, and in the tomb of the Governor of the province, a man of the highest rank, nearly related to the reigning Pharaoh, Osirtasin II., is found one of the most interesting and best known pictures of the ancient empire. It represents the arrival of a nomad chief, with his family and dependents, to render homage and seek the protection of the prince. These foreigners are called Amu,[11] a name which was given

so far agreed, they place the visit of Abraham before the eighteenth dynasty. Dr. Ebers places the visit of Abraham before the Hyksos, and that of Joseph some time after their expulsion. This involves, according to his calculations, an interval of some eight or ten centuries between Abraham and Joseph. The arguments by which he shows that neither could have visited Egypt during the Hyksos period corroborate the position taken in this dissertation. Dr. Ebers' work, 'Ægypten und die Bücher Moses,' published a few months since, reached me after this dissertation was ready for the press. Reference will be made to it in the notes.

[9] We have no other monuments which represent the habits of Egypt under the twelfth dynasty. There are no representations of camels on monuments of the Ptolemaic or the Roman period, when they were of course well known to the Egyptians. Ebers supposes that it was contrary to the rules of Egyptian art to represent these uncouth forms. This is possible, but scarcely probable, since the giraffe and other strange animals are common on the monuments. It is more probable that they were held unclean.

[10] This curious story, the earliest fiction in existence, is among the select Papyri in the British Museum: it is called the Papyrus d'Orbiney: a fac-simile is published by the Trustees of the Museum: it contains nineteen pages of hieratic writing, remarkably clear and legible: the style is simple, and presents fewer difficulties than any similar document. It has been translated in part by Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Le Page Renouf, and M. de Rougé. The story abounds throughout with illustrations of the narrative in the Pentateuch.

[11] The word is applied to pastoral nomads,

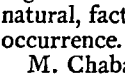
specially to the native tribes on the north-west of Egypt and in Palestine of Semitic descent. The chief is called the Hak, or prince, corresponding to Sheich, as used chiefly of heads of tribes: his name is Abshah.[12] The features of the family, their colour, and their costume, a rich tunic, or "coat of many colours," are thoroughly Semitic. It is to be observed also that, although they are represented as suppliants, making lowly obeisance, and bringing the customary gifts, yet the prince receives them as persons of some distinction: a scribe who presents them holds a tablet describing their number and purpose, and a slave behind the governor bears his sandals, which were only taken off on ceremonial occasions.

Not less striking is the evidence drawn from one of the oldest papyri in existence, lately translated by Mr. Goodwin. He calls it the Story of Saneha: the events which it relates belong to the reigns of the first two kings of the twelfth dynasty, Amenemha and Osirtasin. Saneha (*i.e.* son of the Sycomore, a name probably given or assumed on his adoption by the Egyptians) was, like the chief above described, an Amu; he was not only received into the service of the Pharaoh, but rose to high rank, and, even after a long residence as a fugitive in a foreign land, he was restored to favour, made "a counsellor among the officers, set among the chosen ones: precedence is accorded to him among the courtiers, he is installed in the house of a prince, and prepares his sepulchre among the tombs of the chief officers." Mr. Goodwin points out the resemblance between this narrative and the history of Abraham; but it proves something more, for it shows that to an Egyptian of that early age the circumstances in the history of Abraham and of Joseph which are often regarded as improbable would appear most natural, facts if not of frequent, yet of certain occurrence.

M. Chabas, in a treatise on the same papyrus, observes—"Ce narrateur devint le favori de ce monarque (*sc.* Asirtasin) et fut pendant quelque temps préposé à l'administration de l'Égypte, *pour en développer les resources*. Ce détail nous rappelle le rôle que, selon l'Écriture, Pharaon attribua au patriarche Joseph."

It may also be argued that such a reception was far less likely to be accorded to either of these Patriarchs at any later period. The little that is positively known of the Hyksos, the masters of Tanis, indicates a certain harshness and even ferocity of character;[13] nor after their expulsion were the kings either of the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty likely to look with favour upon foreigners bearing, as may be probably inferred, a close resemblance to them in features and language. The presents too which the Pharaoh made to Abram include sheep, oxen, asses, and slaves, all of which are frequently represented on the early monuments, and specially at Benihassan,[14]—a fact the more important to be noticed since V. Bohlen and others ventured to deny that either sheep or asses were common in Egypt: the ass was looked upon as unclean under the middle and later Empire, as Typhonian, and would not probably have been presented to a favoured stranger. The omission of horses is remarkable. The Hyksos, admitted to be Arabians, probably brought the horse into Egypt, and no animal was more prized by the later Pharaohs; but it was wholly unknown, so far as we can judge from the monuments, to the Egyptians of the twelfth or any earlier dynasty.[15]

In fact, the notices of Abram's visit to Egypt agree so entirely with all that is certainly known of the Egyptians under the twelfth dynasty, and differ in so many material points from what is known from the monuments or early tradition of the Hyksos, and of the Middle Empire, that critics of very opposite schools have concurred in adopting the earlier date, notwithstanding the difficulty presented by their acceptance of the chronology of Manetho as given by Africanus or Josephus. For my own part I regard it as all but cer-

and specially those of Arabia and Palestine. It is an Egyptian word, derived from Amu  , a herdsman's scourge. The word Shasous, which will occur frequently, is also applied to nomads, but probably with reference to their wandering habits, equivalent to Bedouins. Hyksos is not the name of a people, but of the dynasty, and probably means Prince of the Shasous. M. Chabas objects to this etymology, but it is generally accepted, and rests on strong grounds.

[12] Some have thought that the name is identical with Abraham, an opinion which is undoubtedly incorrect; but there is a very remarkable resemblance between the names, both in form and meaning: since "shah" means sand, and "raham" means multitude. Where Abshah was received, Abraham would not be rejected.

[13] This alludes particularly to the hard, sullen features, wholly unlike those of Egyptian princes, found on the lately-discovered monuments which represent the Hyksos at Tanis. See 'Rev. archéologique,' 1861, p. 105. Dr. Ebers gives the head of the Sphinx from M. Mariette, l. c. 208.

[14] Sheep are represented on the Pyramids—in one inscription 3208 as the property of an individual. Asses of great size and beauty are found in many pictures at Benihassan. I believe, but may be mistaken, that they occur comparatively seldom on the monuments of later periods.

[15] V. Bohlen infers from this omission that Genesis could not have been written by an author conversant with Egyptian manners. The true inference is that he describes exactly what took place at the time which he gives an account of. It is very probable that horses were first introduced under the 12th dynasty, after the reign of Osirtasin. From that time the intercourse with Asia appears to have been constant.

tain that Abraham visited Egypt in some reign between the middle of the eleventh and the thirteenth dynasty, and most probably under one of the earliest Pharaohs of the twelfth.

(5.) The history of Joseph belongs to a period about two centuries later.[16] The duration of the twelfth dynasty is estimated at 213 years; and as the monuments were numerous and complete in Manetho's time, it is probable that the regnal years are drawn from them, and that the numbers are tolerably correct. It has been lately proved beyond all doubt that the invasion of the Hyksos could not have taken place immediately afterwards, as was formerly supposed. Colossal figures of great beauty, and inscriptions, have been found at Tanis, the head-quarters of the Hyksos, which prove that the fourth king of the thirteenth dynasty was still in undisturbed possession of that city; and monumental notices of even later kings are found, both at Tanis and in other parts of Egypt, scarcely reconcileable with the presence of the Arabian invaders.[17]

So far as the monuments and other Egyptian documents are concerned, we are at liberty to place the visit of Joseph either towards the end of the twelfth dynasty, the earlier portion of the thirteenth, or under the first Hyksos.

We are bound to give special attention to this last alternative; it was maintained by all ancient writers, and is accepted, with few but important exceptions, by modern critics. Thus Syncellus: "It is asserted unanimously by all that Joseph ruled over Egypt in the time of Apophis:" Eusebius, speaking of the seventeenth (Shepherd) dynasty, says *κατὰ τούτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἰωσὴφ δείκνυται.* This unanimous consent, however, refers only to Josephus and to those who drew their information exclusively from his account of Manetho's work. It depended wholly upon chronological calculations, and it is of course quite clear that, if the Shepherd dynasty had lasted some 800 years, all the narrative in Genesis would have fallen within it.

This necessitates a brief inquiry into the grounds for the statements in Manetho.

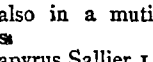
We have first an account of a dynasty of six Shepherd kings: their names in Josephus are Salatis, Beon, Apachnas, Apophis, Jannes, Assir. The general accuracy of this list may be admitted, transposing one name only, viz., Apophis, who is known to have been the last of the Shepherd kings. The late discoveries of M. Mariette at Tanis have given us contemporary authority for the first name. It is Semitic, old Arabian probably (Σάλατις=שַׁלִּיט mighty, ruler), but the Egyptians transcribe it accurately and give the full title, with the invariable adjuncts of Egyptian etiquette, "the Good Deity, star of both worlds, Son of the Sun, Set Shalti,[18] beloved by Sutech, Lord of Avaris." So that Salatis, the first of the Shepherd dynasty, assumed at once the state and title of the Pharaohs, and at least claimed to be sovereign of all Egypt. The second name Beon or "Benon," the more correct reading of Africanus, is also found.[19] Like many other words it has probably the same meaning[20] in Semitic and Egyptian, Son of the Eye, *i.e.* the beloved one. The order of the three last names is proved by the Turin Papyrus, and by the well-ascertained position of Apophis.

Up to this point we have a solid foundation; six kings, foreigners, two bearing Semitic names, and recognised by ancient Egyptian documents. The duration of the dynasty may have been between two and three centuries.

But in addition to these kings, Manetho, according to Josephus, states that a dynasty or dynasties of Shepherds ruled over all Egypt upwards of 500 years. Africanus gives two dynasties, one lasting 284 years, the other 518. For this statement, however, no evidence is adduced. Not a single name is given by Josephus. The Turin Papyrus has no indication of the dynasty. The monuments are absolutely silent. The statement, indeed, is in glaring contradiction to the fact that Salatis was the first and Apophis the last of the Shepherd kings. It involves an admission of the most improbable of all assumptions, for which not a shadow of resemblance can be found in ancient or modern history,—an assumption that, after a total suspension of the national life lasting from five to ten centuries, after a complete overthrow of their government, institutions, and religion, the Egyptians reverted to the exact point of civilisation in which the invaders found them, speaking and writing their own language without a trace of foreign infusion,[21] worshipping the old gods with the old rites, retaining their old theology,

[16] The dates are not certain, but Isaac was born some years after Abraham's visit to Egypt, lived 180 years (Gen. xxxv. 28), and died before Joseph was sold by his brethren.

[17] See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. vii. We owe these important facts to M. Mariette.

[18] The group is noticeable  . It is found also in a mutilated form in the Turin Papyrus.

[19] In the Papyrus Sallier 1, pl. 1, l. 7.

[20] בן עין. The Egyptian is Beben-an, which Dr. Ebers derives from Ben, "son," and "*an*," the eye. The Egyptians have the well-known Hebrew and classical term, "child of the eye" for "darling."

[21] The strong infusion of Semitic belongs to the age of Rameses II. The inscriptions of the eighteenth dynasty are nearly free from it. A very remarkable confirmation of the above statements is found in the account of the mummy of Aah-hotep, mother of Ahmes I., given by M. Mariette, 'Musée de Boulaq,' p. 254:—"L'Égypte est revenue sous la xviime dynastie avec la plus singulière persistance au style de la xime." See also Chabas Mél. 3, 2, p. 13.

and recognising in the descendants of their old Pharaohs the inheritors of all their titles and prerogatives. It seems quite incredible that such a statement should have been adopted, as adopted it has been by critics remarkable for sagacity, and some for caution approaching to scepticism. It is the only ground for the assumption that Joseph must needs have visited Egypt while it was under the dominion of the Hyksos.

We do not attach much importance to the chronology of this remote period, so far as it rests on Egyptian documents: it is to a great extent conjectural, and incapable of proof or disproof. But it is a remarkable fact that the only inscription on Egyptian monuments of any age which mentions an era distinct from the regnal year of the actual sovereign, is found on a monument referring to the Hyksos. The importance of this inscription was pointed out by M. de Rougé,[22] and it has been carefully examined by M. Chabas. The personage who set up the tablet was an official of high rank, Governor of Tanis under Rameses II. The date which he gives is the four hundredth year from the era of Set Nubte, *i.e.* Set the golden, under the reign of a Hyksos king, Set-aa-Pehti, *i.e.* Set the mighty and victorious. There is of course a wide field for conjecture here. The reign of Rameses was a very long one (see further on, p. 464), and the Hyksos king is not positively identified. We may consider it as almost certain that the Egyptian governor, a descendant of the Hyksos, believed that 400 years had elapsed between the era of Set and some year in the reign of Rameses. When, again, we consider the analogy of all ancient eras, and the natural course of events, we are all but forced to infer that this era must coincide with the formal recognition of Set as the chief object of worship to the dynasty. If the Papyrus Sallier were our only authority, that recognition might be assigned to Apophis; but the late discovery of the style and title of the first of the Shepherd Kings, Salatis the beloved of Set,[23] proves that the establishment of Set worship at Tanis was far more ancient, contemporary in fact with the inauguration of the Shepherd dynasty.

The inferences from these facts tally very remarkably with the chronology which upon the whole appears to be best supported by Biblical and documental evidence. The end of the reign of Rameses is most probably about 1340 B.C. From this, 400 years would bring us to the middle of the eighteenth century, about 1750 B.C. The expulsion of the Hyksos being taken about 1500, we have thus 250 years for their dynasty, and 250 more would bring us to the time of Abraham. Such arguments are of course open to objections, nor are they given here as conclusive, but they have weight when they harmonize with a system resting on wholly independent grounds. One point at least is clear: if the date is accepted it involves a considerable reduction in the length of the period assigned by Lepsius and Brugsch to the dynasties preceding the age of Rameses.

(6.) But the name of Apophis is specially mentioned as that of the king by whom Joseph was received. The question whether this is possible or probable may now be decided by the positive evidence of contemporary inscriptions,[24] and of the ancient papyrus, Sallier I.

We know now that Apophis was the contemporary of Rasekenen, the immediate predecessor of Aahmes I., and that Aahmes captured Avaris, the capital or chief fortress of Apophis, and afterwards drove out all the adherents of the hostile dynasty, pursuing them as far as Palestine.

This fact is conclusive. Joseph was a very young man when he came first under the notice of Pharaoh, and lived to an advanced age, 110 years, the utmost limit, as has been lately shown,[25] of Egyptian life. He would therefore have long outlived Apophis, but no one supposes that he could have lived a prosperous and powerful man after the extermination of the dynasty by which he was raised to the highest rank in the state. Nor do other notices of the Pharaoh of Joseph at all accord with what is known of Apophis.

Apophis was not, properly speaking, Lord of all Egypt. Upper Egypt was governed by an independent dynasty; and the very terms which describe the extent of his influence prove the limits of his dominion. Rasekenen, his antagonist, retained possession of the Thebaid to the end of his life, and buildings of great extent were erected by him in Memphis and Thebes after the termination of a successful campaign against Apophis.[26] The

[22] 'Revue Archéologique,' Feb. 1864. M. Mariette sent a copy to the same Review, March, 1865. M. Chabas has two articles on it printed in the 'Zeitschrift,' April and May, 1865. The tablet was found in a mass of ruins in the sanctuary of the great temple at San, *i.e.* Tanis.

[23] It is probable that Set-aa-pehti, *i.e.* Set the mighty and victorious, was either the Egyptian translation of the Semitic Set-Shalt, Set the mighty ruler, or a second title borne in accordance with Egyptian usage.

[24] The inscriptions are found in the sepulchres of officers who served under Ra-sekenen and the first Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. They are given by Lepsius, 'Denkmäler,' and have been explained by M. de Rougé (whose treatise on the tomb of Aahmes marked a crisis in the advance of Egyptian studies), and are quoted repeatedly in M. Brugsch's 'Histoire d'Égypte.'

[25] By Mr. Goodwin, in the second part of the 'Mélanges égyptologiques' of M. Chabas. The argument is good for Egypt, not for the patriarchs, living the simple life and breathing the pure air of the desert.

[26] See Brugsch, 'Die Geographie des alten

Pharaoh of Joseph was certainly in a different position.

We have also evidence touching the general condition of Egypt under the dynasty of which Apophis was the most powerful king, and to whose reign the notice specially applies. The account given by Manetho of their devastations is probably exaggerated. It is certain that they did not deface the monuments to the extent which is generally supposed. The pyramids, the obelisk at Heliopolis, colossal figures and inscriptions even at Tanis (see above), and monuments in Middle and Upper Egypt, still bear witness in their favour. The Labyrinth in the Fayoum, and the great temples at Memphis and Heliopolis, were certainly left by them uninjured. Still the impression made by their ravages upon the Egyptians was profound: the name by which they were designated means pestilential deadly enemies.[27] From an inscription at Karnak,[28] we find that, under the nineteenth dynasty, when the Egyptians would describe a period of dreadful calamity, they could find no precedent so strong and apt as that of the Shepherd Kings. "One had not seen anything like it even in the time of the kings of Lower Egypt, when the land of Egypt was in their power, when wretchedness prevailed, in the time when the kings of Upper Egypt had not power to repel them." The account in the Papyrus Sallier I. quite agrees with this, showing that the reign of Apophis was cruel and oppressive throughout, and occupied towards the end, as we have seen, by an internecine war.

Again, no fact about Apophis is more certain than that he repudiated the national religion.[29] The testimony of the Papyrus Sallier is clear and explicit: "the King Apepi adopted Sutech as his God, he did not serve any God which was in the whole land." Sutech, or Set, in later ages the representative of the evil principle Typhon, is identified, and was certainly confounded with Baal of the Phœnicians. The only monument[30] on which the name of Apophis is found calls him "the beloved of Sutech:" an appellation, as we have seen, borne by the first Shepherd king, and probably common to all the dynasty. If we accept the probable tradition of Porphyry ('de Abst.' II, 55), that Aahmes I. suppressed human sacrifices offered under the Shepherd kings at Heliopolis, the form of worship must have been Typhonian, and in all probability of Phœnician origin.[31]

Each and all of these points are quite irreconcileable with the account in Genesis. The Pharaoh of Joseph was unquestionably Lord of all Egypt: the country was in a state of great prosperity: the religion, all the usages and institutions of the Pharaoh and his courtiers, were those of ancient Egypt. There is not a single fact[32] in the history of Joseph which is not illustrated by the inscriptions and sculptures of the best and most prosperous periods of Egypt; not one which gives the least indication of the predominance of a foreign religion, habits, or race.[33]

The question, however, still remains, if Joseph did not enter Egypt when the Shepherds were there, did his visit and the immigration of the Israelites take place before or after that period? We may assume that it did not occur at a later time. With very few exceptions, critics agree that the Israelites were in Egypt at the accession of the eighteenth dynasty. If before, we have still to inquire at what time.

This part of the inquiry is beset with considerable difficulties. We have no means of ascertaining the duration of the interval between the last sovereign of the twelfth dynasty and the invasion of the Shepherds. The titles of forty-eight kings of the thirteenth dynasty are given in the papyrus of Turin; and the names of three of them bear a very remark-

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Ægyptens,' p. 180. M. Chabas in a treatise, 'Les Pasteurs en Égypte,' published within the last two months, assumes that three Pharaohs bore the name Ra-sekenen, Ra the conqueror. If this were granted, it would leave all other arguments untouched.

[27] See M. Chabas, 'Mél. égypt.,' i.

[28] See 'Revue archéologique' for July and August, 1867. M. de Rougé gives a full account of the inscription, which has been lately published by M. Duemichen, 'Historische Inschriften.' I observe that the reference to the Shepherd kings is adopted by Dr. Ebers, 'Ægypten,' &c., p. 207.

[29] The name Apepi, the Egyptian form of the word, signifies the great serpent, the enemy of Ra and Osiris. It was probably given to this king, or assumed by him, to mark his antagonism to the old national religion. It has, however, been shown by M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 9 and p. 45, that the worship of Sutech, or Set, as the tutelary god of lower Egypt, dates from the ancient empire. The peculiarity of Apepi, and probably of his predecessors, would seem to be his exclusive devotion to this deity, who represented force and destruction.

[30] The inscription is given by Burton, 'Excerpta Hieroglyphica,' at San (*i.e.* Tanis), No. 7, pl. xv.; and by Brugsch, 'Geog. Inschr.,' p. 88, No. 576. Like Salatis, Apepi takes the style of a legitimate Pharaoh.

[31] Sutech is identified with Baal in numerous inscriptions, and is represented specially as the chief deity of the Cheta, masters of northern Syria under the nineteenth dynasty.

[32] This statement is strongly corroborated by the work of Dr. Ebers.

[33] It must be remembered that in Joseph's time the Egyptians would not eat with shepherds; they were an abomination to them. This, of itself, is almost, if not quite, conclusive against the supposition that he was at the court of a Shepherd king. M. Chabas has shown this to be a true and monumental designation of the invaders.

able resemblance to the name given by Pharaoh to Joseph.[34] There appear to be good grounds for the opinion that they were driven out of Lower Egypt, and retained a partial and precarious hold on Middle or Upper Egypt within a century or two after their accession; and if so, Joseph, at the latest, may have lived under one of the early kings, such as the Sebekhotep, whose colossal statue m the Louvre belongs to the best age of Egyptian art, and evidently also to a period of unbroken prosperity.

It is however scarcely possible to resist the impression made by monuments of the twelfth dynasty, which seem to connect the history of Abraham, as we have already seen (p. 446), and still more specially that of Joseph, with this most important and interesting period of Egypt.

(7.) We have the fact that the princes of this great dynasty stood in very special relation to On or Heliopolis. The temple there was built by Osirtasin I., whose name and official title, Osirtasin Cheperkara, stand out in clear and perfect characters on the oldest and most beautiful obelisk of Egypt, still standing at On, the only but certain evidence of the magnificence of the temple. The priest of that city and temple, judging from the general usage of the ancient Pharaohs,[35] was in all probability a near relative of the sovereign. We have abundant notices on the monuments of that dynasty which agree with the intimations of Genesis; proving, on the one hand, that the forms of worship were purely Egyptian, and, on the other hand, that the fundamental principles which underlie those forms, and which belong, as we may not doubt, to the primeval religion of humanity, were still distinctly recognised, although they were blended with speculation and superstitious errors:[36] they were moreover associated with a system which, on many essential points, inculcated a sound and even delicate morality. In the priest of On a Shepherd king would have seen the antagonist of his own special superstition, the last man in Egypt whom he would have brought into connection with his favourite and prime minister: to an Osirtasin and to Joseph himself the alliance would present every inducement of policy, interest, and suitableness.

(8.) The tombs at Benihassan have already supplied us with illustrations of the history of Abraham, which are equally applicable to that of Joseph. The inscriptions, which describe the character of Chnumhotep (a near relative and favourite of Osirtasin I. and his immediate successor), and the recorded events of his government, remind the reader irresistibly of the young Hebrew. It is said of him[37] "he injured no little child: he oppressed no widow: he detained for his own purpose no fisherman: took from his work no shepherd: no overseer's men were taken. There was no beggar in his days: no one starved in his time. When years of famine occurred he ploughed all the lands of the district producing abundant food: no one was starved in it: he treated the widow as a woman with a husband to protect her." The mention of famine, and of unusual precautions to guard against its recurrence, together with other obvious traits of resemblance, led some critics a few years since to see in Chnumhotep the Egyptian original of Joseph. At present the antecedents and connections of that personage are too well known to admit of any confusion; but the probability must be admitted that a king, belonging to a dynasty which sought and rewarded such characteristics in the great officers of state, should have advanced Joseph to a position such as the Bible describes, such too as the old Egyptian papyrus already quoted (p. 446) shows to have been then within the reach of a foreigner.

(9.) There are still more specific reasons for fixing on this period. According to Genesis, one permanent consequence of the visitation was a new division of all Egypt, a redistribution of the land and property: probably, as is pointed out by the Bishop of Ely,[38] a necessary and politic measure, after the complete break-down of the ancient system. Now we are told by Herodotus and Diodorus that an ancient Egyptian king so divided the lands, and that the same system continued to their time. This king must evidently have belonged to a native dynasty: had the division been made by a foreigner and invader, it

[34] Viz. Zaf., *i.e.* food. See note on the name Zafnath Paaneah.

[35] See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 34. Nearly all the chief priests bear the titles Suten sa or Suten rech — son, grandson, or relative of the king. Ewald justly observes that Heliopolis was, so to speak, the true sacerdotal city and university of Northern Egypt. Geschichte, ii., p. 51.

[36] See especially Lepsius, 'Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs.' The earliest known text of the seventeenth chapter of the Ritual belongs to the eleventh dynasty. Its importance is recognised as the most ancient statement of Egyptian views as to the origin and government of the universe. It undoubtedly indicates the previous existence of a pure Monotheism, of which it retains the great principles, the unity, eternity, self-existence of the unknown Deity. Each age witnessed some corruption and amplification of the ancient religion, and corresponding interpolations of the old texts. The very earliest has several glosses, and the text taken apart from them approaches very nearly to the truth as revealed in the Bible.

[37] Lepsius, 'Denkmäler,' ii. pl. 122. Dr Birch has given an interlinear translation in Bunsen's 'Egypt,' vol. v. p. 726-729.

[38] See notes on Genesis.

would have been swept away when the line of the so-called legitimate Pharaohs was restored. Those two historians indeed attribute the division to the sovereign called Sesostris by Herodotus, and Sesoosis by Diodorus: an appellation which was afterwards appropriated to Rameses II., or perhaps to his father, Seti I. But it is well known that the exploits of the great sovereigns who preceded Rameses II. were transferred to him by popular tradition:[39] it is certain also that the division into nomes, and the exemption of the priestly lands from taxation, were anterior to him by many centuries. The system appears to have been coeval with the monarchy, certainly with the pyramids, but in all probability was modified, and extended, if not completed, under the great Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty. No occasion can be pointed out more likely to have suggested it, and to have enabled the Pharaoh to accomplish it, than that described in Genesis.

Again, we learn from Egyptian sources that, under Amenemha III., in some respects the greatest king of this noble dynasty, whose reign is separated from the first by an interval of some two centuries (see above), a work of extraordinary magnitude and importance was undertaken and completed: one that proves at once the terror caused by the previous liability to famines, and the enormous resources, skill, and forethought of the Pharaoh. Amenemha III. first established a complete system of dykes, canals, locks, and reservoirs, by which the inundations of the Nile were henceforth regulated.[40] The immense artificial lake of Mœris in the Fayoum was made by his orders; it communicated with the Nile by a canal, received the overflowing waters at the time of the inundation, and secured the complete irrigation of the adjoining nomes in the dry season. M. Linant de Bellefonds,[41] to whose industry and ability we are indebted for ascertaining the exact site and extent of this lake, observes that the restoration of this magnificent work would be one of the greatest benefits that could be conferred on modern Egypt. Under Amenemha III. also the great labyrinth, the most stupendous work of that great age, was erected. This building was probably connected with the same series of events: it consisted of a vast number of halls and buildings, in which the representatives of the Egyptian nomes were assembled periodically to consult on subjects of national interest; and certainly not without a special view to the conservation of a system which afforded the best—indeed the only real—security against the recurrence of the most formidable calamity to which this people could be exposed. At no period would an Egyptian king have such special reasons for undertaking these works: at none would he have such peculiar opportunities of carrying them into effect—the reasons enforced by the seven years of famine, and the means supplied by the reconstruction of the territorial organisation, which placed the whole resources of the nation at the disposal of this Pharaoh.[42]

In the absence of positive evidence for or against any hypotheses, these coincidences may justify us in regarding it at least as a very probable conjecture that the visit of Abraham may have taken place under the first king of the dynasty, and that of Joseph under Amenemha III., the Pharaoh who is represented on the lately-discovered table of Abydos as the last great king of all Egypt in the ancient empire, and, as such, receiving divine honours from his descendant Rameses.

(10.) But if Joseph and the Israelites were received and treated with great favour by the native dynasty, it may seem improbable that they should have remained undisturbed under the Shepherd kings. We have of course no conclusive evidence either for or against the objection; but we have facts enough to show that it is quite possible that they may have occupied a relative position under the foreigners not differing widely from that in which the invasion found them. There can be no doubt that the invaders directed their assaults at once against the great cities of Egypt; both to enrich themselves with the spoil, and to secure their dominion over the land. We may also feel pretty confident that they overthrew the national forms of worship, although, as we have above shown,

[39] Josephus expressly states that Manetho gives the name of Sesostris to the third king of the twelfth dynasty, whom he represents as conqueror of Asia. The researches of M. Mariette have lately shown that Rameses II. was in the habit of appropriating the exploits of his predecessors, and substituting his own name on the monuments (see below, p. 465). This evil habit was adopted by his son Merneptah.

[40] See Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Egypte,' p. 69. Lepsius found a Nilometer of Amenemha and several accurate notices of the height of the inundations under the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties at Semneh and Kumme.

[41] 'Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris.' Dr. Birch holds that Mœris is not derived from *mer*, a lake, but from Mara, for Manra, *i.e.* Amenophis III.; see Æ. Z. 1871, p. 104. Fayoum is the Arabic corruption of the Coptic ϕIOϢ, "the sea." According to Ptolemy, near the lake was a place called Bakkhis or Banchis. M. Brugsch identifies this with Pi-aneh, "the house of life," which is found on the monuments in connexion with Sebek, the tutelary deity of the district. See 'Geographie des Alten Ægyptens,' p. 233. This name has a special interest for its bearing upon Joseph's Egyptian name Zafnath Paaneah, "the food of life."

[42] The copper mines at Wady Mughara were worked under this prince; there is a curious notice of the expedition in Brugsch, 'H. E.,' p. 69. See also 'Introduction' to Exodus.

there is no evidence that they destroyed or defaced the temples. The Israelites, then a small colony lately established, would offer no temptation to their cupidity; no buildings, no temples, no elaborate ritual which could provoke their animosity. It must also be borne in mind that all historians are agreed that the invasion of the Hyksos was most probably preceded by peaceful visits of the chieftains of Arabia and the adjoining districts of Palestine, of which we have numerous traces in early monuments; from them they may have learned at once to appreciate the riches of Egypt, and to ascertain the state of the country. The jealousy with which such visitors were watched is distinctly noted in Genesis: every nomad company might be suspected of a desire to see the nakedness—that is, to spy the assailable approaches to the land; a jealousy of which also we have distinct notices in the story of Saneha and the inscriptions of Benihassan. But when the fathers of those invaders visited Egypt in the time of the great famine, which, as we know from other documents,[43] would draw them, with their flocks and herds, to the frontier, the person with whom they were brought into contact, and for whom they would feel the deepest reverence, was the master of the granaries, the distributor of food. Joseph could not be unknown by name or by character to the early Hyksos, who were little likely to disturb the kindred and descendants of the man to whom they were indebted for their lives. It is also evident that the rapid multiplication of the Israelites might be favoured by the withdrawal of the native princes from their immediate neighbourhood: they would be relieved from a superintendence ever vigilant and suspicious. It is not, however, necessary to assume any special favour shown to the Israelites by the Shepherds; the absence of any motive for cruel and oppressive treatment is obvious, and suffices for the removal of all objection on this score to the historical combination we have proposed.

(11.) We are now in a position to consider the question at what period in Egyptian history the Exodus took place. Some points of importance may be assumed as all but certain, there being no difference of opinion between Egyptologers. (1.) At whatever period the Israelites came into Egypt, they were settled in the district assigned to them when the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty conquered and expelled the Shepherd dynasty. (2.) The Exodus is admitted to have taken place under the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty, under which is a question to be settled, but certainly under the one or the other. (3.) The dates referring to this period are still generally uncertain, they rest on doubtful calculations; it may suffice to quote the words of M. de Rougé, adopted by M. Chabas, 'Mélanges égyptologiques,' ii. p. 112: "On restera dans la limite du probable en plaçant Seti I. vers 1500, et le commencement de la 17e dynastie vers le 18e siècle. Mais il n'y aurait nullement à s'étonner si l'on s'était trompé de *deux cents ans* dans cette estimation, tant les documents sont viciés dans l'histoire, ou incomplets sur les monuments." In a work of great interest and importance published lately by M. Chabas, he reiterates this assertion, and rejects all the dates derived from astronomical notices. *See* 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 26.[44] This uncertainty must always be borne in mind: the dates derived from Egyptian monuments may be implicitly relied upon so far as they go, but, with one exception already noticed, they never refer to any general epoch, and do not supply materials for a complete chronological arrangement of events under either of the dynasties with which we are at present concerned.

Egyptian scholars have hitherto been divided between two opinions, some recognising in Aahmes, or Amosis, the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, the first persecutor of the Israelites, and in one of his descendants the Pharaoh of the Exodus; others regarding the third sovereign of the nineteenth dynasty, *i.e.* Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, and his son Merneptah, or his grandson Seti, as the contemporaries of Moses. We will examine the grounds on which each of these opinions rests; and proceeding in order of time will first inquire into the claims of the eighteenth dynasty.

(12.) The circumstances under which Aahmes I. the Amosis of Josephus, obtained possession of Lower Egypt, make it extremely probable that he should have adopted such measures towards the Israelites as are described in the beginning of Exodus.

His accession constitutes one of the most important epochs in Egyptian history; with it terminates the broken and confused period of the ancient Empire; with it begins a continuous series of events under successive dynasties. Previous to his accession, or shortly afterwards, he married an Ethiopian Princess, Nefertari, whose name and portrait are found on many monuments,[45] in which she

[43] See the account of the admission of Edomites under Merneptah, infra, p. 486.

[44] A single clear notice of a solar eclipse would settle a vast number of questions. M. Chabas has completely shown that hitherto none has been found (see 'Zeitschrift,' May, 1868). On the various attempts to establish a system on astronomical calculations, see Mr. Browne in Kitto's 'Cyclopædia,' vol. iii. p. 52.

[45] One of the most striking portraits of Nefertari is the first plate in the third volume of Lepsius' 'Denkmäler.' See also a coloured tablet in the British Museum. She is there represented as jet black, but not with negro features. She was probably of the higher Nubian race. It has been observed that the portraits of the earlier

is represented as a personage of singular distinction, daughter, wife, sister, and mother of kings, and worshipped centuries after her death as a tutelary deity. It is inferred, with great probability, that this alliance with Ethiopia, which under the ancient empire had furnished large contingents of auxiliary troops to Egypt,[46] supplied Aahmes with resources which enabled him soon after his accession to undertake an expedition against the Northern dynasty. That expedition was completely successful: it terminated the struggle. A contemporary inscription on the tomb of one of his chief officers (the naval captain Ahmes), gives an account of the siege of Avaris, of a battle fought in its vicinity, and of the capture of that city, the stronghold of Apepi. It also informs us that the expulsion of the enemy was followed by an expedition to the borders of Canaan, when Sarouhen was taken by storm.[47]

It is at once clear that the expressions used in Exodus to describe the Pharaoh by whom the Israelites were first persecuted, apply, in the fullest and most literal sense, to this sovereign. To the people of the greater part of Egypt, and most especially to the inhabitants of the North, he was emphatically "a new king:" of him it might be said, as of no native king, succeeding without a struggle (as was most especially the case of Rameses II.), "he arose up over" Egypt; he was, in the true sense of the word, like the Norman William, *a conqueror*. The name of Joseph, whether as a minister of the ejected dynasty, or of one more ancient than that, would probably be unknown to him. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt as to the feelings with which a king in his position must have regarded the Israelites. There is no question as to his finding them in Goshen; that is admitted by all.[48] They were there as the subjects, apparently the favoured subjects, of the expelled dynasty, under whom they retained undisturbed possession of the richest district of Egypt, commanding the western approach to the very heart of the land. The first point that would naturally strike him would be their number (Exod. i. 9), which, after the expulsion of his enemies, would bear an alarming proportion to the native population of the Delta. A prudent man under such circumstances would not be likely to provoke rebellion by proceeding to extremities, but nothing is more probable than that he should do just what Moses tells us the new king actually did, deal with them craftily, prevent their increase, utilise their labour, and cut off all communication with foreigners. The most advantageous employment which would suggest itself would of course be the construction of strongly-fortified depositaries of provisions and arms near the eastern frontier. The line of fortresses was enlarged and strengthened by Rameses II., but that king was not the original founder. Traces are found which prove the existence both of the canal and of several forts under the ancient empire.[49] One of these forts, bearing the name Pa-chtum en Zaru, is mentioned in the monumental annals of Tothmosis III. It is identified by M. Brugsch with the Pithom of the Exodus.[50] The name signifies "the fortress of foreigners or sojourners," *i.e.* a fortress either built by foreigners or assigned to immigrants as a

kings of the dynasty bear distinct traces of black blood. Rosellini gives a portrait of Amenophis I. (whom, however, he confounds with Aahmes), in which he is represented as a black. 'Monum. R.,' pl. xxix. At Karnak there is a representation of the shrine of Nefertari borne by twelve priests; she is there associated with Rameses II., after an interval of some three centuries.

[46] M. de Rougé gives a very curious account of the organisation of a negro army, under Pepi, of the sixth dynasty. As in our Indian possessions, these alien troops were drilled and commanded by native Egyptians. See 'Recherches,' p. 123.

[47] This is a very important point. It shows the inaccuracy of the account given by Josephus from Manetho, and, before this inscription was known, adopted by Egyptian scholars, viz., that the war between upper and lower Egypt continued to the third or fourth reign of the eighteenth dynasty. There can be no question as to the correctness of the contemporary inscription. Ptolemy, a priest of Mendes, quoted by Apion (ap. Clem. Alex. 'Str.,' I, 21, p. 178, ed. Potter), says of Amosis that he κατέσκαψε τὴν Αὔαριν. He was better informed than Manetho. M. de Rougé justly claims the credit of having proved this capital point (question capitale). See the 'Report on Egyptian Studies' for 1867, p. 18; and compare M. Chabas, 'Les Pasteurs en Egypte,' 1868, where the whole inscription is translated.

[48] *E.g.* by M. de Rougé, Brugsch, &c.

[49] An officer who fled from Egypt in the reign of Osirtasin speaks of a wall which the king had built to keep off the Sakti, *i.e.* Asiatic invaders. See the story of Saneha; and Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 293; and on the Sakti, p. 321. Dr. Ebers, l. c. p. 81, entirely corroborates the view taken by the writer. He shows that the line, previously existing, must have been strengthened by one of the earliest kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and completed in all probability by the fortress, called the fort, or the "close" of Zar. The word rendered "fort," viz. chetem, is retained in Coptic, as ⲱⲧⲙ, or ⲧⲱⲙ, to shut. This fort is very specially the key of Egypt, ἡ κλεὶς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, the frontier station for the armies of the Pharaohs, and for Asiatic immigrants.

[50] This identification is not accepted by M. Chabas, who gives another and more probable etymology for the Hebrew Pithom, viz. the sanctuary of Tum. But it is probable, indeed all but certain, that the fortress and the sanctuary were contiguous, and formed together the principal rendezvous of the Egyptian troops and foreign embassies on the frontier. On the name Raamses, see infra, under Rameses.

residence.[51] We learn from Genesis that Raamses was the name of the district in the time of Jacob, and from the Egyptian monuments that one of the sons of Aahmes was named Rames; probable grounds are thus found for the designation of the second fort built at the same time. It is also well known that during the latter part of his reign Aahmes was occupied in building and repairing the cities of Northern Egypt. In an inscription lately deciphered,[52] dated in his twenty-second year, certain Fenchu are stated to be employed in the transport of blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu (the Troja of Strabo) to Memphis and other cities. These Fenchu are unquestionably aliens, either mercenaries or forced labourers. According to Brugsch, the name means "bearers of the shepherd's staff;" and he describes their occupation as precisely corresponding to that of the Israelites.[53] No proper name for the Israelites is found on the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty;[54] during which period all Egyptologers admit their presence in Egypt: they could certainly not be designated more exactly whether we regard the name or the occupation of these Fenchu.

(13.) It has been shown that little dependence can be placed on systems of Egyptian chronology, yet it may be observed that either of those which are most generally accepted is quite reconcileable with this hypothesis.

Two dates, which differ very widely, are given, not as certain, but approximative and probable.

Brugsch, following Lepsius, fixes the accession of Aahmes I. at 1706 B.C. This would be in very near accordance with Hebrew history if the dates drawn from notices in the Book of Judges were accepted in preference to that given in 1 Kings vi. The last year of Tothmosis II., which, as will be shown, is very probably that of the Exodus, falls on the same system in 1647 B.C. Now, the interval between the building of the Temple, about 1010 A.C., and the Exodus, is calculated to amount to 638 years by the advocates of the longer chronology: certainly a most remarkable coincidence, the more so since neither Brugsch nor the other Egyptian chronologers adopt that date for the Exodus.

The other date, given also approximately, is 1525 B.C. for Aahmes I., and 1463 for the last year of Tothmosis II. This accords pretty nearly with the shorter interval of 480 years given in 1 Kings vi. 1.

This later date has been lately supported in a very remarkable way by a discovery which, if it could be absolutely relied upon, would settle the chronology.[55] Tothmosis III. built a temple at Elephantine: it has been destroyed within the last few years by the natives, but on one stone found near the ruins the name of the king is distinctly read; on another stone is an inscription stating that the 28th of the month Epiphi was the festival of the rising of Sothis, *i.e.* Sirius. From this M. Biot calculates the date, which he fixes as 1445 B.C. Now the reign of Tothmosis III. lasted about forty-eight years; the temple was probably built towards the end of his reign, which up to the last seven years was occupied in foreign warfare; we should thus get the date from 1485 to 1492 for the last year of Tothmosis II.,

[51] This is a point of considerable importance, brought out by Brugsch in the third volume of the 'Geographische Inschriften,' p. 21. He says, "I believe that I am nearer than formerly to the trace of the meaning of this name. The old Egyptian Zaru, or Zalu, is evidently related to the Coptic ⲥⲱⲓⲗⲓ, whence ⲣⲉⲉⲓⲥⲱⲓⲗⲓ, peregrinus, advena."

[52] See Brugsch, 'Zeitschrift' for November, 1867.

[53] Brugsch observes, "With this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of Semitic origin, who lived in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of as standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews," l. c. p. 92. This is the more important since Brugsch does not connect the narrative of Exodus with this period.

[54] On the name "Aperu," supposed to represent Hebrews, see further on. It is found first in papyri of a later date, under the nineteenth dynasty.

[55] This date has given occasion to much controversy. It is utterly irreconcileable with the system of some chronologers. Lepsius at once met it with the assumption that the Egyptian sculptor committed the error of adding a line, the effect of which would be to alter the calculations to the extent of 130 years. He was followed by Bunsen, and, though with some misgiving, by Brugsch. If any answer were needed, it might be given in the words of M. de Rougé: "Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on peut lever une difficulté de cette gravité: le monument aujourd'hui à Paris est comme gravure de la plus grande beauté; il appartient du reste à l'époque où les inscriptions présentent la correction la plus parfaite." See also M. Chabas, M. é. ii. p. 18. A more serious objection has since been raised and defended with great ability by M. Chabas. The inscription which gives the official name of Tothmosis III., and that which gives the name of the month on which the calculation is based, are on different stones, and cannot be proved to refer to the same date. The latter may possibly refer to additions to the temple. M. Chabas writes with a strong bias, so much so that he even attempts to explain away the well-known phrase for the coming forth or heliacal rising of Sothis; and Mr. Goodwin, a very high authority, does not consider that he has proved his points. In the present state of the question, all that we are entitled to assume is that the inscriptions may probably refer to the same time, viz. that of the erection of the temple, and give a date which presents a very striking coincidence with that taken from the statement in 1 Kings vi.

a date exactly in accordance with that derived from 1 Kings vi. 1.[56]

In the present state of inquiry it is sufficient to point out the singular accordance between two very different systems of Biblical and Egyptian chronology, whichever may be ultimately adopted.

(14.) Assuming for the present that the persecution of the Israelites began under Aahmes I., the question still remains under which of his successors the Exodus took place. In the absence of monumental evidence the question cannot be decisively settled, but there appear to be substantial grounds for the conclusion that it occurred at the close of the reign of Tothmosis II.

The length of the interval between the accession of Aahmes I. and of Tothmosis III. cannot be accurately determined. The calculations of Brugsch (which are quite irrespective of our question) give an interval of eighty-one years. According to Josephus, Manetho gives 100 years 5 months for the period between the expulsion of the shepherds and the accession of the Pharaoh whom he calls Mephramuthosis. These dates are wholly uncertain, each recension of Manetho giving different numbers; but the interval probably extended over one hundred years. This coincides very closely with the period required by the Scriptural narrative: some years elapsed before the birth of Moses, eighty years between his birth and the Exodus.

(15.) The events of the succeeding reigns under which Moses must have lived, assuming the correctness of this hypothesis, accord with inferences suggested by the brief narrative of Exodus, and also with notices in Josephus, which though of a legendary character may have some foundation in facts. On the death of Aahmes the government appears to have been in the hands of Nefertari, the Ethiopian princess, either as sovereign, or more probably as regent.[57] Little was known of Amenophis (or Amenhotep) her son, until the following facts were elicited from contemporary monuments. Ahmes, the naval officer already mentioned, went with Amenophis in an expedition into Ethiopia against an insurgent chieftain. The expedition was successful. Josephus gives a long and evidently legendary account of an expedition of Moses into Ethiopia. As a member of the royal household, the adopted child of the King's sister, he would naturally accompany his master; while gratitude to his benefactress would of course give additional impetus to his efforts against an Ethiopian rebel. Amenophis was undoubtedly an able and prosperous king, leaving a great name, and worshipped as a god in after ages.

The circumstances which led to the flight of Moses may have taken place at the close of this reign.[58] Syncellus mentions a tradition that Moses left the court after the death of Amosis and of his daughter, whom he calls Pharie: it is more probable that this occurred some years later, since Moses could not have reached manhood when Aahmes died. At the death of Amenophis he would be about forty. It has been represented as improbable that the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter found no protector when he slew an Egyptian subject, a most unreasonable objection even if the princess were still living; her death would of course leave him friendless.

(16.) During the reign of Tothmosis I., Moses, on this supposition, must have been in Midian, but the events are not without bearings upon his history. The reign was one of great prosperity. The complete subjugation of the district between Upper Egypt and Nubia Proper is attested by the inscription previously quoted and by another found by the Prussian expedition on the rock opposite the island of Tombos.[59] The latter years of his reign[60] were employed in a war of greater interest. We learn from the sepulchral inscription already mentioned that he invaded Mesopotamia, won a great victory, and brought back an immense number of captives. A great advance was thus made in the condition of Egypt. Its

[56] A very curious corroboration of this hypothesis may be drawn from some calculations of Mr. Goodwin in the 'Zeitschrift' for 1867, p. 78. He shows that, if certain data are admitted, one of the following dates would fall within the reign of Tothmosis III., viz. 1481, 1480, 1479, 1478. He says, "According to the system of some of the chronologists this would suit the reign of Tothmosis III." It certainly suits that chronology of the Bible which appears most probable to the writer of this Essay. On grounds quite independent of the astronomical calculation, he would have us go back 120 years, and take 1601, 1600, 1599, 1598 as the date, fixing the accession of Tothmosis III. as 1623, 1622, 1621, or 1620. This, as he points out, agrees very nearly with the date of Brugsch, viz. 1625 A.C. It certainly agrees also with the system of those chronologers who adopt the longer interval.

[57] It is an obvious conjecture that such an association may have had some influence upon the feelings of Moses when in later years he married an Ethiopian.

[58] All the recensions of Manetho give thirteen years for Chebron, *i.e.* Nefertari (see above), and twenty-one for Amenophis. Moses is said to have been forty years old at the time of his flight. The coincidence of dates is perfect, as he was in all probability born a few years before the death of Aahmes.

[59] Ethiopia was henceforth governed by princes of the blood royal. A list of twenty, bearing the style Prince Royal of Cush, beginning with this reign, is drawn from the monuments. The first bears the name Me-Mes, an odd coincidence. See note on Moses, p. 482.

[60] The duration of the reign is uncertain; the monuments give no information, and the dates of Manetho are in utter confusion.

permanent resources were increased by the acquisition of Nubia, the land of gold,[61] and henceforth we find the Pharaohs in possession of numerous chariots, which, though not unknown,[62] are not represented on early monuments. We have here every indication of national greatness.

(17.) On the death of Tothmosis I. the government was once more for some years in the hands of a woman. His wife and sister Aahmes,[63] called Amessis by Josephus, was regent or sovereign, according to Manetho, for upwards of twenty years. Tothmosis II.[64] showed energy in the beginning of his reign; he carried on a successful war against the Shasous, the nomad tribes on the north-eastern frontier. No other notice is found of his acts on the monuments. His reign was probably short and certainly inglorious. The following facts are however certain from contemporary monuments.[65] He was married to his sister Hatasou;[66] after his decease, of which the circumstances are unknown, she succeeded him as Queen Regnant. His death was immediately followed by a general revolt of the confederated nations on the north of Palestine, which had been conquered by his father: no attempt was made to recover the lost ascendancy of Egypt until the 22nd year of Tothmosis III.

Certainly no conjunction of circumstances can be conceived which would adjust itself more naturally to the Scriptural narrative, if we assume that the Exodus took place at this time. In a history drawn entirely from public inscriptions and monuments, no one would expect to find records of events humiliating to the national pride: a period of heavy and disgraceful calamity would present but a blank.[67] Now the reigns of all other early kings in this great dynasty were prosperous and glorious, filled with great events attested by numerous monuments. This king succeeded to a great place; his first years were brilliant, he cleared his frontiers: there is no indication of rebellion or of foreign invasion, and yet the last years are a complete blank: there is a sudden and complete collapse:[68] he dies, no son succeeding: his throne is long occupied by a woman: and no effort is made to regain the former possessions of Egypt for more than twenty years. We have ample space for the events which preceded the Exodus; we find the conditions presupposed in the accounts of the mission of Moses, and the results which might have been anticipated from calamities which, though not sufficient to crush the nation, would cripple its resources, and for a time subdue its spirit.

Assuming for the present the truth of this hypothesis, we may consider what might be the probable course of events. On the return of Moses from Midian, in the eightieth year of his age, and therefore towards the close of the reign of Tothmosis II., he found the Pharaoh in lower Egypt, probably at Zoan (see Psalm lxxviii. 12), *i.e.* Tanis, or as the Egyptians call it Avaris, the city captured by his ancestor. The residence of the court for a great part of the year would naturally be in that district. The upper country was quiet after the conquest of Nubia, whereas the territory occupied by the Israelites required watching, and the neighbouring Shasous, or Bedouins, caused constant alarms. The character of the king as described in Exodus was at once weak and obstinate, cruel and capricious,

[61] Nub is the well-known Egyptian name for gold.

[62] The war chariot of Aahmes I. is expressly mentioned in the inscription at Elkab.

[63] In these reigns there are several instances of marriages between brother and sister. M. de Rougé observes that it does not appear to have been a custom under the early Pharaohs.—'Recherches,' p. 62.

[64] The joint reigns of Amesses and Mephres, or Misaphris, are computed at thirty-five or thirty-three years in the tables of Bunsen, from Josephus and Africanus. Eusebius omits both Tothmosis I. and Amesses. We may not place any reliance on the numbers of Manetho, but they were probably taken from old monuments, and, though often corrupted and distorted, may occasionally be correct. In this case they coincide very strikingly with the narrative of Exodus, allowing an interval of some forty years between the decease of Amenophis and of Tothmosis II.

[65] According to the monuments, Tothmosis II., his wife Hatasou, and Tothmosis III., were children of the same parent or parents. If the joint reigns of Amesses and Tothmosis II. extended over thirty years, or even a much shorter period, Tothmosis III. could not have been the son of Tothmosis I., since he was a mere child at the death of Tothmosis II. He is represented as a boy of some ten or twelve years old, sitting on the knees of Hatasou, on the monuments. If we might assume that Tothmosis II. and his wife were children of Tothmosis I. and Amesses, and that Tothmosis III. was a son of Amesses by another husband, this would meet the difficulty. It is certain that Tothmosis II. was son of Tothmosis I. See 'Denkmäler,' iii. pl. xvi. a. l. 7.

[66] This is probably the true reading of the name, which means "chief of the illustrious." The phonetic value of one of the signs is disputed by Mr Goodwin, but is shown to be correct by Renouf and Lauth.

[67] M. de Rougé, speaking of the name Aperu (see further on), observes, "C'est la seule trace que la captivité d'Israel aura laissée probablement sur les monuments: il n'est pas à penser que les Égyptiens y aient jamais consigné ni le souvenir des plaies, ni celui de la catastrophe terrible de la Mer Rouge; car leurs monuments ne consacrent que bien rarement le souvenir de leurs défaites." See also the memoir lately published (1869), 'Moïse et les Hébreux,' p. 2.

[68] M. Brugsch says strongly and truly, "as it seems, all that had been previously conquered was completely lost.—'Geographie,' i. p. 54.

such a character as is calculated to provoke or accelerate great national calamities. Nor can we lose sight altogether of the queen. She was a very remarkable woman, daughter, sister, and wife of kings, with the antecedents of her mother and grandmother, both of whom had been regents, and she was able to retain the government of the nation during the prolonged minority of the greatest and most energetic king of the dynasty. Such a woman may well have helped her brother and husband to "harden his heart," after each ague fit of misgiving and terror. That she was a woman of strong religious prejudices is proved by her own inscriptions: as such she could not but be revolted by the insults heaped upon the soothsayers, priests, temples, and idols of Egypt. When her heart was crushed by the loss of her first-born son, we can conceive the mingled feelings which would send her to the king, if not to suggest, yet to strengthen his resolution to make one more effort to save his kingdom from disgrace, and to avenge the long series of calamities upon Israel.[69] These are of course but conjectures, but they rest upon facts distinctly recorded on contemporary Egyptian monuments, and they harmonize thoroughly with the narrative of Exodus.

The history of the next reign supplies some remarkable coincidences.

(18.) Tothmosis III. remained in reluctant subjection to his sister at least seventeen years.[70] On taking possession of the throne he defaced her titles on the monuments, and reckoned his own reign from the death of his predecessor, without any notice of the intervening period. It may be inferred from this that her rule was distasteful to the people, associated, it may be, with national disasters. It is certain that during her regency there was a general revolt and confederacy of the nations on the north-east of Egypt from Palestine to Mesopotamia.

It was not until the twenty-second year of his reign—a date, as will appear, of singular importance in this inquiry—that Tothmosis III. began a series of expeditions unparalleled for extent and grandeur in Egyptian history.[71]

The following facts are clearly proved.

The king left Zaru, or Pithom, early in the year, and advanced without encountering any opposition to Sarouhen on the southern frontier of Palestine. He was detained by the siege of Gaza, which he took early in the spring of the following year. On the 16th of Pachon, early in March, at a fort named Souhem, he heard of the advance of the allied kings of all the districts between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. The decisive battle was fought at Megiddo, the earliest and one of the most important of the conflicts in that great battle-field of Western Asia. The allies were completely defeated, the dead covered the plain, horses and chariots[72] in vast numbers were taken, and on the following day the chiefs, who had fled to Megiddo, came to offer submission and tributes, consisting of gold, silver, bronze, lapis-lazuli, coffers of precious metals, chariots plated with gold and silver, magnificent vases of Phœnician workmanship, a harp of bronze inlaid with gold, ivory, perfumes, and wine. The proofs of an advanced civilisation in the nations then dominant in Palestine accord with all the representations in Scripture. The point, however, of main importance in the present inquiry is that the power of the confederacy which gave unity and strength to the people of Canaan was completely broken by Tothmosis III., just seventeen years before the date when, on the hypothesis we are now considering, the Israelites entered Palestine.

The incursions of Tothmosis continued without intermission during this interval. We have accounts of repeated invasions of Phœnicia, conquests over the Rutens[73] in Mesopotamia, where the king established a fortress or military colony: we find the great names of Assur, Babel, Nineveh, Shinear, the Remenen, or Armenians, and most frequently of the Cheta, the sons of Heth, the Hittites of Scripture.[74]

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[69] The inscriptions on her obelisk, the most beautiful now remaining at Thebes, give a strong impression of this queen's character. She speaks of her favour with Ammon, boasts of her gracious and popular manners, and is represented in this, and also in other monuments, in masculine attire, including *a beard*. See the inscriptions in the 'Zeitschrift' for 1865, p. 34, and Brugsch, 'Recueil,' ii. p. 79.

[70] Dr. Birch finds a higher date for the joint government, twenty-one years.

[71] A full account of these expeditions was inscribed on the walls of a temple dedicated to Ammon by Tothmosis. The inscriptions are given by Lepsius in the 'Denkmäler,' vol. iii., and in the 'Auswahl;' some are published by Brugsch, 'Recueil,' and by M. de Rougé, 'Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Toutmès III,' 1861. Mr. Birch first encountered, and to a great extent overcame, the formidable difficulties of decipherment and translation. His labours, and those of M. de Rougé and Brugsch, have made them accessible to students.

[72] 892 chariots are mentioned; a very curious coincidence with the statement in Judges v., where we are told that Jabin, in the same battle-field, had 900 chariots.

[73] Rutennu, as M. Chabas has proved, designates the northern Syrians. The name may be read Lutennu, or even Ludennu, and is identified with Lud by M. de Rougemont, 'Age du Bronze.' The presence of Egyptians in Mesopotamia under the eighteenth dynasty, and in the time of Tothmosis III., is proved by scarabæi found at Arban, on the Cabus, a tributary of the Euphrates.

[74] M. Chabas denies the identity of the Hittites with the Cheta, chiefly on philological grounds, since the names, of which several are given, indi-

One object was steadily pursued by the king during these campaigns. In accordance with the ancient policy of the Pharaohs,[75] but as it would seem because such a measure was especially important at that time, and probably one main motive for the repeated razzias, Tothmosis brought an immense number of captives into Egypt. These are his own words:[76] "I made a great offering to Ammon in recognition of the first victory which he granted me, filling his domain with slaves, to make him stuffs of various materials, to labour and cultivate the lands, to make harvests, to fill the habitation of Father Ammon."[77] At Abd el Kurna, in the temple before mentioned, there is a well-known picture of such captives employed in making bricks. It is an admirable illustration of the labours of the Israelites, whom it was formerly supposed to represent: the inscription, however, states that they are "captives taken by his Majesty to build the temple of his Father Ammon."

We have now to call special attention to this fact. The wars of Tothmosis III. were terminated by the complete overthrow of all his foes in Syria and Mesopotamia in the fortieth year of his reign. No question is raised about this date. But according to our present hypothesis this took place exactly forty years after the Exodus, immediately before the entrance of the Israelites into Palestine.

They would then have found the country in a state of utter prostration. With the exception of such strongholds as might be retained by the Egyptians to command the road into Syria, the petty kings would keep each his own fortress, with no common head, no powerful ally, accustomed to see their neighbours and kinsmen beaten and subjugated, and, though warlike, well supplied with arms, and occupying forts well-nigh impregnable,[78] yet habituated to defeat, and liable, as the Scriptural narrative describes them, to wild fits of panic at the approach of a new foe. If again, as there is reason to believe, the kings of Bashan, and other districts east of the Jordan, were among the confederates defeated on his first invasion by Tothmosis, it would account for their exhaustion, and the extreme terror of the princes of Midian and Moab.[79]

(19.) It may be asked how could the Israelites during that period escape the notice of the king? It is certain that the high road, always followed by the Egyptian armies, ran along the coast of the Mediterranean till it turned off towards Megiddo. The Israelites were in the desert of Tih, a district not easily accessible and offering no temptation to a conqueror whose energies were concentrated in a desperate war. Had they remained in the peninsula of Sinai they would have been within his reach, for its western district was subject to Egypt from a very early period.[80] It is possible that their flight might have been one motive for an expedition which, as we learn from an inscription in the Wady Mughara, was undertaken by the forces of Hatasou and Tothmosis in the sixteenth year of their joint reign.

A far more serious objection rests on the improbability that the powerful kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties would have permitted the invasion or the continued occupation of Palestine by the Israelites.

We might answer in the first place that this objection applies to every other date suggested by chronologers. The latest date assumes that the Exodus took place under the son or grandson of Rameses II., and that the Israelites passed the Jordan in the time of Rameses III. But that Pharaoh was a very able man, his son Rameses IV. won victories in Asia (see 'Rev. archéol.' 1869, p. 277), and the princes of the twentieth dynasty retained command of the communications with Mesopotamia. This is proved by

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cate a different origin. Most Egyptologers, however, retain the older view, which is defended by very convincing arguments by M. de Rougé. It is confirmed also by the Assyrian inscriptions, which make the Khati or Hatti occupy the country between the Mediterranean and Carchemish, their frontier city in the times of Tiglath Pileser I., see Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 315, 317, and Menant, 'Syllabaire assyrien,' p. 155, who identifies them with the Hittites. The identification of the Remenen is proposed by Brugsch.

[75] We have a very early record of this policy in the reign of Pepi, of the sixth dynasty. See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 128.

[76] See Brugsch, 'Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens,' vol. i. p. 53.

[77] See Brugsch, 'Recueil,' i. p. 53.

[78] The history of the siege of Gaza, which lasted more than a year, may account for the Egyptians leaving so many cities untouched, retaining a partial or entire independence. This applies to campaigns under the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.

[79] This gives a peculiar force and suitableness to the words of Balaam, twice repeated, "God brought them out of Egypt. He hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn." Num. xxiii. 22, xxiv. 8.

[80] The intercourse between Egypt and the west of the peninsula began under Snefru, the last Pharaoh of the third dynasty. He defeated the Anu, the ancient inhabitants, and founded a colony at the Wady Mughara. The most ancient monument in existence records this event. The copper-mines there were worked under Chufu (Cheops) and other sovereigns of the fourth and following dynasties. We read of a formal inspection by Pepi. See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' pp. 7, 30, 31, 42, 81, 115. The mines were worked under Amenemha, twelfth dynasty, and the influence or sovereignty of Egypt continued unbroken till long after the Exodus. M. Chabas shows that under the twentieth dynasty the communications were regularly carried on.

an inscription of great interest and importance, well known to Egyptian scholars, which belongs to the reign of Rameses XII., towards the close of the dynasty. M. de Rougé[81] says, "Elle suppose une domination encore incontestée sur la Mesopotamie, des relations amicales entre les princes d'Asie et le Pharaon, ainsi que des routes habituellement parcourues par le commerce." However it may be accounted for, it is certain that during the whole period between Joshua and Rehoboam the Israelites were not disturbed in the possession of the strongholds of Palestine, although the Pharaohs, as we have just seen, retained an undisputed supremacy in Western Asia up to the time of Samuel or Saul.

There are, however, facts, which, though seldom noticed, are sufficiently obvious, and may enable us to understand the policy of the Pharaohs.

It is clear, even from the history of the campaigns of Tothmosis III., that at the end of each campaign the Egyptians withdrew their forces altogether from the countries which they overran, content with the plunder, and especially the capture of prisoners, with the submission of the chiefs, and the tributes which they were secure of exacting. This might be a result of the constitution of the Egyptian armies. The Calasirians and Hermotybians, the warrior caste, had settled homes to which they would certainly choose to return, probably each year after the subsidence of the inundation, when their labours would be required for the cultivation of the fields. We have no trace of permanent occupancy of foreign stations, excepting one in Mesopotamia, another at the copper-mines in the Wady Mughara, and perhaps of a few fortresses on the route through Syria. A rapid campaign directed against the nations to the north of Palestine, who were in a state of chronic insurrection, and threw off the yoke at every opportunity, would give an Egyptian king neither the leisure nor the inclination to assail the strongholds occupied by the Israelites. It must also be borne in mind that the Israelites attacked the most powerful enemies of Egypt, the Hittites and Amorites, and that, whereas their conquest certainly did not result in the establishment of a formidable empire, it was an effectual check to the restoration and consolidation of the powers which Tothmosis had overthrown. We do not find notices of many incursions under the immediate successors of Tothmosis. That which is recorded, under Amenophis II., appears from the inscription[82] to have been carried on by sea. The three invasions under the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, by Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III., had each the same general object, and was pursued on the same system and with the same general results, although as we shall find presently a considerable number of Israelites were probably carried into captivity by the two last-named kings.

If the date which is here assumed be correct, we shall expect that those events which are ascertained from later Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties will harmonise with it. An absolute contradiction would be fatal to the hypothesis, which of course will be materially strengthened by general and special coincidences.

(20.) The reign of Tothmosis III. was followed by a period of great prosperity. The supremacy of Egypt in Western Asia was unbroken, certainly during the two following reigns. Is this general statement compatible with the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites? To answer this question we must look closely at the events in each reign, not forgetting that, as we have already shown, a general supremacy was undoubtedly retained from the accession of the nineteenth to the termination of the twentieth dynasty: that is throughout the period which all chronologers hold to have extended to the end of the book of Judges.

Immediately after the accession of Amenophis II. he undertook an expedition against the Rutens. He appears to have advanced as far as Nineveh; he certainly returned to Egypt with the trophies of a great victory. An inscription at Amada in Nubia, quoted by M. Brugsch, 'H. E.,' p. 111, and by M. Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 194, states that this king slew seven princes of the confederates at Tachis (a city in Syria), and that "they were hung head downwards on the prow of his Majesty's ship."

These facts are of considerable importance. They show that the whole energies of the Pharaohs were directed against the confederates on the north of Palestine, whose defeat and prostration would of course effectually prevent them from marching into Palestine either to support their allies, or to avenge

[81] 'Journal asiatique,' 5th series, vol. viii. p. 204.

[82] The word used in reference to the invasions of Asia in the reigns of Amenophis II. and III., is , which indicates a naval expedition. See 'Denkmäler,' iii. pl. 82. M. Chabas, who quotes the inscription, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 194, refers, of course by oversight, to Amenophis I. It is a point of much importance in this inquiry to have this intimation of the transport of troops to Phœnicia by water. It is more than probable that the Egyptians had a considerable navy under the vigorous administration of the early kings of this dynasty. We have, in fact, the representation of the transport of chariots and horses on ships in the tomb of Ahmes at El Kab, which belongs to this very period. See Rosellini, M. C., pl. cx., and Duemichen, 'Fleet of an Egyptian Queen,' taf. xxviii. 5.

their fall before Joshua.' The mention of the ship of war has a special interest. It is obvious that, as the Pharaohs were the undisputed masters of the sea after the conquest of Phœnicia under Tothmosis III., the most ready and effectual way of transporting their troops would be by ships.[83] We have not sufficient data to prove that they did adopt this mode of carrying on their communications, but there are other indications which make it extremely probable. The word used in the inscriptions which record invasions of Asia under Amenophis III. is specially if not exclusively used of naval expeditions. (See note 82.) It has been shown very lately by a contemporary inscription that at a far earlier period, under the sixth dynasty, the Pharaoh Pepi sent large forces by sea against the Herusha, probably Asiatics. See De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 126. The rapid march of an Egyptian army along the coast of Palestine some seven or eight years after the passage over the Jordan would not present any considerable difficulty, directed as it was against the confederates of the Amorites, but every semblance of a difficulty disappears if the expedition was by sea.

Under Tothmosis IV. we have no notice of Asiatic war. The tributes were probably paid without any further attempt at resistance during that reign, which, though undistinguished and probably short, does not appear to have been a period of disturbance.[84]

(21.) The reign of Amenophis III. was long and prosperous. His supremacy in Syria and Mesopotamia was uncontested; but though the inscriptions speak of expeditions into the Soudan, and of tributes brought from all nations, there is no indication of Asiatic warfare. It was a period of almost uninterrupted peace. There is no probability that the struggles in Palestine would have attracted the attention or called for the interposition of a monarch engaged in magnificent works which surpass in beauty and rival in extent those which were completed under any succeeding dynasty.

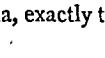
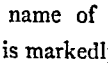
There are, however, facts which may perhaps justify a conjecture that the relations between Egypt and the Israelites underwent some modification in the interval after the occupation of Palestine which corresponds to this period. In 1 Chron. iv. 17, we read that Mered, of the tribe of Judah, founded two families, one by an Egyptian wife Bithia, who is called a daughter of Pharaoh. This family was settled at Eshtemoa, on the hilly district of Judah, south of Hebron, now Isemna; the ruins indicate the site of a considerable city. The exact place of Ezra, the father of Mered, in the genealogy is uncertain, but it belongs apparently to the second generation from Caleb. Now we have the fact that Amenophis III. was married to a very remarkable personage who was not of royal parentage and not an Egyptian by creed. Under her influence Amenophis IV., her son (whose strongly marked features have a Semitic, not to say Jewish character),[85] completely revolutionised the religion of Egypt, more especially attacking its most loathsome form, the phallus-worship of Khem. The names of this princess, Tei, and of her parents, Iuaa and Tuaa, bear a singularly near resemblance to that of Mered's wife.[86]

(22.) However this may be, the few known facts of Egyptian history from the accession of Amenophis IV., or Khu-n-Aten (*i.e.* Glory of the Sunbeam), are readily adjusted to the early annals of the Judges. For a few years the ascendancy of Egypt in Mesopotamia was unimpaired. The Rutens and their allies were kept in submission; no indication of an occupation of Palestine by Egypt or its opponents is to be found: then comes a time of internal struggle and confusion, during which all the Asiatics threw off the yoke. We have here a place for the invasion of Cushan Rishathaim, the King of Mesopotamia; which must have taken place about a century after the death of Joshua. The

[83] It is to be observed that the current of the Riviera di Ponente runs along the Delta and thence to the coast of Palestine or Syria, carrying with it so much of the Nile mud as to fill up the harbours. The sea voyage would be easy and rapid. We find notice of the transport of corn from Egypt to the land of the Kheta under Merneptah. 'Histor. Ins.,' iii. 24.

[84] Some scholars hold that the Exodus took place at the close of this reign. This theory is supported by ingenious arguments, but is scarcely reconcileable with the condition of Egypt at the beginning of the next reign, nor does it present the coincidences which are drawn from the reign of Tothmosis II. and his successors.

[85] The most striking portraits of this king are in Prisse, 'Monuments,' pl. x., and in the 'Denkmäler III.;' all the portraits have the strongest character of individuality, wild, dreamy, fanatic, with features in some points unlike those of his predecessors, and approaching closely to the Hebrew type. Ewald recognises and attaches much importance to the traces of an attempt to introduce a more spiritual form of religion at this period: see 'Geschichte,' v. I. ii., p. 51, note, 2nd edition.

[86] In Egyptian,  . The name Bithia, exactly transcribed, would be  . The name of the father of Tei, , Iua, is markedly Jewish. See the inscription in Brugsch, 'Geographische Inscriften,' i., taf. ix., No. 333. In a work lately published (1868), 'The Fleet of an Egyptian Queen,' M. Duemichen points out the resemblance and apparent connection between Aten and אדון, Lord, observing that the hieroglyphic group is certainly used with reference to this Semitic name of God. See explanation of pl. iii.

growth of the power of the Moabites, and of the nomads bearing the general denomination of Shasous in Egyptian, of Amalek, Edom, Ammon, &c., in Hebrew, was a natural result of the expulsion of the Mesopotamians on the one side, and the prostration of Egypt on the other.[87] In the mean time the Cheta were gradually acquiring the ascendancy from Cilicia to the Euphrates,[88] occupying the strongholds in Syria, and encroaching gradually on the borders of Palestine, a position which, notwithstanding repeated and triumphant invasions of their own territory, they occupied during the whole period of the nineteenth and apparently also the twentieth dynasties.

The duration assigned by M. Brugsch to the eighteenth dynasty from the decease of Tothmosis III. is about 100 years. The corresponding period, on the hypothesis we are now considering, brings us near to the occupation of Palestine by Eglon King of Moab. It will be observed that, although the results of comparison of Egyptian and Hebrew annals are, and must be to a great extent conjectural, inasmuch as no direct or distinct notice of the events preceding the Exodus or following the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites is found on Egyptian monuments, and no notice of Egyptian history occurs in the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, yet the conjectures rest on data established beyond all contradiction. They do not profess to do more than show that the two series of events dovetail, and mutually sustain and explain each other: the coincidences, whether they be held complete and convincing or not, are unsought; they forced themselves on the writer's attention, and gradually led him to give a decided preference to the hypothesis which has been here defended, over that which is at present generally supported by Egyptian scholars.

(23.) We have now to consider what arguments favourable or unfavourable to this hypothesis are drawn from Manetho and other documents known to us through the medium of Greek. Here we must carefully distinguish between facts borne out by contemporary monuments, and statements which, whether correctly or incorrectly represented by the translators and epitomizers, are contradicted or not corroborated by such authority.

The Exodus is assumed by all ancient chronologers, who derived their information from Egyptian sources, to have taken place under the eighteenth dynasty.[89] Josephus, who regards the expulsion of the Hyksos to be but a confused tradition of the departure of the Israelites, places it under the first king whom he calls Tethmosis; Africanus, who follows Ptolemy the Mendesian, under Amos, *i.e.* Amosis, or Aahmes. Eusebius brings the transaction lower down, but still long before the nineteenth dynasty, viz. under Achencherses or Achencheres, *i.e.* probably Khunaten, the son of Amenophis III. This opinion is said by Syncellus to be avowedly in contradiction to all other authorities. Eusebius was probably led to it by the evident indications of great disturbances under that reign, and by the tradition that emigrations of considerable extent took place soon afterwards.[90]

Passing to Manetho's own statements, we find that he represents the kings of the Thebaid and of Upper Egypt as engaged in a great and long-continued warfare with the Hyksos: he asserts that the king, Misphragmuthosis, drove them out of all the other districts in Egypt, and confined them within the vast enclosure of Avaris. His son Tethmosis besieged the city with an immense army, and, being unable to capture it, made a treaty with them, permitting their departure: they are said to have gone forth with their furniture and their cattle, forming a host not less than 240,000 in number, then to have traversed the desert between Egypt and Syria, and at last, fearing the Assyrians, at that time masters of Asia, to have settled in Judæa, where they built the city of Jerusalem.

Setting the account which has been given in these pages side by side with the statement of Manetho, we see at once the character of his history, and the corroboration which it supplies to what has been advanced.

(1) A war of considerable duration was carried on between the kings of Upper Egypt and the Shepherds. Here Manetho and the monuments agree. (2) The king whom Manetho calls Misphragmuthosis achieved great successes in war, but did not capture Avaris. It is true that the Shepherds were attacked by the first king of the dynasty, but untrue that Avaris was not captured by him. Here we have a partial agreement, but the name of the king is not correct. (3) Certain enemies of the Egyptians were in possession of a limited district under his successor. The monuments are silent, but from the Pentateuch we know that the Israelites occupied Goshen at this time, as nearly all Egyptian scholars agree. (4) These enemies left Egypt by permission, traversed Syria, and occupied Palestine. Their forces amounted to 240,000. The monuments are silent. We have the Scriptural account with scarcely a variation.

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[87] It is also to be remarked that the Rutens, or Assyrians, were so weakened towards the end of the eighteenth dynasty that they lost the ascendancy; a fact sufficiently explained by the overthrow of Cushan Rishathaim.

[88] See Brugsch, 'H. E.,' p. 127, and M. Chabas, 'Voyage,' p. 325.

[89] All the passages are collected in the first volume of Bunsen's 'Egypt.'

[90] Viz. the expulsion of Danaus and his settlement at Argos. See the statement of Diodorus, p. 462.

The principal inference bearing on our present subject is that all these notices refer to the same period, viz. the early years of the eighteenth dynasty.

In another work Manetho gives what may have been in his time the Egyptian account of the Exodus: it is utterly worthless, and, as nearly all critics have observed, was evidently invented by a person who had the Scripture narrative before him.[91] It represents the Israelites as lepers, and identifies Moses with Osarsiph,[92] a priest of Heliopolis, evidently Joseph. The Egyptian king, in whose reign the enemies first made themselves masters of all Egypt, committing atrocities far beyond those attributed to the Hyksos, is called Amenophis. According to this strange figment, Amenophis committed his son Sethos, called also Rhamses, to the charge of some private individual, and retired into Ethiopia, whence he returned with a great army, and finally ejected the lepers and their allies the Shepherds from Egypt, pursuing them unto the borders of Syria.

All names and events are here in hopeless confusion: but each name and each event is found, though under very different circumstances, either in Egyptian or in sacred history. Osarsiph and Moses, the character of the Mosaic law, the prevalence of leprosy, the connection of Osarsiph with Heliopolis, are taken from Scripture; the names of Avaris, Amenophis, Sethos, Rhamses, from Egyptian monuments. The expulsion of the Shepherds by an Egyptian king with forces brought from Ethiopia is, as we have seen, historical. Amenophis himself, the son of Amosis, made an expedition into Ethiopia. There was a religious aspect of the struggle between the Shepherds and the Egyptians. No inference of any value can be drawn from the whole narrative in favour of either hypothesis now under consideration. On the one side the names of Sethos and Rameses would point to the nineteenth dynasty, but it is scarcely conceivable that a man having the least acquaintance with Egyptian history should have confounded Sethos and his son, or have represented Amenophis as the father of Sesostris. On the other side, the name of Amenophis would point distinctly to the eighteenth dynasty, and the whole narrative might get into the shape which it here assumes, if the facts above proved, and the combinations which we have assumed, had been manipulated by an Egyptian priest under the Ptolemies.

The story told by Chæremon (see Josephus c. Apion, i. 32) is a modification of this. The Israelites are led by Moses and Joseph, whose Egyptian names are said to be Tisithen and Peteseph.[93] They join an army of 300,000 men, whom Amenophis had left at Pelusium, because he did not wish to bring them into Egypt. Amenophis retreated into Ethiopia, where he had a son named Mepenes, who, when he became a man, drove the Jews into Syria, and recalled his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.

An extract from Lysimachus, given also by Josephus, is a mere corruption of the Scriptural narrative, invented under the Ptolemies. It names Bocchoris (B.C. 721) as the Pharaoh of the Exodus: a striking instance of contemptuous disregard of all historical probabilities.

Diodorus has two accounts:[94] in one (c. xxxiv. 1) the adherents of Antiochus Sidetes represent the Jews as a despicable race expelled from Egypt, hateful to the gods on account of foul cutaneous diseases; in the other (c. xl. 1) he relates that in ancient times a pestilence which raged in Egypt was ascribed to the wrath of the gods on account of the multitude of aliens who with their strange worship were offensive to the gods of the land. The aliens were therefore expelled. The most distinguished among them betook themselves to Greece and other adjoining regions, among whom were Danaus and Cadmus. The main body, however, retired into the country afterwards called Judæa, which at that time was a desert. This colony was led by Moses.

From what source Diodorus derived this latter statement is quite uncertain, but the colouring is Egyptian. It undoubtedly points to an earlier period than the nineteenth dynasty; most probably to that assigned by Eusebius to the emigration into Palestine and Greece, viz. the latter reigns of the eighteenth dynasty.

As a general result from this part of our inquiry, we find that, with two exceptions, all the names and transactions noticed by Manetho, and by Greek writers, whether heathen or Christian, harmonise with the course of events under the eighteenth dynasty. One exception is simply noticeable for its absurdity, bringing the Exodus down to the eighth century and the twenty-fourth dynasty: the other is more important since it introduces the names of Sethos and Rameses, but under circumstances and in a relationship which evince either an entire ignorance or a wilful perversion of the best known facts of Egyptian history.

One argument remains of which the importance will not be questioned. Critics of the most opposite schools who have carefully

[91] See Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 581.

[92] There is an evident reference to one or both of Joseph's names. The last syllable, Siph, answers to seph, and also to Zaf, food. Osir means rich, powerful, &c.; Osersiph, rich in food.

[93] Seph, the last syllable of Joseph's Hebrew, and the first of his Egyptian name, seems to have left a permanent impression, and that a very natural one, as meaning "food." See Essay II.

[94] See Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 584.

considered the bearings of the facts drawn from Egyptian sources upon the narrative of Exodus, concur in the conclusion that the accession of the eighteenth dynasty was the beginning of the persecution, and that the Exodus took place in some reign before the accession of the nineteenth. Thus Knobel, Winer, and Ewald.

(24.) We have now to consider whether the facts, admitted by all Egyptologers and attested by monuments and other documents of unquestionable authority, which appertain to the history of the 19th dynasty, accord with the hypothesis here adopted, or whether we should acquiesce in the conclusion to which eminent scholars have been led;[95] that which identifies Rameses II. with the first persecutor of the Israelites, and places the Exodus under his son Merneptah. It may be well to say at once that the reader might accept that conclusion without repugnance: on certain conditions it may be reconciled with the narrative of Exodus, which some at least of its chief supporters accept as an authentic document, if not as the production of Moses. It is, however, a question to be determined not by authority, but by circumstantial evidence. It is now universally admitted that no monuments of this or of any other period make mention of the events which preceded or immediately followed the departure of the Israelites.[96] In the following pages every fact bearing upon this question will be fairly and fully stated, together with the arguments on both sides.

(25.) We have first to inquire into the known or probable condition of Palestine during the interval between the early Judges and the time of Deborah and Barak. It is an interval of considerable duration, extending over some two centuries, if we take the numbers in the book of Judges literally,[97] and covering certainly as much time as is occupied by the annals of Egypt between Amenophis III. and the later kings of the nineteenth dynasty.

During the whole of that period it is distinctly stated that the Israelites were not in exclusive possession of Palestine; they dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites. (Judges iii. 5.) Many of the most important strongholds were occupied by these nations, including nearly all those which are mentioned in the records of Seti and Rameses II.[98] Generally speaking, the open country was retained by the Amorites, against whose iron chariotry the Israelites could not make head even in Judah (Judges i. 19). The whole district from the southern frontier upward belonged to them, and was apparently called, as we find it even in inscriptions of the twentieth dynasty, the land of the Amorites.[99] This was the case even when the land was at rest: in some portions of Palestine the Israelites brought the inhabitants into partial subjection and made them tributaries, but the process was slow, alternating with many disasters, and not completed until a very late period, long after that which is now under consideration. When the Israelites were themselves brought under subjection the whole country was in a state described incidentally in the song of Deborah: the highways were unoccupied, the villages ceased, there was war in the gates, *i.e.* the strongholds were blockaded; while not a spear or shield was to be seen among 40,000 in Israel (Judges v. 6).

It is clear therefore that an Egyptian army traversing Palestine at any part of this time would not encounter Israelitish forces in the open field: Israel had no chariotry, no horses, and would not be concerned with expeditions which were invariably directed against its own enemies in Syria.[100]

We have now to remark the very exact correspondence between the Hebrew and

[95] M. de Rougé says in his 'Report on Egyptian Studies,' 1867, p. 27, "Les rapports de temps et de noms ont fait penser à M. de Rougé que Ramesès II. devait être considéré également comme le Pharaon sous lequel Moïse dut fuir l'Égypte et dont le très-long règne força le législateur futur des Hébreux à un très-long exil. À défaut d'un texte précis qui manque dans la Bible, cette conjecture rend bien compte des faits, et elle a été généralement adoptée." It has in fact been adopted by Egyptian scholars in Germany, France, and England. The sobriety and reserve with which M. de Rougé states this conjecture, to which he attaches great value, stand out in strong contrast to the confidence with which it is maintained as a proved fact by most of his followers.

[96] See the statement of M. de Rougé quoted above, note 67.

[97] The numbers in Judges iii. are a long but uncertain time from the conquest under Joshua, *x*, Cushan Rishathaim, 8 years; peace, 40 years; Eglon, 18 years; rest, 80 years; Philistines, *x*; *i.e.* $146 + x + x$. Brugsch calculates the interval between Amenophis III. and Merneptah at 200 years. The elements of uncertainty on both sides are considerable, but the general correspondence is noteworthy.

[98] *E.g.*, Jerusalem, Bethshean, Taanach, Dor, Megiddo, Zidon, Bethshemesh, Bethanath. Gaza and the other four cities in the district were evidently recovered during this period by the Philistines. Compare Judges i. 18 with iii. 3 and 31. In the inscriptions of the nineteenth dynasty, I cannot find any Palestinian city which the book of Judges represents as occupied by Israelites in the period after the conquest.

[99] See *e.g.* Duemichen, 'Hist. Inschriften,' pl. xxviii., xxix.

[100] The strongholds which the Egyptians, under Seti and Rameses II., had occasion to attack, and some of which they appear to have garrisoned, were, with scarcely an exception, in the possession of Canaanites or Hittites. See note 98.

Egyptian notices of the power predominant in Western Asia.

The Assyrians, called Rutens by the Egyptians, were masters of the north of Syria, and of all the countries extending from Cilicia to Mesopotamia, when that district was invaded by the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty.[101] Their influence in the confederacy opposed to Egypt was gradually superseded. Up to the time when Seti I. invaded Syria, *i.e.* according to our computation about 150 years after the Exodus, they were the leaders of the confederacy, which was then broken, dispersed, and for a season crushed by repeated defeats. M. Chabas observes (p. 328) that under Rameses II. they disappear altogether, they are not even mentioned in the great campaign of his 5th year. Their name is found on a small number of monuments belonging to later reigns, but there is no indication that they had recovered their former importance.

In accordance with this we find that their last appearance in Palestine was soon after its occupation by the Israelites, when Cushan Rishathaim was finally expelled by Othniel the nephew of Caleb.

Nothing more probable than that such an event should have occurred under the eighteenth dynasty (see above, p. 460); its occurrence at the late period which the acceptance of the other chronological system would involve is inconceivable.

In place of the Rutens or Assyrians we find the Cheta in possession of Syria at the accession of Seti I. The identification of this people with the Hittites of Scripture has been questioned, chiefly on philological grounds,[102] by M. Chabas; but is still generally admitted by Egyptian scholars, and appears to rest on very sufficient evidence. It is certain that the Hittites, Canaanites, Zidonians, and Amorites, formed part of the confederacy opposed to Seti and Rameses II. We learn from the book of Judges (i. 26) that the country north of Palestine was called the land of the Hittites, that Phœnicia retained its independence, and further, that at the close of the period the whole country was in subjection to Jabin King of Canaan, the captain of whose host was "Sisera,[103] which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles."

Taking now the contemporary history of Egypt derived exclusively from public inscriptions, we have the following coincidences:—

(26.) In the first year of his reign Seti marched against the Shasous, who at that time occupied, or were masters of, the countries from Pithom to Pakanana.[104] He defeated them with great slaughter, and advanced into Mesopotamia. On a second invasion he again traversed the territory occupied by the Shasous and took several forts.

The word Shasous, as we have before seen, was a general denomination for the warlike tribes who at various times overran Palestine. About the time which the synchronism of Egyptian and Hebrew history, on our hypothesis, assigns to Seti and the Israelites, we find Eglon King of Moab in combination with the children of Ammon and Amalek, master of the country. At any time within the period, as we have also observed, the opponents whom the Pharaohs would encounter in Palestine would come under the same general designation.

The fortresses named in the inscriptions which refer to this campaign were one and all occupied by the enemies of Israel.

The Shasous conquered by Seti were in alliance with the Syrians and the Rutens: both mentioned as foes or oppressors of the Israelites.

The great object of Seti and his successor was to conquer Syria, and to occupy its principal city called Kadesh, which is probably identified by Egyptologers with Edessa, or Ems, on the Orontes.

At the close of this reign Egypt was dominant in Syria, and held some fortresses, but the power of the Cheta was unbroken, and we have no traces whatever of a permanent occupation of Palestine. As in the time of Shamgar, the Israelites were in the state described as that of Seti's foes in the inscriptions, either hidden in caves or entrenched in inaccessible strongholds.[105] The principal effect of the invasion, so far as the Hebrews were concerned, would be a diminution in the power and resources of their foes.

The transactions in the reign of Rameses II. will require very special attention. We shall best arrive at a conclusion by considering each point in detail which may tell for or against either hypothesis.

(27.) Rameses Merammon, the Sesostris[106] of

[101] For proofs see M. Brugsch, 'H. E. and G.,' and the dissertation by M. Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 318-332.

[102] *I.e.*, from the comparison of Chetan names (of which seventeen are preserved in the treaty between Rameses II. and Khetasar) with the names of Hittites found in the Bible.

[103] The name appears to be *Chetan;* it has the most marked characteristic of the names collected by M. Chabas (see note 74), viz. the termination Sera or *Sar:* see further on.

[104] It is questioned whether this means a fort in Syria or Canaan.

[105] See Brugsch, 'Recueil I.,' pl. xlv. e: "throwing away their bows they fled to *caves* in terror from his majesty." The word "caves" here is Hebrew, , magaratha = מערות.

[106] This is generally held, but is not certain. Dr. G. Ebers doubts whether Herodotus does not refer the name to Seti I., and suggests that the hieroglyphic group may perhaps be read Sesetres, or Sesetresu, which comes very near Sesostris. See 'Egypten und die Bücher Moses,' i. p. 79. 1868.

the Greeks, succeeded Seti I. It was supposed until very lately that he was very young, a mere lad, on his accession; but the researches of M. Mariette[107] have brought to light the curious and interesting fact that he had been associated with his father from infancy in the royal dignity, and that he had been admitted to the full prerogatives of a Pharaoh long before the death of Seti: in the first year after that event he is represented as surrounded with a family of twenty-seven princes and as many princesses. This is important in its bearings on Egyptian chronology. There is no doubt that he reigned full sixty-seven years, a date found lately on a monument at Tanis, but from what epoch the year is dated remains uncertain; probably from an epoch long anterior to his father's decease.[108] The argument is of still more importance in its bearing upon another biblical question. Of no king in the whole series of Pharaohs could it be asserted, in such direct contradiction of well-known facts, that he was a *new king*, rising up over Egypt: of none can it be proved more certainly that he did not at once make an entire change in the policy of this kingdom. The argument upon which much stress is laid, viz. that his lengthened reign accords with the notices in Exodus, falls with the assumption that he outlived his father some sixty-seven years.

In the 5th year of his sole reign Rameses invaded Syria. In the neighbourhood of Kadesh, on the Orontes, he defeated the confederates, who as usual had revolted when their conqueror died. The battle would almost seem to be the only one in which the king distinguished himself; it is described on numerous monuments, and forms the subject of what is called the epic poem of Pentaour.[109] The campaign was successful: one of the most important results for this inquiry was the capture, and perhaps the occupation, of some fortresses in Palestine. We have the name of Sharem, or Shalem; it is doubtful whether this is to be identified with Jerusalem; if so, it was, as we know, long after the conquest, in possession of the Jebusites; Maram and Dapur, in the land of the Amorites, are also mentioned; Bethanath, still occupied by Canaanites (see Judges i. 33); and lastly Askelon. The notices of Askelon in Judges show that it was taken at first by the Israelites (i. 18), and imply probably that it came again into the occupation of the Philistines some time later, perhaps in the time of Shamgar. See Judges iii. 31.

So far the argument remains stationary. The condition of Palestine under Rameses continues as under Seti, quite in agreement with that which we find in the 3rd chapter of Judges; Egypt commanding the high roads, occupying some fortresses taken principally from the Canaanites, but concentrating its forces and developing all its energies in its attempt to retain supremacy in Syria. We should of course expect to find among the numerous prisoners of war brought back by Rameses some Israelites, if, as we have assumed, they were then dwelling, though not dominant, in the land.

(28.) It was after the king's return to Egypt that the events occurred upon which the hypothesis rests that he reduced the Israelites of Goshen to bondage. Diodorus relates that he constructed a line of fortifications from Pelusium to Heliopolis. It is, however, proved by the monuments that such a line existed under the ancient empire, and that it had been enlarged and strengthened by his father Seti. It is also known that in the latter years of his reign Rameses effaced his father's name and substituted his own on many of the principal constructions of Egypt;[110] still there can be no reasonable doubt that he employed vast numbers of captives in the fortresses which

[107] 'Fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie, et au Soudan, d'après les ordres de S. A. le Viceroi d'Égypte, par Auguste Mariette Bey.' Paris, 1867. The second volume, in two parts, contains text and plates; the first volume is not yet published. The most important inscription, from the temple at Abydos, has been carefully analysed by M. Maspero, 1867. It belongs to the first year of the sole reign of Rameses II., who is represented as associated from his infancy with his father, and formally crowned while yet a boy. Compare Maspero, p. 29, with Mariette, p. 15. Mariette's work throws an unexpected and curious light on the character of Rameses, and on the state of Egyptian art towards the end of his reign. In the earlier inscriptions Rameses expresses the highest veneration and gratitude to his father; in the latter he effaces the name of Seti, and substitutes his own. The earlier portions of the building and inscriptions are remarkable for beauty and breadth of style; the later sculptures are incorrect, and the style detestable. See 'Fouilles,' especially p. 99. Since this note was printed, M. Mariette has withdrawn the volume here quoted from circulation, and substituted another, in which much valuable matter is suppressed.

[108] This materially affects the argument to which M. de Rougé has always attached special importance (see above, note 95). Moses could not have been born until some years after the beginning of the persecution, *i.e.*, according to M. de Rougé, Brugsch, and others, after the Syrian campaign; when Rameses is now proved to have been at least in the maturity of middle life. We thus lose the space of eighty years required by the Biblical narrative before the Exodus.

[109] This curious and important document was first explained and afterwards translated by M. de Rougé, M. Chabas, and Mr. Goodwin. The translation in Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 140, is that of M. de Rougé. The original exists in a hieratic papyrus, Sallier III., in the Select Papyri of the British Museum, and more or less complete in hieroglyphic inscriptions at Karnak and Abu Simbel.

[110] See note [107].

he enlarged, or erected on the banks of the great canal, now called the Wady Tumilat. Among these fortresses two are mentioned specially, the fort of Zaru and Pe-Ramesses. These are assumed by Brugsch to be the Pithom and Rameses of Exodus. The question is fully discussed in another part of this work. Here it is enough to observe that these two cities or forts existed previously. That which Brugsch calls Pithom, but of which the true name in Egyptian is Pa-Chetem en Zalou, was at least as old as the time of Tothmosis III. Pithom itself, the Pa-Tum of the inscriptions, the Πάτουμος of Herodotus, may have been, and probably was, in its immediate neighbourhood, but it is nowhere mentioned in connexion with Rameses. The case is much stronger for the other city.[111] Pa-Ramessou, or A-Ramessou, *i.e.* the residence of Rameses, was undoubtedly enlarged by this king: it was a city of the highest importance, the capital of a rich district, the residence of the sovereign, where he received foreign embassies, reviewed his troops, and held a magnificent court. Still it is proved by contemporary documents that it was not founded by Rameses. In the fifth year of his reign, before the great works for the defence of the frontier were constructed, Rameses received the ambassadors of the Cheta in this city, which, according to M. Brugsch, is mentioned by name in the reign of Seti.[112]

Considering, however, the great importance of this citadel, to which additions were made continually under this reign, we should expect that a large number of captives would be employed in the works, and among the captives brought into Egypt at the end of the Syrian campaign Israelites would naturally be looked for. Although it was the usual policy of Rameses to employ prisoners in the parts of his dominions most remote from their own country, there were obvious reasons why this system should be departed from in their case: there was a grim irony, quite in keeping with Egyptian character, in reducing Israelites to servitude on the scene of their forefathers' oppression; and their escape, difficult under all circumstances, could be, and, as we shall see, actually was, guarded against by measures of peculiar stringency.

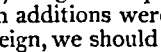
(29.) Now, that Israelites were actually employed then and there has been, though not really proved, yet shown to be so probable that nearly all Egyptian scholars accept it as a fact. M. Chabas[113] first called attention to the circumstance that the Egyptian word "Aperu" corresponds very closely to "Hebrews," the name by which the Israelites were perhaps best known to foreigners. The transcription is not quite accurate: the letter "p" is by no means the proper representation of the Hebrew "b," nor have I found any conclusive example of a substitution;[114] but the general acquiescence of Egyptologers may be regarded as a sufficient ground for admitting the identification.

Still the question remains whether these Hebrews were in the condition described in Exodus, inhabitants of the district in which

[111] The identity of this city with Rameses is the main, in fact the only substantial argument for making Moses the contemporary of Rameses II. Even were it admitted that the name, in the exact form which it takes in Exodus, was first given by Rameses, the argument, though strong, would not be conclusive, for all hold that the names of places may have been altered at successive revisions of the Pentateuch, the new and well-known name being substituted for the old, where a modern editor would give a note. The argument, moreover, has no weight at all when urged by critics who suppose that the Pentateuch was written after the Israelites were connected with Egypt under Solomon, or later. In that case the names of the district and city would of course have been taken from actual usage. I believe the truth to be as stated in the text.

[112] Brugsch, 'H. E.,' p. 156.

[113] See 'Mélanges égyptologiques,' i. p. 42-54, and ii., on Rameses and Pithom.

[114] After a repeated examination of the Semitic names transcribed on Egyptian documents, I find no instance upon which full reliance can be placed. Many names occur in which the B is represented by the Egyptian homophones. The Egyptian "p" represents the "ph" of the Hebrews. Mr. Birch concurs in this statement. The word  , Aper, or Apher, occurs in the annals of Tothmosis III. twice in an inscription at Karnak. See M. de Rougé, 'Album Photographique,' pl. lii., and is transcribed by M. de Rougé, עפרה. The exact and proper transcription of the Aperu would be עפרי, not עברי. A still stronger objection, which seems indeed insurmountable, is suggested by one account of these Aperu. In the inscription at Hamamat, under Rameses IV. (see further on), they are called Aperu n na petu Anu, *i.e.* Aperu of the Anu. The Anu are often mentioned as a warlike race in Nubia, who rebelled frequently against the Pharaohs. They are here written with a group which always represents bowmen, whether auxiliaries or enemies.

The inference is almost irresistible that these Aperu, and, if these, the others also, were Nubians, condemned to work in the quarries. See Brugsch, 'Geog. Inschriften,' iii. p. 77; and on the Anu, see the 'Excursus II.,' article Anamim. It seems after all doubtful whether Aperu is a proper name, or simply denotes workmen. Maspero says that they were, as one knows, the servants of the temple. 'Essai,' p. 22. Neither Birch nor Brugsch give this in their Dictionaries, but the etymology points to such a meaning, "Aper, to supply or prepare," and Maspero is a good authority. Aperu is given as a variant of Shenniu, *i.e.* attendants, in the Ritual, c. lxxviii. 37.

they were employed, or prisoners of war. The former alternative is generally assumed: a close examination of the original documents seems decidedly to point to the latter.

Four Egyptian documents give an account of these Aperu. Two belong to the reign of Rameses II. They are official documents of very peculiar interest. One of them was written by a certain Kawisar, an officer of the commissariat at Pa-Ramesson. He reports that he has executed his orders, which were to distribute corn to the soldiers and to the Aperu, or Apuriu, who are employed in drawing stones for the great Bekken (*i.e.* fortified enclosure) of Pa-Ramesson: the corn was delivered to a general of mercenary troops; the distribution was made monthly. In another report (which however does not mention the Aperu) he speaks of large supplies of fish for the city.

The obvious inference from this account would seem to be that persons employed in such labours, fed by rations, and under military superintendence, were captives, and not inhabitants of the district.[115] The name "Kawisar" resembles the well-known names of Cheta: Chetan officers are found in the service of Rameses, and such a man was peculiarly qualified for the office, both as a natural enemy of the Hebrews and as familiar with their language.[116]

The second document has special claims to attention, since M. Chabas has shown that it is probably the original report addressed by a scribe Keniamen to an officer of high rank, the Kazana, or General Hui,[117] of the household of Rameses. It proves that strict injunctions were given to provide food for the officers of the garrison and also for the "Aperu" who drew stones for the Pharaoh Rameses' Merammon in a district south of Memphis.

This is a strong corroboration of the conclusion that, if Israelites, they were prisoners of war. The Israelites of the Exodus, from first to last, are represented as forced to labour in their own district under Egyptian taskmasters, who were certainly not soldiers, and with a complete national organization of superintendents.

The other documents complete the argument. Aperu were employed in considerable numbers in reigns which all admit to be posterior to the Exodus. In a document of great importance, of which M. Chabas gives an account (see 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 211), we find a body of 2083 Aperu residing upon a domain of Rameses III. under the command of officers of rank called Marinas: from the signs attached to these names it is evident that they were not subjects but captives.[118] Here, again, the inference is natural that they were brought by Rameses III. on his return from a campaign in Syria. (See further on.) Another notice (see note 114) is found under Rameses IV.: 800 Aperu were employed in the quarries of Hamamat, accompanied, as in all the cases where they are mentioned, by an armed force, generally a detachment of mercenaries. With regard to the Aperu in both reigns, M. Chabas supposes that they may have remained after the Exodus as mercenaries. It may be so; if so, the same explanation would apply to the Aperu under Rameses II.; but it scarcely agrees with the descriptions of their condition, and it seems very improbable that any considerable number of Israelites should have wished or dared to stay, or that their presence would have been tolerated by the Egyptians at all for a long time after the Exodus.

It is to be observed that in every case, far from wishing to diminish the numbers of these labourers, the Egyptian kings took great pains for their maintenance; they were valuable as slaves, not objects of suspicion as disaffected and dangerous subjects.

(38.) Reverting now to the condition of Western Asia, we find that during the latter years of this reign the Cheta retained their position as the dominant power in Syria. In the twenty-first year of Rameses he made a formal treaty[119]

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[115] This inference is in fact the first which would suggest itself to a scholar looking at any of these documents. M. Brugsch observes (in the third part of his great work on Egyptian Geography, published in 1860, see p. 77), "This name, as the determinative shows, evidently belonged to a foreign people, who had been taken prisoners in the Egyptian campaigns, and condemned to work in the quarries, a custom noticed by all ancient writers on Egypt, and especially with reference to Rameses II."

[116] In the 'Mél. égypt.' M. Chabas assumes that the name is Semitic. He has since taken much pains (see 'Voy. E.', pp. 326-330) to prove that the Chetan names are altogether of a different origin. The argument stands good in the form above proposed, whichever view is taken.

[117] M. Chabas treats this as a proper name. M. de Rougé shows that it is equivalent to חַיִל, and means general of cavalry. See 'Revue archéologique,' Août, 1867. The name Hui is Egyptian, and is found under the ancient empire. This does not support Dr. Ebers' statement, that the cavalry was always under the management of Semitics in this time. See 'Ægypten,' &c., p. 229.

[118] In addition to the stake, which denotes foreigners or slaves, they have for a determinative "a leg in a trap." This is used sometimes for dwellers in general; but the proper meaning, as given by Birch ('Dict. Hier.'), is "entrap, ravish, trample;" and Ebers gives the same meaning to the word which is used in this passage.

[119] This curious document is printed in Brugsch's 'Recueil.' It has been translated, first by Brugsch, and lately by M. Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien.' Among the terms is one, to which both parties evidently attached great im-

with Chetasar, their king; both parties treating on terms of equality and pledging themselves to perpetual amity. The alliance was confirmed by the marriage of Rameses with the daughter of Chetasar. Between two great powers thus evenly balanced Palestine might be, and probably was, in a state of comparative tranquillity for a period corresponding with the uncertain interval between Eglon and Shamgar. At the close of that interval, which would cover the time of Rameses and extend into the reign of Merneptah, the sacred history represents the south of Palestine as occupied, for the first time after the Exodus, by the Philistines, and the north completely subjugated by Jabin King of Canaan.

(31.) Notices are found in papyri of this period which give some notion of the state of Palestine. The most important is that which was first analysed by Mr. Goodwin, and has since been translated and explained with remarkable ingenuity and learning by M. Chabas.[120] It recites the adventures of an officer of cavalry employed, as it would seem, on a mission into Syria towards the end of the reign of Rameses II. Whether the adventures are real, or, as M. de Rougé[121] and others maintain, the narrative is fictitious, composed for the instruction of students preparing for military service, may be uncertain, but the notices, so far as they go, are valuable, and were probably derived from persons who had been engaged in the campaigns of Rameses. A considerable number of names have been identified, some with certainty, others with more or less of probability, with cities well known from the Scriptural narrative. It is, however, to be remarked, that of these a very small proportion, and those for the most part very doubtful, belong to the interior of Palestine: and that these lie almost exclusively on the high-road, followed, as we have before seen, by the Egyptian armies. The traveller is represented in the first part of the narrative as proceeding at once to Syria,[122] where the transactions occur which occupy the greater part of the story.[123] That country was held by the Cheta, but it was in a state of general disorganisation, overrun by Shasous, and the supremacy of Egypt was evidently recognised. On his return the officer crossed the Jordan, and touched apparently at some places[124] in the north of Palestine; this part of the journey was beset by almost insurmountable difficulties: the country seems to have been almost impassable to a charioteer; until he entered Megiddo (which, as we before saw, was in possession of the Canaanites in the time of the early Judges) he had to encounter the Shasous, from whom he escapes by a precipitate flight, not without serious detriment to his person and property. The description reminds the reader of all the notices in the book of Judges which refer to periods when the Israelites were driven to their fastnesses, or hiding in caves, while the open country, or the passes, were infested by robber hordes from the adjoining deserts. At Joppa, where the authority of Egypt appears to be recognised, the journey seems to come to an end. No mention is made of Israelites in this papyrus, none indeed was to be expected:[125] the only designation for the inhabitants with whom the officer came into contact was Shasous—that which the Egyptians gave to all the nomad and pastoral tribes, probably including the Hebrews, who occupied the countries between their frontiers and Syria.

(32.) One point of great importance in reference to this and the succeeding reigns, in which the events recorded in Exodus are so generally assumed to have occurred, remains to be considered. The collection of papyri in the British Museum, of which the principal have been published by the trustees, belong for the most part to this period. They were written either under Rameses II. or his immediate successors. They indicate a very considerable development of Egyptian literature. The writing is legible, and the composition includes a varied treatment of many distinct subjects, giving a tolerably complete idea of the social and political condition of the people, especially of those employed in the district adjoining Pa-Ramesson. It was quite natural to expect that, if the Israelites were settled in Goshen, or had been very lately expelled, when those documents were written, some notices of them would be found, some allusions at least to the events preceding the Exodus. Accordingly a writer,[126] to whose industry and ingenuity we are indebted for some of the first attempts to decipher and

portance, viz. the mutual extradition of fugitives. Stress is laid upon this as bearing upon the narrative in Exodus, but with little cause: it was a condition not likely to be omitted, under any circumstances, between the owners of immense numbers of slaves and the rulers of disaffected districts.

[120] Under the attractive title, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, en Palestine, &c., au 14me siècle avant notre ère.' 1866.

[121] See 'Revue archéologique,' Août, 1867, p. 100, note 1.

[122] This is noticed by M. Chabas, p. 96; it accords with the view above stated, that the communications between Egypt and Syria were most commonly by sea.

[123] At least three sections, from p. 18 to p. 23.

[124] The places named in the first part of the fourth section are in great confusion, and, though evidently Palestinian, are not clearly identified.

[125] M. Chabas ('Voyage,' p. 220) draws an argument against the presence of Israelites from the mention of camels as used for food; but the explanation of the passage is doubtful, and the Shasous named in it were nomads of the desert, who, as M. Chabas observes, ate camel's flesh.

[126] Mr. Dunbar Heath, 'Papyri of the Exodus.'

explain the select papyri, believed, and for a time persuaded others, that he found abundance of such notices. He speaks of a true, original, and varied picture of many of the very actors in the Exodus, a Jannes mentioned five times, a Moses twice, a Balaam son of Zippor, and the sudden and mysterious death of a prince royal, &c. Since his work was written all the passages adduced by him have been carefully investigated,[127] and every indication of the presence of the Israelites has disappeared. The absence of such indications supplies, if not a conclusive, yet a very strong argument against the hypothesis which they were adduced to support. It may be added that the descriptions of that part of Egypt which had been occupied by the Israelites happen to be both full and graphic in these documents, and they represent it as remarkably rich, fertile, and prosperous, the centre of an extensive commerce, occupied by a vast native population, a land of unceasing festivities and enjoyment, such as the district might well be some centuries after the departure of the Israelites, such as it certainly was not during the period of their cruel persecution, and of the long series of plagues which fell on their oppressors.

(33.) We now come to the reign of Merneptah, in which M. Brugsch, and many distinguished scholars, consider that the Exodus took place. Merneptah succeeded his father Rameses II., and is said to have reigned twenty years.[128] The notices of this Pharaoh in M. Brugsch's 'Histoire d'Égypte' are but scanty; few monuments were erected in his reign; even his father's tomb was left unfinished; and the indications of a decline in art, and exhaustion of national resources observable towards the close of his father's reign, are numerous and strong. There are not, however, on the monuments, or in the papyri of that period, any notices of internal disturbances towards the end of his reign; it can be shown that the eastern frontier was vigilantly guarded, and nomad tribes admitted under due precautions to feed their cattle in the extensive district occupied by the herds of Pharaoh.[129]

The beginning of this reign was, however, signalised by the complete discomfiture of an invasion, which presents some points of peculiar interest in reference to general history as well as to our present inquiry.[130] The names of the confederates are partly African (not negro, but Libyan), and partly Asiatic or European; if M. de Rougé's conclusions are admitted, they consisted of Tyrrhenians or Etrurians, Siculi, Sardinians, Achæans, and Lycians, the first appearance of these well-known names in history. None of the names here mentioned enter into the register of ancient people given in the tenth of Genesis.[131] They were therefore evidently unknown to Moses, who must, however, have had his attention specially drawn to them had he returned to Egypt at that time. The ravages committed by these invaders on the north-west of Egypt are described in language which has an important bearing on a point already discussed; "nothing," the king says, "has been seen like it even in the times of the kings of lower Egypt, when the whole country was in their power and reduced to a state of desolation."

Merneptah appears to have conducted the campaign with considerable ability: he boasts of the supplies of corn by which he saved his people in some districts from perishing by famine, and of a successful incursion into the enemies' territories: unlike the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who led his own army and perished with it in the Red Sea,[132] but like Louis XIV., of whom the reader is constantly reminded in this ostentatious period, Merneptah did not expose his sacred person to the chances of war: "his grandeur was chained to the bank of the river by the divine command." The result was a complete victory, the enemies were driven out of Egypt, vast numbers of prisoners and spoils of great value rewarded the conquerors, obelisks were erected to commemorate the event, and the customary self-laudations of the Pharaoh were accepted and echoed by a grateful people. M. de Rougé observes that the terms in which the Egyptian writer[133] de-

[127] See Mr. Goodwin's article in the 'Cambridge Essays' for 1858. This remarkable essay attracted little notice in England, but made an epoch in one of the most difficult and important branches of Egyptian studies. This opinion is completely confirmed by M. Chabas and M. de Rougé, 'Moïse et les Hébreux,' p. 6.

[128] This is quite uncertain: different recensions of Manetho give nineteen and forty years. The highest regnal year in Egyptian documents is the seventh.

[129] See 'Excursus II.,' p. 1. The passage here referred to is quoted and translated by M. Chabas, 'Mél. égypt.,' ii. p. 155, from the papyrus in the British Museum, Anastasi vi. pl. iv. l. 13.

[130] M. de Rougé gives a full account of the inscription at Karnak (since published by M. Duemichen) which describes this invasion. See 'Revue archéologique,' Juillet et Août, 1867. The general tenour was known to M. Brugsch; see 'H. E.,' p. 172. The identifications of M. de Rougé are maintained with equal learning and acuteness, and, as I have observed (since this note was written), they are for the most part accepted by Dr. Ebers, p. 154.

[131] It is more than probable that every name in that register was known in Egypt, in Phœnicia, or Assyria, before Moses wrote; names not mentioned by him were first known in Egypt under the nineteenth dynasty. If the register had been written under the kings, as M. Ewald assumes, the absence of these great names is inconceivable.

[132] See notes on Exodus.

[133] 'Revue archéologique,' l. c. M. Rougé

scribes his triumph are in striking opposition to the severity with which late historians have judged his character.

M. Brugsch lays some stress on an inscription which proves that Merneptah lost a son who is named on a monument at Tanis.[134] This he connects with the death of Pharaoh's first-born; but it is evident from that inscription that Merneptah lived some time after his son's death, certainly a longer time than can be reconciled with the account in Exodus.

The little that is actually known of the later years of this Pharaoh militates against the assumption that they were disturbed by a series of tremendous losses. The papyri written about that time or a few years later represent the district of Rameses or Goshen as enjoying peace and remarkable prosperity (see above), and there is reason to believe that the Cheta and Egypt were still in alliance (see the last note): a state of affairs which ensured peace on the eastern frontier.

On the other hand, the facts thus made known, and the probable inferences from them, harmonise with the account of the condition of Palestine in Judges iii. and iv. Jabin, king of Canaan, obtained the complete mastery of the north at the close of the period. The designation of this king is obscure; Canaan can scarcely be the name of the whole country or of the whole people descended from the son of Ham. It is possible that Jabin may have taken his title from the great fortress in the north, Pakanana, of which mention is repeatedly made in the campaigns of Seti and Rameses II., retaining that title after his occupation of Hazor. In that case he was a Cheta, whether or not we are to identify that people with the Hittites. The name of the captain of his host, Sisera, is still more striking. It bears the closest possible resemblance to the principal Chetan names in the treaty with Rameses, of which one main characteristic is the termination Sar (see note 103). Sisera's position is altogether peculiar, and the most natural explanation of it is that he was the chief of the confederates of Syria, and as such commanding the forces of Jabin. The number of chariots, 900, as I have already remarked, corresponds most remarkably with the 892 taken by Thothmosis III., after defeating the confederates of Syria on the same battle-field of Megiddo.

The important question of dates has still to be considered. The chronology even of this comparatively late period may still be regarded as open to question: but at present nearly all, if not all, Egyptian scholars consider it certain that the year 1320 occurred in the reign of Merneptah. This rests on calculations too lengthy and difficult to be here discussed: the agreement of scholars may suffice, especially as no one assigns an earlier date to the reign. But we have thus very little more than 300 years, at the utmost 320, between the Exodus and the building of the temple. When we deduct from this number the 40 years in the wilderness and some 30 years up to the death of Joshua on the one hand, and on the other at least 100 from the death of Eli to the building of the temple, we get only 150 years for the whole period of the Judges, including the long government of Eli: little more in short than 100 years for the interval between Joshua and Eli. The events which the most sceptical criticism accepts as historical can by no possibility be compressed within so limited an interval: 200 years is the very least that any manipulation of the narrative can elicit for those transactions; the contradiction is fatal either to the hypothesis of Egyptologers or to the Hebrew records, *i.e.* either to a conjecture resting on coincidences which scarcely bear a searching criticism, or to written documents which all scholars admit to contain a series of authentic transactions. On the other hand, if the reign of Merneptah be assumed to coincide, as we have shown to be probable, with the ascendancy of the Chetan Jabin or Sisera, we have as elsewhere a very near approximation to complete agreement: Hebrew chronologers fixing the date of the temple building at 1010, and the defeat of Jabin somewhere about 1320.[135]

(34.) Little is known of the interval between Merneptah and Rameses III.: that it was a period of weakness and disturbance is tolerably certain, and as such it may supply arguments for either hypothesis, for the Israelites would be left in peace whether they were in the wilderness or in Palestine: if the calculations of Brugsch and other scholars can be depended upon, the duration of the interval was some 33 years, nor can there be much room for doubt, since the dates of Merneptah and Ra-

translates the passage addressed to Merneptah, 'Bonheur extrême dans ton retour à Thèbes en vainqueur. On traine ton char avec les mains. Les chefs garrottés sont devant toi, et tu vas les conduire à ton père Amon, mari de sa mère.' Anastasi, iv. pl. v. l. 1, 2.

[134] The defunct prince is represented in the act of offering a libation and incense to Suteh, the god of Avaris. The deity wears a crown exactly resembling that of the Chetan king. It is curious, and may indicate special amity between Merneptah and that family, with which his own was nearly connected: he may have been a son of the Chetan princess married by Rameses II. in the twenty-second year of his reign.

[135] This odd coincidence is unsought. The dates, 1340 for Jabin, 1320 for Barak, are given by Browne, 'Ordo Sæclorum,' p. 281. Thenius, 'Exegetisches Handbuch,' vol. iii. p. 469, gives 1429 for the death of Joshua, adding, "Von da bis 1188 Othniel, Ehud, Jair, Deborah und Barak, Gideon, Abimelech, Thola, Jair" (a misprint for Jephtha). This leads nearly to the same conclusion, and gives ample scope for the events of the scriptural narrative.

meses III. are generally accepted. The importance of this calculation will be shown presently.

Rameses III. was the last Egyptian king whose reign was signalised by great victories in Syria. The events are recorded in numerous inscriptions at Medinet Abou, published by M. Duemichen: a manuscript of great extent in the possession of Mr. Harris[136] has not yet been printed, but the contents so far as can be ascertained confirm the inscriptions, especially in the historical details. The first years were occupied by wars with the same confederation of Libyans and Mediterraneans who had been repulsed by Merneptah: these wars began in the fifth and were terminated in the twelfth year of his reign. We have, moreover, notices of an expedition into Syria in the eighth year, probably in the interval between two campaigns in Africa. A decisive battle was fought in Northern Syria, in which the Cheta are represented as undergoing a complete defeat.[137] A long list of places attacked or taken in this campaign is given by M. Brugsch ('Geographische Inschriften,' vol. ii. p. 75), and some are identified with names well known in Scripture. Of these by far the larger number belong to Syria,[138] and the general result from the notices of the war in the inscription would seem to be that this Pharaoh, like his predecessors, traversed Palestine rapidly,[139] not diverging from the usual high road, nor losing time in the siege of strongholds occupied by a people who were certainly not confederates of his formidable enemies. Among the conquered chiefs represented on the walls of Medinet Abou are found the king of the Cheta and the king of the Amorites: from other notices it is known that both designations at that period belong to the district north of Palestine.

Bringing these facts to bear upon the two hypotheses, we observe that, on the assumption that the Exodus took place under Merneptah, the campaign of Rameses III. would exactly coincide with the entrance of Joshua; and inasmuch as this king reigned at least twenty-six years,[140] the conquest of Canaan would have been begun and nearly completed while his ascendancy was undisputed. The improbability is obvious.

On the other hand, we have the following indications in support of the opposite hypothesis. Accepting the Aperu as Hebrews, we find that a considerable number, evidently prisoners of war, were employed on the royal domain in this reign, and in the quarries of Hamamat under his immediate successor (see note 114). We observe also that after the overthrow of Jabin the peace of Palestine was undisturbed, as might be expected after the discomfiture of the Chetan confederacy, when the Pharaohs were occupied with the internal affairs of Egypt.[141] The outbreak of the Midianites, described in the sixth of Judges, took place some years later, and was probably a result of the increasing weakness of the monarchy. It will be remembered, however, that the general ascendancy of Egypt in Syria and Mesopotamia was unimpaired to the very end of the twentieth dynasty, an era which, according to all systems of chronology, synchronises with the termination of the period embraced in the book of Judges. Palestine in the mean time went through a series of alternate struggles and successes. That Israel was not crushed or absorbed by the great empires between whom its little territory lay, and by whom it was ultimately subjugated, may be attributed, under God's providence, to their mutual rivalry and nearly balanced power; it was frequently overrun by nomad hordes and conterminous nations, Midianites, Amalekites, Ammonites, and Philistines; but the character of the people was gradually matured, and prepared for the vast development of its resources and institutions under

[136] This is one of the most beautiful and interesting of existing papyri; it has been lately purchased for the British Museum, and will be published and translated by Dr. Birch, a scholar to whom Egyptian students are under the very deepest obligation.

[137] Rameses III. employed a large fleet in this war, and of course transported the greater part of his forces into Syria by sea. See Brugsch and De Rougé.

[138] The only names which are held to belong to Palestine proper are each and all questionable: Jamnia, Azer, Duma, Hebron, alone are identified by Brugsch; the last is more probably the name of a city often mentioned in the inscriptions referring to Northern Syria. A repeated examination of the names in this list, and of those which occur in Duemichen's inscriptions, confirm my impression that Rameses did not occupy Palestine either before or after his Syrian campaign; some few places he may probably have captured on his way. If, however, Chibur or Hebron be the city in Judæa, it would be a strong argument that Rameses III. found the Hebrews there; the Canaanitish name was Kirjath Arba; the old name given at its first building before Abraham, was probably restored after the conquest.

[139] The Philistines were in possession of their five cities in the time of Rameses III., and are represented among his captives: see Brugsch, 'G. I.,' ii. pl. xi. This agrees with the notices of a considerable advance of the Philistines in Judges iii. They probably retook the cities which had been conquered by Joshua.

[140] The date 26 is found in the Serapeum of Memphis: Brugsch, 'H. E.,' p. 193.

[141] Rameses III. and his successors were employed in developing the resources of Egypt, and in building palaces and temples. Rameses IV. boasts that he had erected as many monuments in a few years as Rameses II. in his long reign. M. de Rougé, 'Études égypt.' p. 29. Rameses speaks also of victories in Asia over the Rutennu: see 'Revue archéol.' 1869, p. 277.

Saul, David, and Solomon, in whose reigns it vindicated its claim to equality with the contemporary empires in Africa and Asia.

It would be too much to expect that the conclusions to which the writer of this dissertation has been irresistibly led will be accepted by those who are satisfied with a system which rests on the authority of many great names; but the greatest care has been taken throughout to separate the facts, which are positively ascertained, from the inferences which must to a certain extent vary according to the state of the reader's mind, his judgment, or his prepossessions. Those facts are stated with all possible care, and with as much of completeness as is compatible with the limits of an Excursus. They have been submitted to the judgment of scholars, and have an independent value; nor, although every year brings important additions to our knowledge of the texts and of their interpretation, is it to be feared that what has hitherto been gained will be overthrown, or the fair and legitimate inferences be considerably modified. The truth of the scriptural narrative does not need such support, but some important links are supplied; the series and meaning of events are better understood in the light thrown upon them by contemporary documents which present coincidences and suggest combinations hitherto unknown, or imperfectly appreciated, by the students of Holy Writ.

Since this Essay was printed, two points of great importance to the argument have been illustrated. (1.) In the work lately published by Duemichen, 'The Fleet of an Egyptian Queen from the seventeenth century before our Era,' we have an account of an expedition into Poumt, *i.e.* Arabia. It proves that a considerable navy was fitted out early under the 18th dynasty; on one plate (xxviii.) the gradual improvement in ship-building is shown by drawings from the 6th, 12th, 17th, and 18th dynasties; on two ships the transport of horses and chariots is represented. (2.) M. Lieblein has published in the last number of the 'Revue archéologique' (October, 1868) a letter to M. de Rougé, in which he gives very strong reasons for bringing down the date of Rameses II. to the twelfth century. Without accepting all his conclusions, we can scarcely resist the impression that the lowest date hitherto assigned to the 18th dynasty is remarkably confirmed by his arguments. See also 'Zeitschrift,' 1869, p. 122, where the same writer fixes the date of Rameses II. at 1134 B.C. This argument, however, rests on genealogical calculations, which are always open to objection.

The writer has lately ascertained that the copper-mines in the peninsula of Sinai were not worked by the Egyptians from the time when they obtained supplies of copper from Syria, *i.e.* from the reign of Tothmosis I. to the seventeenth year of Tothmosis III., when an expedition was sent under military escort—the last occasion on which the presence of Egyptians is noticed. There were therefore no Egyptians settled on the peninsula at the date assigned to the Exodus in this Essay. This important fact is established, though without reference to the Exodus, in an essay by Dr. Geasler, in the Egyptian 'Zeitschrift,' for October and November, 1870.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS ATTESTED BY EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS, AND OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH HEBREW HISTORY.

Dynasties.	Transactions known from Contemporary Monuments.	Connection with Scriptural History.	
		According to this Excursus.	According to Brugsch and others.
XIIth Dynasty: seven Pharaohs, from Amenemha I. to Amenemha IV., and a queen regnant.	A period of great prosperity; foreigners, especially from Western Asia, received and promoted under the early kings; and under the later kings works of extraordinary magnitude executed to secure the irrigation of Egypt, and to guard against the recurrence of famine.	Abraham received and favoured. Joseph saves Egypt from famine; the Pharaoh master of the resources of Egypt.	
XIIIth to XVIIth Dynasty:	The early Pharaohs still masters of Egypt. Invasion of the Hyksos. Salatis master of Avaris, *i.e.* Tanis, or Zoan. Egypt divided: the worship of Set, Sutech, or Baal, established by the Hyksos in the north; wars between the Theban dynasty and Apepi or Apophis, the last king of the Hyksos.	The Israelites in Goshen rapidly increasing and occupying the whole district, but in a condition of dependence, or partial servitude.	Abraham in Egypt under the Hyksos. Joseph minister of Apophis.
XVIIIth Dynasty:			
Aahmes I. (Amosis)	Aahmes I. or Amosis captures Avaris and expels the Hyksos. Buildings of great extent undertaken or completed with the aid of forced labourers or mercenaries. The worship of the Theban deities re-established.	Beginning of a systematic persecution of the Israelites, who are employed as forced labourers in restoring or building forts and magazines in their own district.	The Israelites are supposed to remain during the whole period of the 18th dynasty in undisturbed possession of the district of Goshen.
Nefertari.	The Egyptian Queen, a Nubian by birth, possessed of great influence, both before and after the death of Aahmes.	Moses saved and adopted by an Egyptian princess.	
Amenotep I. or Amenophis.	Expeditions into Ethiopia: the Queen-sister in power; succeeding as Regent.	Flight of Moses into Midian.	
Tothmosis I.	Expeditions into Nubia and Mesopotamia; immense increase of the Egyptian power.		
Tothmosis II. and Hatasou.	First part of the reign prosperous; no indication of foreign or intestine war; latter part of the reign a blank, followed by a general revolt of the confederates in Syria. Hatasou, queen regnant, and retaining power for seventeen or twenty-two years.	Return of Moses, the Exodus, destruction of Pharaoh and his army.	

Dynasties.	Transactions known from Contemporary Monuments.	Connection with Scriptural History. According to this Excursus.	According to Brugsch and others.
Tothmosis III.	First attempt to recover the ascendancy in Syria in the 22nd year. Wars: repeated incursions into Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, terminating in the fortieth year of this reign	The Israelites in the wilderness; entrance into Palestine of Joshua in the fortieth year after the Exodus.	
Amenotep (Amenophis) II.	Expedition into Syria by sea: overthrow of the confederated nations to the north of Palestine.	Progress of the Israelites in Palestine.	
Tothmosis IV.	A reign without notable occurrences.		
Amenotep III.	A prosperous reign; supremacy maintained in Syria and Mesopotamia: no intimations of warfare in Palestine: the Queen Tei of foreign origin favours a new and purer form of religion.		
Amenotep IV. or Khu-en-Aten. Princes not considered legitimate.	The religious revolution completed: followed by a period of disturbance and exhaustion.	Cushan Rishathaim in Palestine.	
Horemheb.	End of eighteenth dynasty.		
XIXth Dynasty: Rameses I.	No considerable events; notices of war with the Cheta, who from this time are dominant in Syria.	The interval between Cushan Rishathaim, and Jabin, extends to the latter reigns in this dynasty. Palestine remains, to a great extent, in the possession of the Amorites and other people of Canaan; sometimes overrun by neighbouring people, and towards the close of the period subject to the Philistines in the south, and the Cheta, or Hittites, in the north.	
Seti I.	The Shasous or Nomads from Egypt to Syria, and the Cheta and nations of Mesopotamia, broken and subdued by a series of invasions. The empire reaches its highest point of civilisation and power.		
Rameses II.	During many years Rameses II. is co-regent with his father with royal dignity. On his accession as sole monarch, he invades Syria, defeats the Cheta, with whose king, however, he afterwards contracts an alliance on equal terms, marrying his daughter. Captives are employed in great numbers in building, restoring, or enlarging fortresses, cities, and temples; among them Aperu at Pa-Rameses and Memphis. The reign lasts sixty-seven years, but the date of its commencement, whether from his father's death, or his admission to royalty, is uncertain.		First beginning of the persecution of the Israelites; the birth, early life, and exile of Moses.
Merneptah.	Beginning of reign signalised by victory over Libyan and Mediterranean invaders: no expeditions into Asia: general state of amity with the Cheta: eastern frontier of Egypt carefully guarded: indications of unbroken peace and prosperity in the district about Pa-Rameses.		The plagues of Egypt, followed by the Exodus.

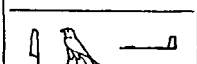
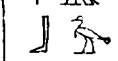
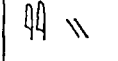
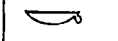
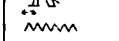
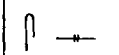
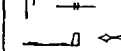
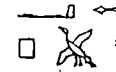
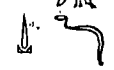
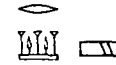
Dynasties.	Transactions known from Contemporary Monuments.	Connection with Scriptural History.	
		According to this Excursus.	According to Brugsch and others.
Seti II., Siptah; close of XIXth Dynasty.	A period not distinguished by foreign wars: letters, however, flourish, and the nation appears to be peaceful and contented.	Palestine in a state of depression, Philistines in the south, Jabin in the north; revolt against Jabin, overthrow of Sisera, war against Jabin continued for some years.	The Israelites in the wilderness.
XXth Dynasty: Rameses III.	A long series of successful wars in Africa and Asia: Palestine traversed, Syria invaded, and the Cheta overthrown. The reign lasts at least twenty-seven years. Aperu employed on the royal domains.	Israelites recover possession of Palestine after the overthrow of Jabin.	The conquest of Palestine begun under Joshua.
Rameses IV.	A peaceful reign occupied chiefly in great buildings. Aperu, captives of war, employed in the quarries.	The events recorded in the book of Judges after the time of Deborah and Barak.	The entire series of events from the passage over the Jordan to the close of the book of Judges.
Rameses V. to XI.	A period of uncertain duration, the reigns generally short and undistinguished.		
Rameses XII.	In this reign the Egyptians retain an acknowledged pre-eminence in Syria and Mesopotamia.		
Rameses XIII.	Close of the twentieth dynasty.		

ESSAY II.

ON EGYPTIAN WORDS IN THE PENTATEUCH.

ONE important result of late Egyptian researches is the establishment of a complete system of transcription of Hebrew and Egyptian characters. At present no doubt remains as to the exact correspondence of the Hebrew letters with phonetic signs, or groups of common occurrence in papyri and monumental inscriptions. An attempt will be here made to bring this result to bear upon the transcription and explanation of the names, titles, and other words of Egyptian origin in the Pentateuch.[1] In the first place, the Hebrew word will be represented in those Egyptian characters which are accepted by all Egyptologers as the exact, and for the most part the invariable, equivalents. In the next place, the meaning of the Egyptian words thus represented will be investigated. In no case will any doubtful transcription be admitted: nor will any meaning be proposed for which conclusive authority cannot be produced from monuments or papyri of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, or from still earlier periods. If the interpretation thus elicited give a clear, complete, and satisfactory meaning, one in perfect accordance with the context, and the evident intention of the writer of the Pentateuch, there can be no question as to its value, whether in regard to the bearings upon the exegesis of the Book or upon the question of authorship. It is highly improbable that any Hebrew born and brought up in Palestine, within the period extending from the Exodus to the accession of Solomon, would have had the knowledge of the Egyptian language which will thus be shown to have been possessed by the writer; it is certain that no author would have given the words without any explanation, or even indication, of their meaning, had he not known that his readers would be equally familiar with them.

The following table, which gives the Hebrew characters and the corresponding phonetic signs or letters in Egyptian, will enable the reader to judge for himself of the accuracy of the transcription. The transcription in Roman characters is that which has been lately proposed by M. de Rougé, and accepted by Lepsius, Brugsch, and other Egyptologers. See 'Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache,' &c., 1866.

Hebrew.	Egyptian.	Conventional Transcription.	The nearest equivalent in ordinary characters.
א		ȧ, or a	a
ב		b	b
ג		ḳ	g
ד		ṭ	d
ה		h	h
ו		u	u
ח		ḥ, or χ	h, or ch, hard
ט		+ t	t, or th
י		ī	i, or ee
כ		k	k
ל		l, or r	l, or r
מ		m	m
נ		n	n
ס		s	s
ע		ā	a, o, or ao
פ		p, or f	p, ph, or f
צ		ṯ	z, or ts
ק		ḳ	k
ר		r	r
ש		ṡ	sh, or s
ת		t	th, or t

In addition to the phonetic letters in this list there are many homophones, and syllabic signs, representing the combination of two or more letters. Full lists of these are given by Mr. Birch in the first and last volumes of the latest edition of Bunsen's 'Egypt;' and by M. de Rougé, in the 'Chrestomathie,' now in course of publication. These signs will be explained when they occur in this excursus: they are especially important in

[1] This Essay was printed in 1868. Since that time Dr. Ebers' work has appeared, to which allusion is occasionally made in the notes.

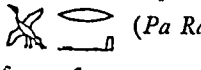
reference to the names of places and official designations.

It must be borne in mind that the vowels are of secondary importance both in Hebrew and Egyptian. They might be disregarded in the transcription were it not that certain affinities between some consonants and vowels are observable in both languages.

The first name in the Bible of purely Egyptian origin, form, and meaning, is Pharaoh.

פַּרְעֹה

The vocalisation and diacritic points show that the Hebrews read this Par-aoh, not Pa-raoh. This is important, since the name, whatever it might signify, was well known as the proper official designation of the kings of Egypt, and its correct pronunciation must have been familiar to the translators of the Pentateuch, and probably also to the punctuators of the Bible. The cuneiform inscriptions have the same division, Pir-u, not Pi-ru.

The transcription gives one of these forms:  (*Pa Ra*), or, adopting a syllabic form of very common occurrence, *i. e.* Per, or Phar, פַר, and the elongated form which more exactly represents עֹה, we have (Par-aoh), or one of the ordinary variants of this well-known word.

The first of these transcriptions gives a clear and not improbable meaning, viz., 'The Sun.' Ra is the well-known designation of the sun from sunrise to sunset; and it is certain that the King of Egypt was regarded as the favourite or living representative of Ra: the question is, whether this was the usual and formal designation of the king, recognised by his subjects and known to foreigners.

Several arguments are used in support of this assumption.

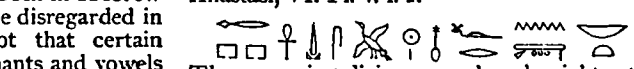
1. From a very early period, long before the Hebrews came into contact with the Egyptians, the sign , pronounced Ra, was the first and most prominent word in the cartouche, or ring, which contained the official name of every Pharaoh, that is, the name which he assumed at his accession.

But this word was not read apart from the other words in the ring, in most cases it was read at the end, not at the beginning of the designation; it had not the article prefixed, and could not therefore be pronounced Pa Ra, or Pharaoh.

2. The king is always called Si Ra, son of Ra. This designation comes between the two rings. It is very ancient, being first borne by Chafra or Chephren. See M. de Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 56.

But this is in reality an argument against the assumption. The king was not likely to be called both Son of Ra, and The Ra.

3. The word Pa Ra actually occurs as a title of Merneptah Hotephima, the son of Rameses II., in a contemporary papyrus, Anastasi, VI. Pl. v. l. 2.



The sovereign, living, sound, and mighty, *the good Sun* of the whole land.

But "the good Sun" here is not a title, properly speaking. It is simply one of the numerous epithets applied by the Egyptians to their king; a fact sufficiently evident from the addition of the adjective good.[2] The title in this passage is the first word , however, that may be read and explained.

4. A stronger argument is drawn from the Papyrus Rollin (No. 1888), which gives an account of the trial and execution of a sorcerer under Rameses III. It is explained by M. Chabas, in his curious and valuable work, 'Le Papyrus magique d'Harris.' He writes thus (p. 173, n. 2), ", Pera, le Soleil, Memph. *ϕpa*, Heb. פַּרְעֹה, designation ordinaire des rois d'Egypt." This seems conclusive, considering the high authority which always attaches to M. Chabas' opinion. It must, however, be observed that no other passage is adduced, nor, so far as I am aware, can be adduced, in support of the statement that it is the ordinary designation of the sovereign; and in this passage the word is understood by Mr. Deveria, and by M. Pleyte (who has lately published the papyrus) to mean "the Sun God," to whom the frustration of the sorcerer is attributed.[3] It is true that the kings of Egypt were called "Horus," or the "Crowned Hawk" (the Sun God, as symbol of victory), a title taken at their accession, and borne upon their standard; but this was equivalent to the epithet Si Ra, Son of Ra, and constitutes, therefore, an argument against the assumption, which, if not disproved, must be regarded as not proven.

We have now to consider the other and well-known form, , more commonly as above, in the title of Merneptah, . If the transcription Per-ao, or Phar-ao, can be relied upon, of which we have presently to consider the evidence, the proof of the identity of the title with Pha-

[2] Thus Rameses II. is called "Ra, the life of the world," not as an appellation, but an epithet. Mariette, 'Abydos,' pl. 18, l. 36.

[3] Mr. Goodwin observes, "I am now convinced that Pa-Ra in the Rollin Papyrus means the Sun, or God, and not, as I supposed ten years ago when I first deciphered that papyrus, the king or Pharaoh." Mr. Goodwin's remarks, quoted in these notes, are taken from a letter lately received on this Essay, which was forwarded to him by the writer in 1868.

raoh will be conclusive, for the following reasons:—

The regular title of the King of Egypt, the title, *i. e.*, as distinguished from honorary epithets, by which it is always accompanied, is , written also , and , or . These forms occur very frequently under the ancient Empire, in the inscriptions of the Denkmæler of Lepsius, and in those examined and illustrated by M. de Rougé, 'Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières Dynasties de Manéthon.' The simpler form is more commonly found in the earlier inscriptions. On monuments of the 19th and following dynasties the latter is almost exclusively used. The meaning of the group is not questioned, viz., the great house, or the great double house, *i. e.*, the royal palace: nor is it doubted that it stands absolutely for the sovereign. It is further to be observed that whenever the sovereign is spoken of as such, not by his proper name, or by his distinctive official name, this and no other designation is found. In official letters, in reports and in treaties, this designation generally precedes the proper and official names: in narratives, when the name of the king is not given, it is used precisely in the same way as Pharaoh in the Bible.[4] There can be no doubt but that this was the title which to Egyptians and foreigners represented the person of the king.

It is perhaps difficult to present the full force of this argument; but no one can look through the Papyrus D'Orbiney, or other papyri of the 19th and 20th dynasties, without feeling that, so far as the usage is concerned, we have in this group the exact equivalent of Pharaoh. It is the group which would necessarily be used if Genesis were translated into ancient Egyptian. Pharaoh alone would represent to a Hebrew the central group in the Egyptian formula:—"His majesty *the Sovereign*, full of life, health, and might."

But the transcription presents a difficulty, which for a long time prevented Egyptian scholars from recognising the identity of the designations. The group is undoubtedly equivalent to פ, or "Pi" in the names of cities, as in Pithom, Pihahiroth, &c. M. de Rougé, however, and M. Brugsch, men of the highest eminence among Egyptologers, whose authority on such a point is especially important, hold that the original and proper pronunciation of was "per," or "pere," in Hebrew פר.[5] It is possible that the r, by the common process of phonetic decay, was gradually disused in a word of common occurrence, but it may have been, and probably was, retained in a title of such dignity, especially as it preceded the vowel sound "a o."

Another difficulty is presented by the dual form. If actually represented two distinct houses, it would be read either Pere pere or Pere-ti: but as representing not a numerical dual, but a form of majesty, the old pronunciation might be, and probably was, retained unchanged. M. Brugsch (D. H., p. 452) gives several instances which seem to prove that though the sign of the house-plan is doubled, it was pronounced in the singular. However this may be, it is a sufficient answer to the objection that the original form, as we have already seen, the form most commonly found in inscriptions unquestionably much older than the Pentateuch, was [6], of which the nearest possible transcription in Hebrew is פרעה, Pharaoh.

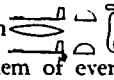
Another argument, which may be regarded as conclusive, has been adduced by M. C Lenormant, and Professor Lauth, a distinguished Egyptologer. It is clear that

[4] The word occurs ten times in seven lines of the Papyrus D'Orbiney, from p. x. l. 9, to p. xi. l. 4. It has almost invariably the addition of , living, sound, and mighty; and is generally preceded by "honef," his majesty

[5] See 'Chrestomathie égyptienne,' p. 79, and 'Dictionnaire hieroglyphique,' pp. 452, 482-3. This is questioned by M. Page Renouf, a very high authority; but a reference to Mr. Birch's Dictionary, in Bunsen's 'Egypt,' vol. v. p. 464, will shew the invariable connection between and , and one variant at least of for points in the same direction. I believe M. de Rougé to be, as usual, right in his conclusion. See also M. Chabas, 'Pap. Mag. Harris,' p. 48, and 'Mél. ég.' ii. p. 204. The group is found in ancient inscriptions, and proves the phonetic value of the shorter form. Mr. Goodwin observes, "there can be no doubt that was originally par:" he adds, "I agree with your remark that in such a title the pronunciation would very probably be retained."

[6] Thus, for instance, M. de Rougé renders suten rech (*i.e.*, near relative, perhaps grandson) du Pharaon, 'Rech.' p. 97. Numerous inscriptions in the Denkmæler, Abt. II., leave no doubt as to the usage. I find that Dr. Ebers adopts the same view, and considers it as unquestionably correct, p. 264. Thus also, Duemichen, who gives an example from the time of Tothmosis III. See 'Fleet of an Egyptian Queen,' pl. vi.

this transcription exactly explains the assertion of Horapollo, 1, 61; viz. that οἶκος μέγας, "the great house," is the true meaning of the hieroglyphic group which formally represents the Egyptian king, and which therefore is the equivalent of the Hebrew Pharaoh.

Other derivations of the word have been proposed, more or less unsatisfactory. The late Duke of Northumberland suggested that it might be identified with the Uræus (in Egyptian  , ārāt), the basilisk on the diadem of every Pharaoh. To this the objections are insuperable. The transcription is inexact; the word is never found as a royal designation; and when the sign stands alone it represents a female deity.

The identification with the Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ was natural. It is the general designation of a king; but it appears to represent Pa-Oer, a word constantly employed in the texts to represent a prince, whether native or foreign, but which is never applied to the Pharaoh. Mr. Birch has lately shown the writer two passages in the 5th volume of the Denkmæler, pl. 53, in which , or , appears to stand for Pharaoh. It would seem, however, to be a proper name, not a title or general designation.

פוטיפרע. Potiphera,
and
פוטיפר, Potiphar.

The first part of both names is admitted to correspond to the Egyptian , Pa-ti, "the given," *i.e.*, a person devoted to, dependent upon, &c. Instances are given by Champollion (not in the Grammar, but in the Précis), and by Rosellini, who says that the form occurs frequently in the name , Patipara, of which פוטיפרע is an exact transcription. The name signified "devoted to Ra," the most natural designation for the High Priest of On or Heliopolis, the head-quarters of Sun worship. This derivation is well known and universally accepted. It may perhaps be used as an additional argument that , Pa Ra, represented the Sun-God, not the Sovereign.

The other name presents more difficulty. Gesenius and others assume that Potiphar is simply an abbreviation or a variant of Potiphera. This is very improbable. The transcription of Egyptian words in Hebrew is now admitted by scholars to be exceedingly accurate, and the omission of the characteristic letter ā, , ȳ, would be without a parallel. The meaning of the word must be "devoted to Par," or Phar. If the transcription of , פר, Phar, be accepted (see above) Potiphar would signify devoted to, or dependent upon the house or palace, and would be written in Egyptian Though this name does not occur in the texts it seems to be in accordance with the usage of the language,[7] and is a very suitable designation for the captain of Pharaoh's bodyguard. The priest thus takes his name from the deity to whose service he is attached, the courtier from his master's house.

אסנת
Asenath, wife of Joseph.

The first syllable may be transcribed by , the exact phonetic equivalent, or by either of two well-known groups , "as,"[8] or , the name of Isis, which has the same phonetic value.

The second part may be read , with the determinative or any of the numerous variants. It represents the goddess Neit, or Neith, the Athene of Greece.

The combination of these transcriptions, whichever is adopted, gives a clear meaning in accordance with Egyptian usage.

As-Neit would mean favourite of Neith, or Minerva: the word "as" signifies precious, sacred, or consecrated.

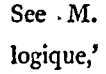
would mean Isis-Neith. The double name seems strange, but it was not uncommon in Egypt thus to combine the names of two Deities in one proper name. The first example of a man's name taken from

[7] We have χerp-pere, mer-pere = house-steward, major-domo: common titles under the ancient empire. I must add that Mr. Goodwin does not admit the probability of this transcription, which needs the support of ancient inscriptions.

[8] Mr. Goodwin has lately proposed a different reading for this sign, viz., "sheps," and he is followed by Brugsch; but both M. Le Page Renouf and Professor Lauth have since shewn that "as" is the true value in the older texts. See 'Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache,' &c., 1868, pp. 42 and 45. Thus also Maspero, 'Essai,' p. 16. Since this was printed, I have observed as an ancient variant in Mariette's 'Fouilles d'Abydos,' Tom. II. Pl. 16, bis *a*. Mr Goodwin now holds that the group is a polyphone, and may have both values. He adds that he considers the combination Isis Neit supplies a much more plausible explanation.

the gods, given by Champollion in the Grammar, p. 135, combines the two divine names Hor Phre, a second in the same page combines Chons and Thot. It is a strong argument in support of this explanation that a Priest of On would naturally give to his daughter the name of a Deity specially connected with the locality. The principal objects of worship, next to the Sun-God, were Seb and Nut (not Neit), who were honoured as the parents of Osiris and *Isis*, the two tutelary Deities. See Brugsch 'Geographische Inschriften,' vol. i. p. 255. Isis moreover was a name commonly given to women, and most likely to be borne by a daughter of Potiphera. It is also to be remarked that there was a close connection between Isis and Neith. Isis was worshipped at Sais in the temple of Neith, under the name As-ta-oert, Isis the Great. See Brugsch, l. c., p. 245.

The connection of Joseph with this family would seem to have had lasting and very serious consequences. Asenath may, or may not, have adopted her husband's faith—probably she did so; but, like the wives of Jacob, she may not have separated herself altogether from her father's influence, or have cast away altogether the traditional superstitions of her family. It is natural to refer the idolatry of the Ephraimites to this origin. Mnevis, the black bull, was worshipped at On as a local Deity, the living representative of the God Tum, the unseen principle and first cause of all existence.

The question whether a priest of On would be disposed to give his daughter to a Hebrew, the favourite and prime minister of Pharaoh, ought not to be regarded as a difficulty. There was nothing to create a scruple. The worship of Jehovah was certainly not known at that age to Egyptians in its exclusive character. Foreigners, especially of Semitic origin, were received with honour, and raised to the highest rank by the greatest sovereigns of the ancient Empire,[9] and the descendant of Abraham, who had been admitted to the intimacy of a former Pharaoh, would be acknowledged as of noble birth. The circumcision of Joseph would be a strong recommendation: it was a sign of consecration and purity to which the Egyptian priests attached peculiar importance. If the rite were previously known as an Egyptian custom, more especially in priestly and royal families, it would mark Joseph both to Pharaoh and Potiphar as specially qualified for the alliance. If it were previously unknown, no person was more likely than Joseph to have introduced it among the Egyptians; and this is possibly the true solution of an acknowledged difficulty. The first distinct representation of the rite is found on a monument of the 19th dynasty, long after the time of Joseph: two sons of Rameses II. are pictured as undergoing it. See M. Chabas' art. in 'Revue archéologique,' 1861, p. 298. The word  , "sabu" (which is translated "circumcise" by Champollion, and after him by Mr. Birch, D. H.), is not found with that sense in any ancient inscription.[10] A passage in the 'Funeral Ritual' (c. xvii. l. 23, ed. Leps.) is supposed by M. de Rougé to refer to circumcision, but the meaning is very doubtful, nor if his explanation were accepted, would it be conclusive: for although portions of the chapter are undoubtedly older than Joseph, the passage is a gloss of doubtful antiquity, and is omitted in the ancient copy lately published by M. Lepsius. See 'Aelteste Texte, Sarkophag 1 des Mentuhotep,' pl. 1, l. 16, 17.

צפנת פענח

Zaphnath Paaneah.—Gen. xli. 45.

The history of the attempts to explain this designation of Joseph is curious and instructive. The most natural process before the hieroglyphic inscriptions were deciphered was to compare the Hebrew form with the Coptic: no explanation was derived from this source which was generally satisfactory to scholars, and most interpreters resorted to the Septuagint, which gives several forms all differing from the Hebrew. Gesenius holds that the Hebrew writer must have modified the Egyptian words in order to bring them into accordance with his own language: a singular assumption, since the word is completely inexplicable in Hebrew. It will be found that an exact transcription of the Hebrew letters gives a clear sense in Egyptian.

The word stands thus—

, z f n t p ānch.

[9] This curious fact is proved beyond all doubt by the 'Story of Saneha,' a hieratic papyrus of extreme antiquity, lately translated by Mr. Goodwin. See especially pp. 39 and 43. It is also to be observed that Saneha, Son of the Sycomore, was a name probably given to the foreigner on his adoption by the Egyptians.

[10] M. Brugsch gives no such meaning in his dictionary. Mr. Goodwin adds, in the letter lately received by me; the meaning adopted by Birch from Champollion's Dictionary is probably based only on the Copic ⲥⲉϩⲓ, and is of little authority. Ebers gives another word , or , which he translates "circumcise." Brugsch and Birch have no such meaning, nor do I find any example. A stronger but not conclusive argument is drawn from the well-known hieroglyphic for *mt*. The representations, however, to which Ebers alludes, and the mummies which have been examined, are much later than the time of Joseph.

The letter ע is invariably transcribed by or , and most commonly by the latter. is the nearest form for ח, could only be represented in Hebrew by נת or נט; and in the Pentateuch is generally transcribed by ת, as in Pithom and Asenath. No doubt can be entertained about the remaining letters: all scholars would accept the identification of the Egyptian word here given with the Hebrew. In fact every letter in this transcription rests on the unanimous authority of Egyptian scholars, and is confirmed by a vast number of unmistakable words in ancient inscriptions and papyri.

The meaning is quite clear. The first syllable "zaf," is a word of very common occurrence, both in this simple form, and with explanatory signs called determinatives, as a "bushel," or a "widgeon," indicating abundance.[11] Its well-ascertained meaning is "food," especially "corn," or "grain," in general. A few instances will show this usage, and serve to illustrate the biblical account of Joseph's position. Under the early dynasties of the ancient empire the officer of state who received the tributes in kind and had the superintendence of the public granaries bore the title "master of the house of ('zaf' or 'zafa') provisions." M. de Rougé gives the names of three officers who bore this title. Ptah-ases, the son-in-law of a Pharaoh of the 4th dynasty, Chafra or Chefren, was called "mer set zafa," which M. de Rougé renders "chargé de la maison des provisions de bouche." This remark on the office is important, the more so since he does not connect the word with the history of Joseph. "Les tributs versés en nature rendaient cette fonction très importante, ainsi qu'on peut le voir par l'histoire de Joseph."[12] The grandson and chief minister of Nepherkara bore the same title, l. c. p. 86. Another great official of the same early age held the three offices, master of the arsenals, of the Treasury, and of the depôts of provisions, "zaf." De Rougé renders the last title, "chef des lieux des offrandes, des denrées," p. 87. From the last passage it is also clear that the granaries throughout Egypt were under the superintendence of one great officer of state. M. de Rougé observes, "Ces trois titres pouvaient constituer une sorte de ministère des finances."

The next word , "nt" is the preposition "of," used very commonly on the early monuments. Two examples may be found in Egyptian words quoted by M. de Rougé on the last passage which has been discussed.

The meaning of "Anch" is not questioned. It signifies "life," or with the article it may mean "the living." Thus one name of Memphis is ta-anch for the land of life or of the living.[13]

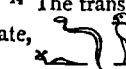
The meaning, therefore, of the whole name, the only meaning which it could bear to an Egyptian, and of course to a Hebrew of the age of Moses, is "the food of life" or "the food of the living." No question can be raised as to the appropriateness of this designation: it only remains to show that the word "zaf" was likely to be applied to a person. To this it is a complete answer that it occurs in the rings of three Pharaohs of the 13th dynasty. See Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' pl. viii., nos. 162, 164, and 167; or Lepsius, 'Königsbuch,' taf. xix. 282, 284.[14]

We have now to consider the remarkable reading of the Septuagint. The Egyptian was a living language, though it had undergone considerable modifications, when the Pentateuch was translated, and it is evident from Jerome's account that the Jews in Egypt attached a definite meaning to the word ψονθομ φανηχ, which on their authority he renders salvator mundi. The latter part corresponds with the interpretation above given. Life, or the living, is the equivalent of "the world." The first part is more difficult to explain. The transcription of ψονθ would give , p-sont, *i.e.*, "foundation." It might possibly be used in the sense of "support," "sustentation;" but I am not aware that any example of such a meaning can be adduced.[15]

[11] This complete form is . The last two signs are not phonetic; they represent a widgeon or duck, and bread.

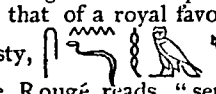
[12] See 'Recherches,' p. 69.

[13] Jablonski, 'Opuscula,' tom. i. p. 210, suggests from the Coptic ϫωϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉϩ, caput mundi; La Crozius, ϫωϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϩ, thus agreeing with the transcription here given so far as the last part is concerned. There can, however, be no doubt that represents חי; whereas the phonetic value of the Egyptian sign for head differs from it considerably.

[14] The transcription of Brugsch is more accurate,  . Traces of the word are found in other rings, probably also in the name of a Pharaoh of much earlier date. See De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 155. In choosing the name, Pharaoh might possibly have had some regard to the name Joseph; seph and zaph bear a near resemblance.

[15] Gesenius renders the word "the support of life;" but the imperfect knowledge of hiera-

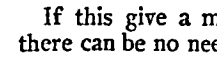
Another transcription of the Greek form may be suggested; one more exact, since it retains the consonants without any modification. Psntmnānch,

The meaning would be "he who gives joy to the world." This name has a strong Egyptian colouring. It occurs precisely in the same form as that of a royal favourite under the 5th dynasty,  , sntm het, or, as M. de Rougé reads, "senotem het," "delighting the heart." The example shows, also, that the construction is correct: "senotem" is a transitive form, and does not require or admit a preposition. It may be observed that the same root occurs in the names of two princes of the 21st dynasty. (See Brugsch, H. E., Pl. xiv., Nos. 299 and 302.)

One or other of these forms may have been before the minds of the Greek translator—probably the latter; but the reading of the LXX is uncertain, and there is no reason whatever for departing from the simple, intelligible, and well-ascertained sense of the words which is elicited by transcription of the Hebrew.

אַבְרֵךְ

This word, which Gesenius (Thes. *s. v.*) calls "vox perdubia," has never had a satisfactory explanation. It is admitted to be Egyptian, though, as usual, Gesenius supposes that it was modified in the transcription in order to give it a Hebrew character. The explanation suggested by Rosellini, and adopted by Gesenius, is ⲁⲡⲉⲣⲕ, *i.e.* incline or bow the head. This, however, is inadmissible. The transposition of the two words ⲣⲕ and ⲁⲡⲉ is not in accordance with old Egyptian usage. ⲁⲡⲉ may possibly be the true sound of the hieroglyphic for head (see De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 91, n. 2.), but it would not be correctly transcribed by אב. ⲣⲕ is not found in the sense "bow" or "incline" in old Egyptian.

The exact transcription is  .

If this give a meaning exactly applicable, there can be no need of further inquiry.

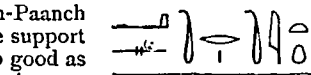
The context tells us, not, as is commonly assumed, that a herald went before Joseph, addressing the people, but "they cried before him," *i.e.* the people or the attendants shouted out with reference to Joseph, "Abrek."

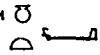
But ab-rek is the imperative, and the emphatic imperative, of the verb "Ab," which is a word specially used in reference to public demonstrations of rejoicing. Thus, in an inscription of Rameses II. we find *Ab*-sen-nek, "they rejoice before thee:" and in another of later date, "the world is in a state of rejoicing," in *Ab* ni. The termination "rek" is equivalent to the Hebrew לְךָ, as M. Chabas has pointed out in explaining the word mai-rek, *i.e.* come.[16] 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 285.

The chief objection to this explanation is that the verb is in the singular number, addressing an individual, not a multitude. But it seems quite natural that the attendants should address Joseph, calling upon him to rejoice, together with all the people, in his deliverance and exaltation. Some support may be found for this explanation in the fact that subject princes address the Pharaoh in the same form, hotep-rek. See the vignette to the Stèle Pianchi in Mariette's 'Fouilles d'Abydos.'

Another transcription, which comes very near to the Hebrew, would give Ab Rekh, *i.e.* "pure" and "wise:" but it is unlikely to have been used as an exclamation.[17]

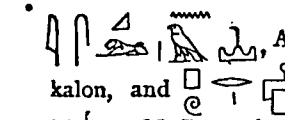
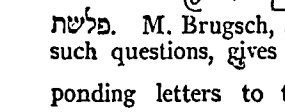
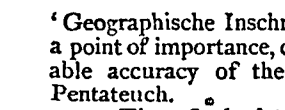
מֹשֶׁה, Moses.

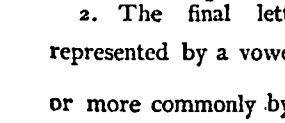
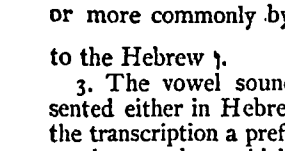
In examining the form which this name would properly assume in Egyptian, we must bear in mind the following points:—1. The letter שׁ is generally represented by *i.e.* sh and its homophones, but in very ancient transcriptions, and specially in monuments of the 18th and 19th dynasties, it corresponds in proper names to , s. Thus we find  , Āsthartà, for עַשְׁתָּרֹת,

glyphics in his time led him to the error of identifying "sont" with  , to which it bears no real resemblance. I have since found the name Sont-ur, *i.e.* the "great foundation," as that of a high priest at Thebes. See Mariette, 'Fouilles,' pl. vii. l. 12. The LXX. may therefore have meant to represent Pa-sont-om-Paanch (om = † *i.e.* am, or ami), belonging to the support of the world. A good sense, but not so good as that given by the Hebrew. Mr. Goodwin considers the transcription of the LXX, which is given above, to be very probable. He translates it "making life pleasant," which is equivalent in meaning. He observes also that the article in old Egyptian would not have been written, but probably it was often supplied in reading and speaking. This applies to the preceding account of the Hebrew form.

[16] It is especially used in exclamations, thus: harek—stand up, see 'Br. D. H.', p. 814, equivalent to "up with you." The form occurs repeatedly in the texts.

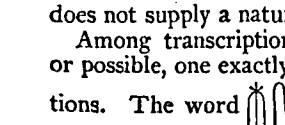
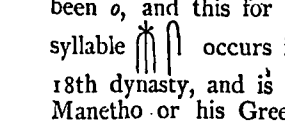
[17] In the 'Æg. Zeitschrift' for 1869, p. 134, the Egyptian Ap-Rech, i.e. Chief of the Wise. The transcription is not accurate, p for b, and ch for k.

 , Askelna, for אשקלון, Askalon, and  , Pulistha, for פלשת. M. Brugsch, a high authority in all such questions, gives ס or ש as the corresponding letters to the Egyptian  (See 'Geographische Inschriften,' p. 15). This is a point of importance, considering the remarkable accuracy of the transcriptions in the Pentateuch.

2. The final letter ה is adequately represented by a vowel sound, either  =*i*, or more commonly by  , *u*, corresponding to the Hebrew ו.

3. The vowel sound in *Mo* is not represented either in Hebrew or Egyptian, but in the transcription a preference should be given to the vowel *o*, which appears from Coptic and Greek to be associated with the consonants *Ms*.

4. It is also to be observed that Moses undoubtedly lays the stress on the verb "draw out," not on the noun "water." The name in Egyptian ought to bear the sense "drawn out," "brought forth." The verb may have borne the same sense in Hebrew also (a fact of extremely common occurrence), but if the writer knew Egyptian he certainly would not have chosen a word for which that language does not supply a natural interpretation.

Among transcriptions which are probable or possible, one exactly fulfils all these conditions. The word  , *m s u*, unquestionably corresponds in form to the Hebrew, letter for letter, on the principles laid down above. The vowel sound, which is required for the first syllable, may be assumed to have been *o*, and this for several reasons. The syllable  occurs in many names of the 18th dynasty, and is always transcribed by Manetho or his Greek translators by *mos*; thus we find Amosis and Tothmosis.

The question of equal importance as to the meaning remains to be answered.

The explanation, suggested first as it would seem by Gesenius (Thes. *s. v.*) "child" or "son," is quite accurate so far as it goes. Mesu, or Moses, undoubtedly does bear that signification, and may be rendered exactly by "son." But if we had no other information as to the original and common sense of the verb from which it is derived, this interpretation, which contradicts the statement in Exodus, would present an insuperable difficulty, unless we were satisfied with the usual evasion that the word was altered so as to adapt it to a Hebrew etymology. The difficulty, however, is entirely removed when the original meaning, as well as usage, of the word in Egyptian is examined. In his 'Hieroglyphic Dictionary' M. Brugsch shows that the sense "drawing out" is the original one. It is taken from the work of the potter (p. 705). It there means "produce," "bring forth," and, as M. Brugsch affirms in another passage (p. 698), the derivation of משה from the Hebrew root משה, traxit, extraxit, specially also in the sense "extraxit e ventre matris," would preserve the true sense of the Egyptian.[18]

The word used by Moses may of course be Semitic; although it must be observed that it occurs only in this passage, and in one other which is evidently taken from it, Ps. xviii. 17 (repeated 2 Sam. xxii. 17); but at any rate it is so exceedingly rare that we can best account for its selection by Moses by the supposition that it came exceedingly near to, or exactly represented, the Egyptian. It is far from improbable that it was, in fact, a simple transcription of a word, which must have been perfectly intelligible to the Israelites of that age. What the Egyptian princess said—and her words were not likely to be forgotten or misrepresented by her adopted son—was this: "I give him the name Moses —'brought forth'—because I brought him forth from the water."[19]

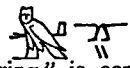
The probability that this was actually the Egyptian name of Moses comes very near a certainty when we learn that it was very common under the Middle Empire. In the select papyri (Anastasi, vi. p. 3, l. 4)[20] it occurs as the name of a keeper of goats, the superintendent of the "house of measures," where corn was measured or weighed. It was also borne by a prince of the blood-royal of Egypt who held the office of Viceroy of Nubia under the nineteenth dynasty. There is no reason for identifying either of these persons with Moses, but the coincidences with the biblical history and with the legends in Josephus and other writers are curious. This ascertained use of the word appears to give it a very decided preference over two other senses suggested by a faithful transcription. The

[18] A family of words closely resembling, or identical with, משה מושה, is found in Egyptian. See Brugsch D. H., p. 711, *s. v.*

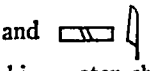
[19] In the Egyptian the translation would run thus:

Au set hi tat naf pa ran Mesu em tat pe-un mesna su emta pa mu.

[20] See Brugsch, D. H., p. 1162.



word [hieroglyphs] *i.e.* māsi, in the sense "to bring," is common, not only as the instances given by Birch and Brugsch would lead us to suppose, in reference to tributes, but to the simple transfer of objects.[21] It would be quite intelligible in Egyptian were we to read, "She called his name *Masi*, saying because I brought (māsi) him out of the waters." It is, however, doubtful whether such a proper name would be in accordance with Egyptian usage. Again, it might be possible, with our present knowledge of Egyptian, to give a more plausible etymology derived from the word "water," than either of those which Jablonski and other scholars formerly proposed. The phonetic value of the group [hieroglyphs] is admitted to be Mu, or Mo, and [hieroglyphs], shī, denotes a child. Mo-shi, a water-child, would not be an impossible transcription or rendering, were it justified by Egyptian usage. Still it is clear that the stress is laid, not on the noun, but on the verb, and there appears no reason to depart from the simple and natural explanation which has been given above.



It may, however, appear to require some additional evidence that Moses should have used an Egyptian word, or have selected, to say the least, a very unusual Hebrew word to represent it. Here we may call attention to a fact which has hitherto been unnoticed. In that part of the narrative which deals specially with Egyptian matters, words are constantly used which are either of Egyptian origin or common to Hebrew and Egyptian. The following instances are taken from one verse, that in which Moses gives the history of his exposure. His mother made him an ark of bulrushes. The word "ark," תבה (of which Rödiger says, "falsi sunt, qui etymon in linguis Semiticis quærerent), is admitted to be Egyptian. It is, indeed, very common in the sense "chest" or "coffer," also in the sense "cradle," [hieroglyphs], teb, with several variants. (Birch D. N., p. 5359; Br. D.H., 1628.) The Septuagint retains the Hebrew θίβιν, doubtless as a well-known Egyptian word. The material of which this ark was made is called גמא. Brugsch ('Dict. Hier.,' p. 145) identifies this word with the Coptic ⲕⲁⲙ, "juncus quo fiunt funes." Brugsch shows, moreover, that it was specially used for making the light boats of the Nile. He gives the word [hieroglyphs] ⲕⲁⲙ, papyrus nilotica, p. 1452. See also p. 2320, where a basket of green papyrus (kam uat) is mentioned.

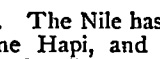
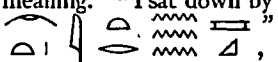
Again, "when she made it, she *daubed* it with *slime*." The word חמר is used in the original both for the process and the material. This corresponds exactly with the original meaning and use of the Egyptian word [hieroglyphs], which has the same letters, though, as is very commonly the case, in a different order. The Hebrew is ch-m-r, the Egyptian m-r-ch. Brugsch ('Dict. Hier.,' p. 769) says, "Die Grundbedeutung der Wurzel Merh ist 'beschmieren, bestreichen, überzeichen etwas mit einem feuchten gegenstande." Mr. Goodwin has very lately shown the identity of the words. "The root appears again in ⲁⲙⲣⲏϩⲉ, ⲙ̀ⲃⲣⲉϩⲓ, bitumen, pitch, in Hebrew חמר."—'Zeits.,' 1867, p. 86. Whether Moses had this word in mind may, of course, be questioned, but it is evidently the most suitable that could be suggested.

The next word, "pitch," is common to Hebrew and Egyptian. זפת, [hieroglyphs], or [hieroglyphs], sft. The Egyptian word is very common; the Hebrew occurs only twice in the Bible, but is well known in Arabic, and was probably common to Egyptian and Hebrew.

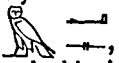
Jochebed then placed the ark in "the flags." The Hebrew is סוף, for which no plausible etymology has been suggested, nor is the word found in any Semitic language. It answers, however, very nearly to the Egyptian name for a species of papyrus found in marshy places and on the banks of rivers. The word was written either [hieroglyphs] (Sallier, 1, 4, 9), *i.e.*, tufi, or [hieroglyphs], also to be read "tufi." The Coptic equivalent is ϫⲟⲟϥ, which indicates a predominance of the sibilant sound common to dentals. It seems probable that it was also written with [hieroglyph], "z," both because of the Coptic form, and because [hieroglyphs], "tzet" (which seems to be an abbreviation), also means papyrus. In that case "tufi" would be translated "zufi" = סוף. The identification of the Egyptian and Hebrew is so probable as to approximate to a certainty. In the last number of Brugsch's Dictionary, published since this was printed, I find that he also identifies tufi, ϫⲟⲟⲩϥ and סוף, p. 1580.

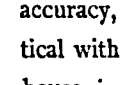
Lastly, we read "by the river's brink." על שׂפת היאר. The form and meaning are Egyptian. It is well known that יאר is

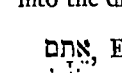
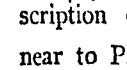
[21] It is used for bringing a harp to a man in a tavern. See 'Stele Pianchi ap. Brugsch, D. H.', p. 157. Brugsch writes the word Masib, but Birch gives Masi, which seems correct. The leg is not phonetic, but determinative.

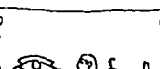
Egyptian. The Nile has two names: the sacred name Hapi, and the common name, meaning "river," which is here exactly transcribed  Aor. The word שִׂפָה, *i. e.* "lip," for "bank," is sufficiently common in Hebrew, but it is interesting to find in a papyrus of the 19th dynasty precisely the same word with the same meaning. "I sat down by the *lip* of the river,  , *i. e.* "spot Atur." Atur is another form of "Aor." The same idiom occurs in the 'Funeral Ritual,' c. ii. 3, l. 2.

It would be very difficult to resist the impression that this verse was written by a man equally familiar with both languages, or, on the other hand, to admit the possibility that coincidences coming so near together were purely accidental, as they must have been in the mouth of a Palestinian Jew.

One more instance of equal interest is taken from the 1st chapter of Exodus, ver. 11. We there read that the Egyptians set שָׂרֵי מִסִּים, "sari massim," over Israel. The words are both common in Hebrew, but they are also common in Egyptian, and precisely in the same signification. Birch gives  , mās, tribute. 'Dictionary of Hieroglyphics,' *s. v.* The official name "ser" is still more striking. It is common in the sense "chieftain," but we find it specially applied to the officer appointed by Tothmosis III. to superintend the work of captives employed in making bricks. In the inscription on the well-known picture which represents the processes, we find the proper official designation of the overseers,[22] who were armed with heavy whips, and also of the chief superintendent. He is called [23], of which the Hebrew שַׂר, "ser," is the exact transcription. His rank is denoted by the long staff, and by the determinative, viz. the head and neck of a giraffe. Had this title occurred first under the 19th dynasty it might have been regarded as Semitic (for a vast number of military and civil titles were then introduced into Egypt); but occurring, as it does, under the 18th dynasty, it is unquestionably Egyptian. It is found, indeed, in inscriptions far more ancient, *e. g.* under Pepi of the 6th dynasty. See De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 118. We have, in any case, a proof that in relating Egyptian transactions Moses either used the native Egyptian word, or that he adopted the Hebrew word which expressed it most exactly both in meaning and form.

פִּתֹם, Pithom. This city was formerly identified by Brugsch with the fort of Djar, *Pachtum* n Zar. This was a point of importance, since it is certain that that fort or city was in existence early in the 18th dynasty, before the accession of Tothmosis III., the grandson of Amosis I., to whom its erection may be unhesitatingly ascribed. The fortress in question is shown, on grounds which appear conclusive, to have been known at a later period by the name Heroopolis, near the ruins of Mukfar, or Abu Kasheb. See Brugsch, 'Geographie des Alten Ægyptens,' p. 263. The word Pithom, however, does not correspond to the Egyptian form with sufficient accuracy, and it is now admitted to be identical with  , Pe-tum, the house, *i. e.* dwelling or temple of Tum. Still the conclusions drawn by Brugsch do not lose their interest, since it has lately been shown that this place was in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, and was in all probability built at the same time as the adjoining sanctuary, giving name to the whole set of edifices, or it might have been a second name of the same place. Thus On is called Pitum, with the same meaning, "house of Tum." This is probably the true explanation. The passage translated by M. Chabas, 'Mél. égypt.,' ii., p. 155, shows that certain nomads of Atema (or, as the name should be transcribed, Edom) applied to the guards of Merneptah Hotephima, the son of Rameses, for permission to feed their cattle in the district adjoining the fortress, to which that sovereign had then given his own name. The place of conference was the great reservoir at Pithom. From this we learn that Pithom was on the frontier of the desert. The name here used for reservoir in the Papyrus is Semitic, , as Chabas transcribes it Bere-kavota, *i. e.* בְּרֵכוֹת, cisterns or reservoirs: a curious illustration of the biblical narrative, built as the place was by Israelites, and probably occupied by them up to the date of the Exodus. In the time of Merneptah there is no indication of their presence, nor is it at all probable that had the Delta at that time been in the state supposed by Brugsch (see 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 174), the king would have admitted a nomad tribe into the district.

אֵתָם, Etham. Exod. xiii. 20. The transcription of this name comes exceedingly near to Pithom.  , A-tum,  , Pitum. The meaning is

[22]  The meaning of the group is the head work-givers, the eye denoting superintendence.

[23] In the eleventh line of the inscription, which is read from right to left. See Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 106.

identical, *i.e.* A, and per, mean "house," "dwelling," and are applied indifferently as designations of one and the same locality: thus Pi Ramessu and A-Ramessu (Chab., 'Mél. ég.') Etham and Pithom are to be rendered "house of Tum." The site of Etham was on the extreme border of the desert, such, as we have seen, must have been the site of Pithom. The identification of the two names which M. Chabas ('Voy. Ég.,' p. 286) proposes as probable, may therefore be regarded as all but certain. The LXX. give Ὀθάμ, or Ὀθώμ, for Etham. This represents the Egyptian exactly, for the corresponds generally to O. In Numb. xxxiii. 6, 7, the LXX. give Βουθάν, or, as it should be read, Βουθάμ. The Bου, as in the well-known Busiris for Pe-bsiri, represents the Egyptian (not the article, but the group for "house" or Pe): this corroborates the argument for the identification.

The derivation proposed by Jablonski, and accepted by Forster, viz. At-iom, *not-sea*, may illustrate the shifts to which men of learning were formerly driven by their ignorance of the ancient language of Egypt.

רַעַמְסֵס, Gen. xlvii. 11; רַעַמְסֵס, Exod. i. 11. In the former passage the name "Rameses" is that of a district; in the latter, "Raamses," it is the name of a city. The pointing of the former name is preferable. The first syllable רַע is the exact transcription of Ra, the well-known name of the Sun-God. The second part of the word, מסס, represents with equal fidelity the Egyptian , "meses." This latter part is a reduplicated form of the very common word , "mes," a child. It occurs in the name Rameses, which was borne by two Pharaohs of the 19th, and by all the kings of the 20th dynasty. In the name of the sovereign the meaning of the word is either "Ra begat," or "Ra begat him." Hence it is inferred that the name both of the district and of the city must have been derived from that of the king.

It is, however, clear that the writer of the Pentateuch represents the name as that of the district at the time of its occupation by the Israelites, that is, at a time admitted by all to be ages before the 19th dynasty. Had the passage in Genesis occurred in a papyrus of the age of the Exodus, it would have been held as a sufficient proof that the name must have been ancient; nor is there any reason to doubt the statement, or to suppose that the name was simply given as that by which the district was known at the time when Moses wrote. The only question is whether it was a name likely to be given to a place or district at an early age, in accordance with Egyptian usage.

Late researches have shown that "Ra," the first part of the word, entered very commonly into names of places, districts, and cities under the ancient empire: far more commonly than at a later period. Thus we find, from inscriptions in the tomb of Tei (son-in-law of a Pharaoh of the 5th dynasty, An, or Ranuser), that not less than four cities, or districts, in his government were called Ra-asket, Ra-shephet, Ra-Seket, and Ra-hotep (De Rougé, 'Recherches,' p. 94; see also p. 72, where M. de R. observes that the frequent notices of Ra have been much overlooked). Under a preceding Pharaoh we meet with Ra-heb, *i.e.*, festival of Ra; this was a royal residence. Such names might be expected to be found very frequently in the country about On, which was called Pe-Ra, Es-Ra, Nes-Ra, and Aa-Ra. (See Brugsch, 'Geog.,' Nos. 1213, 1214.)

Ra-meses may therefore well have been the old name of the district: whether it represents the original form, "Ra-messon," with the sense "Ra the self-begetting," an ancient appellation of Ra in the Ritual; or Ra-meses, "Ra the creator, former, or begetter," a sense equally suitable and harmonizing with Egyptian notions; or "Ra-mesu," children of Ra. The Egyptians called themselves children of Ra, *i.e.*, Ra-mesu, from the earliest times; it was probably their characteristic name as distinguished from foreigners: this appears from a well-known inscription on the tomb of Seti Merneptah, the father of Rameses II. A city, of which the site is unknown, bore the name Mis-Ra:[24] nor is it at all improbable that this is connected with the name given to the Egyptians in the Bible, viz, Mizraim.[25] That some district should have borne the name, and, if any district, that which was peculiarly associated with the earliest forms of Sun worship, presents no improbability,[26] nothing which can justify us in questioning the accuracy of Moses.

The same arguments apply to the name of the city of Rameses. It was a name very naturally given to the capital of the district. The certain fact that Rameses II. gave his own name to a fortress of considerable extent in this district, as well as to others in different parts of Egypt, has been regarded by Egyptologers as a

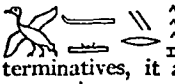
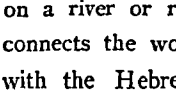
[24] See Brugsch, 'Geog.,' No. 1517.

[25] This has been suggested by M. Rougemont, 'Age de Bronze,' and is supported by M. Rheinisch. Dr. Ebers rejects, but does not disprove, the identification. In an Essay lately published by Mr. Birch, on the trilingual inscription of San, he observes that Mizraim is supposed by some to represent the common Egyptian word for Egypt, viz. ta-meri. This requires two transpositions, mer-ta and met-ra.

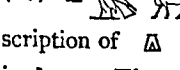
[26] This is, in fact, admitted even by M. Chabas, 'Mél. égypt.,' ii. p. 125.

conclusive proof that it could not have borne the name previously. It should, however, be observed that Moses does not call the city, or arsenal, Pi Ramessu, but simply Rameses. The word Pi, or its equivalent *A*, signifying house or residence, so far as I can ascertain, is never omitted in the Egyptian designations of places named after the king. It is found in all the names given by M. Chabas, 'Mél. ég.,' ii. p. 126. It is extremely unlikely that it should have been omitted by Moses in the very same sentence in which he gives the full and accurate transcription of Pithom. Again, the name which the fortress bore after its enlargement by Rameses was invariably that of the Sovereign, who is not called in Egyptian documents Rameses simply, but Rameses Meiamon, or Meramon. This is not conclusive, but it adds some weight to the argument. It is known, moreover, that the fortress was in existence at the beginning of the reign of Rameses, and apparently bearing the name Rameses.[27] In addition to these facts we find that Amosis, or Aahmes, to whom the building of several cities in the Delta is attributed by contemporary monuments, gave the name "Rames" to one of his own sons. It has been observed above, that in the names of early kings, the Greeks transcribe mes by mosis, which points to a duplicate *s* in Egyptian. It may not be assumed that the name of the city was taken from this prince, but the probability that the same, or that a similar name should be given to both at the same time, is sufficiently obvious. It may be added that Ramesses was likely to be the true name of one of the treasure cities built by Aahmes, because the king was a restorer of the worship of Ra. He was a great builder, and had special reasons for fortifying the Eastern district, which previously bore the name Rameses. It is also certain that Egyptian cities often took their name from a district, in which case the prefix "Pi" is not used[28]

One argument of great weight remains to be considered. The city of Rameses Meiamon, with its parks, lakes, and the whole adjoining district, was the centre of a great Egyptian population, a place of festivities; whereas, at the time described in the Pentateuch, the two fortresses built by the Israelites were in the district which they occupied, and of which there is no indication whatever that they were dispossessed. In the time of Rameses it was a rich, fertile, and beautiful district, described as "the abode of happiness, where all alike, rich and poor, lived in peace and plenty; but in the time of Moses it was the abode of a suffering race, resounding not with the jubilant shouts of Egyptians, but with the groans and execrations of an oppressed population. A stronger contrast can scarcely be drawn than that of the state of the district at the Exodus and that which it presented under Rameses II. and his successors.

פִּיהַחִירֹת, Pihahiroth. It is not certain that the word is Egyptian. If so, it may, like some other names, have been adopted and modified either by the Israelites or other Semitic occupants of the district. There appear to be indications of the name in one of the Select Papyri (Anast. iii. 1, 2), in which the scribe Penbesa gives an account of a visit of Rameses to the adjoining district. The passage is translated by M. Chabas, 'Mél. égypt.,' ii. p. 133. Garlands of flowers were sent from a place called  , *i.e. Pebir:* from the determinatives, it appears that the place was on a river or reservoir. Chabas, however, connects the word  "hir," with the Hebrew חוֹר. We may, therefore, translate Pihahiroth (regarding it as partly Egyptian, partly Semitic) "the house of wells, the watering-place in the desert."

M. Brugsch, however, compares Pihahiroth with the name of a place called "Pehuret," but of which nothing is known. 'Geog.,' p. 298.

גֹּשֶׁן. There can be no doubt that this name is Egyptian, although, as the Israelites occupied the district during the whole period of their sojourn, the form may have been modified. No probable interpretation is supplied by the Coptic, nor does any name exactly corresponding to Goshen appear on the monuments. It is, however, to be remarked that three Egyptian nomes, situate in the Delta, and extending over great part of the district of Goshen, bore each a name beginning with the word *Ka*, *i.e.* a bull. This word would be represented in Hebrew by the first syllable of Goshen. The Egyptian for bull is written either with or (see Birch, D. H., p. 417,  , *ga*), and the regular transcription of (being a homophone) is ג, *g*. The vowel sound is vague, but the Greek transcription of Ka-kem is κωχώμη. See Brugsch, 'Geographie,' Index. We may accept "go" as the transcription of the first syllable without any hesitation. That of the second remains doubtful.

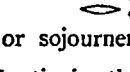
If, again, we can depend upon the transcription of M. Brugsch, the name of the 12th

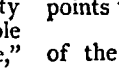
[27] Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 156. "Les papyrus mentionnent ces deux endroits existants déjà sous Sethos I. par leurs noms égyptiens."

[28] Thus the fortress of Zar is found without the prefix in numerous inscriptions. See Brugsch, 'Geog.,' p. 260, and Nos. 1263, 1267, taf. xlvii. Dr. Haigh suggests that a synonym of Zar may be read Ka-sen, or Kashen; but his arguments are not very satisfactory. See 'Zeits.' 1861, p. 47.

nomos in Lower Egypt was Ka-she, of which the Hebrew transcription would be גשה. This comes exceedingly near to the form now in question. The Egyptian ideographs to which Brugsch gives this phonetic value, represent a bull and a leaping calf.[29] See Brugsch, 'Geographie des Alten Ægyptens,' p. 253. The name of the principal city in the district was She-nefer, *i.e.* "the sacred calf," a name which has an obvious and striking bearing upon the history of the Israelites. From another notice it is proved that this city, Neter-she, was situate in a district adjoining that of which *Zar* was the capital. But Zar, or, as it is written more fully, "the fortress of Zar," was close to Pithom, and was formerly identified with it by Brugsch. So that there is sufficient reason to assume that the Egyptian name of the district may have been pronounced Goshe. It is of course possible that the name Goshen may have represented to the Israelites an adjoining district beginning with the word Ka; or that some name even nearer than "Goshe" may have been in use. Ka-kem, *i.e.* the black bull, appears to have been the origin of the LXX. and Coptic ⲔⲈⲤⲈ. The monumental inscriptions in Lower Egypt are scanty.

The bull represented in the names of these districts was Mnevis, worshipped specially at On as the living representative of Tum, the unknown principle and source of all existence. See Brugsch, *l. c.*

גרשם. Gershom. Moses explains this name to mean a sojourner in a strange land, Exodus ii. 22. Gesenius finding no Hebrew authority for this meaning of שם, assumes a double error, viz. that the writer took שם, "there," to be the equivalent of a strange land, and that he was ignorant of the true derivation from גרש, banished. The Egyptian gives a complete etymology. The first syllable is common to both languages: גר is the exact equivalent and transcription of or  , dweller, or sojourner. The word is preserved in Coptic in the form ϫⲱⲓ, in which ϫ = and ⲗ = . Moses, as we have seen, usually takes a word common to both languages. The second syllable שם is pure Egyptian, retained in the Coptic in the common word ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ, shemmo, a foreigner, or a foreign land. Thus in this passage the Coptic version of ארץ נכריה, a foreign land, is ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ. The meaning to an Egyptian would be exactly what the Hebrew expresses "a dweller in a foreign land." The Coptic, according to Brugsch, D. H., is the equivalent of "shumer," a bow, used commonly as the hieroglyphic of "foreigners."

Genesis xli. 2, אחו, LXX. ἄχει, Coptic ⲁϫⲓ. The word has long been recognised as Egyptian. It occurs only in this passage and in Job viii. 11, where it is used in parallelism with גמא (see above, p. 485), and described as a water plant. The old Egyptian corresponds exactly,  , as a verb to be green, to grow and flower. The determinative points to herbage by a stream. Another form of the word , *aχu*, is used for reeds, rushes, &c. The radical meaning is bright luxuriant growth.

[29] The leaping calf is the D. of *Ab*, "thirst." I do not find the value assigned to it by Brugsch.

In the Introduction to Exodus the attention of scholars was specially called to a list of words taken from the first fifteen chapters of Exodus, which contain the history of the transactions in Egypt. They are either ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, or peculiar to the Pentateuch, occurring, if at all elsewhere, only in passages referring to Egypt, or in Psalms which recapitulate the history. Nearly all are words found in Egyptian documents, either older or not much later than Moses.

C. i. 7. שָׁרַץ. In Pentateuch only, except in Ez. xlvii. 9, and in Psalm cv., taken from this passage; the root is found in Arabic and Æthiopic. The Egyptian is written with all the dentals, *e.g.* with , which is the exact equivalent of ץ.[1] It exactly corresponds to the Æthiopian ወሸጸ, pullulavit; the represents the impulsive mood, equivalent to Hiphil. This accounts for שרץ being followed by the objective of the object produced.

[1] Thus de Rougé, Chr. p. 103. Br. D. H. s. v.

פרה, not an uncommon word, but far more frequently found in the Pentateuch (where it occurs eighteen times) than in later books (ten times altogether); the Eg. root is per, *i.e.* come forth, grow abundantly, corn and all kinds of grain.

11. שׂרי מסים, see above, p. 485.

13. בפרך occurs once only, Ez. xxxiv. 4, out of the Pent.

16. האבנים, the two stones. The meaning is purely conjectural; the word does not occur elsewhere in this sense, nor is there any trace in Hebrew of the usage, to which it is supposed to refer. The root , ben,

is found in many derivatives in Egyptian; it has the sense to roll, twist, turn, &c.; also to produce, engender. Brugsch connects it with אופן. Possibly it may have some connexion with the very doubtful Hebrew.

C. ii. 3. תבה, ark. 27 times in the Pentateuch, not found elsewhere. It is only used of the ark of Noah, and of the cradle of Moses. It has no Semitic root or equivalent, the Arabic being derived entirely from this passage. In Egyptian it is a common word in the sense of chest, coffer, and *cradle*.

גמא, a word found in Job and Isaiah; but in reference to Egypt, see p. 484.

זפת, pitch, occurs twice only out of Pentateuch, Isaiah xxxiv. 9; xxxv. 9: common in Egyptian, see p. 484. יאר, the Nile, long known as Egyptian.

5. רחץ, wash, a common word; the Egyptian has rakat, and recht in the same sense.

10. משה, "to draw forth," only here and in the 18th Psalm; no satisfactory etymology in Semitic, but common in the form mesu, and with variants in the sense bring forth, draw forth, &c. See p. 483.

16. רהט, once only in Cant. i. 17.

iii. 2. סנה, only in Exodus and Deut.; shown in note *ad loc.* to be Egyptian in the sense "thorny acacia."

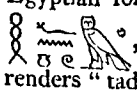
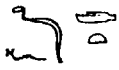
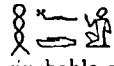
7. תבן, straw. The word occurs four times in the Pentateuch. In Egyptian tebn means "chaff." Pap. Sall. 4, p. 5. קש, stalk, not uncommon in Hebrew, but Egyptian in exactly the same form and sense.

9. שעה, look to, trust in; very rare in this sense. שדי occurs nine times in Pent., thirty times in Job, very rare in later books.

vi. 25. The father-in-law and the son of Eleazer both bear Egyptian names, Putiel, "devoted to El." Phineas occurs under Rameses II.

vii. 3. On the names of magicians and sorcerers see note on this chapter, at the end.

להט, ά. λ., and v. 22, לט, correspond to Egyptian words for magic and medical formulæ.

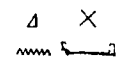
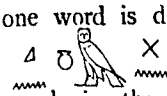
27. צפרדע, zepharda, frog; only found in Exodus and in one Psalm taken from it. It is a purely local name, adopted by the Arabs in Egypt. The radicals of which it is composed occur in a modified form in the Egyptian for "tadpole," hefennu, or hefenr:  , and , which Brugsch renders "tadpoles," giving as the Arabic equivalent ولد ضفدع the young dofda. The word has also the secondary meaning 100,000 or an indefinite number. The interchange of aspirates and sibilants is common, indeed regular in Zend and Sanscrit, in Greek and Latin. Another word comes even nearer,  , tsfdt, which has the exact correspondents of ץ, ף, and ד; the word means snake or "viper," but appears to be generic for reptiles. It is to be observed also that  , hefed, means to squat; a very probable etymology.

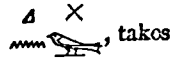
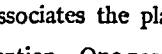
19. אגם, "a pool," a word of which no satisfactory etymology is given, nor does it occur in the same sense in the cognate languages. In this passage four words are given, rivers, streams, agammim, and generally every reservoir or collection of water. "Agam" may be assumed to be a well-known local term. I find no exact Egyptian equivalent, and the Hebrews probably modified that which they adopted. But , chnum, le puits, la citerne, Brugsch, D. H., p. 1100, would answer the conditions of an exact correspondence in sense, and resemblance in sound. A well 120 cubits deep is mentioned in an inscription quoted p. 246. Another word occurs in the Ritual, 99, 26, which comes nearer in form, viz., Achem, which is mentioned in connexion with the Nile, but the meaning is uncertain.

viii. 3. The combination of these words, shown above to be probably Egyptian, is remarkable, שרץ היאר צפרדעים. It is an instance of the custom of Moses, in describing Egyptian events, to use words either purely Egyptian or common to the two languages.

תנור, oven. The word is not uncommon, but occurs more frequently in the Pentateuch than in any other book. The etymology is uncertain. The Coptic ⲑⲣⲓⲣ, or ⲧⲣⲓⲣ, comes very near; the permutation of ⲣ and ⲛ is common. The Egyptian supplies "*nennu*," to bake or roast, D. H., p. 784, and "hir," an oven; combined, the two words give all the elements, but the connexion is scarcely probable. The old Egyptian must have had a form from which the Coptic certainly, and probably the Hebrew also, was derived.

14. חמר, in the sense "heap," is peculiar to this passage.

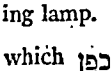
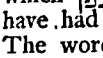
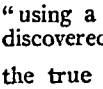
16. כנים: the word occurs six times in this passage, and nowhere else, except in Ps. cv. 31, which is taken from it. No probable Hebrew root is suggested, nor is the word extant in the Semitic dialects. The Arabic Chaldee and Syriac translators use a word quite distinct from it. The Egyptian has no name for an insect corresponding to this, but it has the root "ken,"  , in the sense force and abundance, a sense which in one word is developed into multitudinous  , one of the commonest words in the language; and in another,

 , takes the sense plague, calamity, &c.. The Coptic has ϫⲡⲉ, percussit. This sense is further determined in one variant by the sign , which associates the plague with a bad smell and corruption. One passage quoted by Brugsch is curious, since it points to a periodical visitation: "The year did not bring the plague (ken) at the usual time." This quotation gives a peculiar force to the exclamation of Pharaoh's magicians, "It is the finger of God:" they recognised it as a severe visitation. The word is identified by Brugsch with the Egyptian  , chenemms, the mosquito. It is retained in the Coptic ϣⲟⲗⲗⲉ, κώνωψ, culex. See D. H., p. 1103.

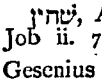
21. הערב: the word occurs nowhere but in the description of this plague, seven times here, and twice in Psalms lxxviii. 45, and cv. 31. The Semitic root ערב is very common; but is nowhere connected with insects or a plague of any kind. A late Egyptian word, , Abeb, *i. e.* a beetle, resembles the Hebrew in form, and is connected with several words, ⲁⲃϥ, ⲁⲃⲃ, ⲁⲁⲃⲃ, which represent species of flies: as for instance , D. H., p. 183, Champollion Gr., p. 74, which evidently denotes a venomous fly. It is possible either that the Hebrews, adopting the Egyptian word, accommodated it to their own common root, or that the middle letter ר may have been, for the same reason, substituted for ב in the transcription. The oldest forms of ר and ב, *i.e.* , are scarcely distinguishable; and even in the Samaritan, which adds a line to the b, they are easily confused, 9 9 ∨. The Coptic Pentateuch uses the word ⲁⲓ, ⲛⲓⲁⲕϥ, adding ⲛⲟⲩϫⲟⲣ, "dog," to express the *κυνόμυια* of the LXX. This conjecture is somewhat confirmed by the affinity thus brought out with זבוב, the fly, especially "the fly that is in the uttermost parts of the rivers of Egypt," Isaiah vii. 18.

23. פדות, separation, not found elsewhere in this sense: it is from Semitic.

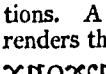
ix. 8. פיח, *ά. λ.* Gesenius derives it from פוח = נפח. If this probable connection be correct, the word would be common to the Egyptian and Hebrew, nef, nefu, to breathe, or blow.

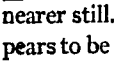
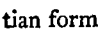
כבשן occurs only in the Pentateuch. The Arabic has قبس, ignem extudit, which may, or may not, be the root. No Semitic etymology is satisfactory. The Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic employ a different word. I find no Egyptian equivalent; the nearest in form and sense is  , χabs, a burning lamp. Perhaps  ; to bake, of which כפן would be the transcription, may have had a variant nearer to the Hebrew. The word is used in a late variant in the sense of baking bricks, or more probably "using a lime kiln." A curious word lately discovered by Mr. Birch very probably gives the true form  , kabusa, in Coptic ϫⲃⲉⲥ, *ἀνθρακ*, carbo. 'Egypt. Zeitschrift,' 1868, p. 121. Mr. Birch writes ϫⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ; Peyron gives ϫⲃⲃⲉⲥ; and ϫⲃⲉⲥ.—Lex. Copt. This meets the two conditions of agreement in sense and radical letters.

9. אבק, "fine dust," is a very rare word, twice in the Pentateuch, four times in later books.

שחין, A. V. boils. The word occurs in Job ii. 7, and in reference to Hezekiah. Gesenius compares the Arabic سخن, to be hot, used specially of fever heat: but the word never occurs in connection with eruptions. A Coptic MS., quoted by Peyron, renders this and the word פרח which follows ϫⲛⲟⲩϫϥ ϧⲉⲣϧⲉⲣ, in which the radical letters partly correspond with the Hebrew, ϫ often = ש. Possibly the Egyptian came nearer still. The true derivation, however, appears to be ϛⲱϛ, prurire, of which the Egyptian form was  to scratch, a word which occurs frequently in early papyri. The exact transcription is χaku. A variant somewhat nearer probably existed, or the Hebrews may have adopted and modified it, substituting, as in many words, sh for χ, and ch for k.

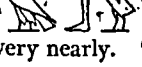
פרח. = ϧⲉⲣϧⲉⲣ, see last note.

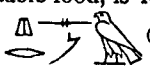
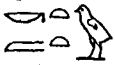
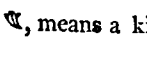
אבעבעת, *ά. λ.* The assumed root, בוע, is not extant. Egyptian has  , bābā, Cop. ϧⲉϧⲉ, overflow. The א presents no difficulty.

15. כחר, cut off. The word is not uncommon, but in this sense it does not appear to be Semitic. The Coptic ϰⲱⲣϫ cædere, abscindere, is connected with the root  , כח, cut,  , engrave, carve; still nearer is ϭⲉⲧϭⲱⲥⲧ, concidere, cædere.

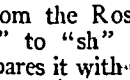
31. פשתה, flax, a common word, is probably Egyptian. No satisfactory Semitic

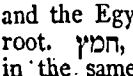
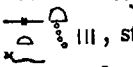
etymology is proposed; the Arabic has فشر, to which Fuerst gives the sense "carminari," without authority as it would seem; nor is the meaning assigned to it by Gesenius supported by Arabic Lexicographers. A glance at Freytag will show how utterly unconnected the meaning is with flax. Gesenius observes that it is found in Avicenna. 'I believe that in Syriac and Arabic it is merely a derivative meaning. Gesenius observes that the word does not occur in any Semitic dialect. He had good reason to reject the conjectures of Forster; he would probably not have hesitated to adopt the etymology suggested by the Egyptian , Pek, flax, linen, and linen stuffs. It is a very common word, known first from the Rosetta stone. The change of "k" to "sh" is normal. Brugsch, p. 515, compares it with פִּשְׁתָּה.

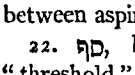
גבעל ἅ. λ. The assumed root גבע does not occur in any Semitic dialect. In Egyptian.  , gabu, blossom, corresponds very nearly. 'D. H.,' p. 755.

32. כֻּסֶּמֶת, "spelt," occurs very seldom. The Arabic which resembles it is uncommon, كرسنّة; it is used by Saddia in translating Is. xxviii. 25. Freytag gives كرسنّة, vicia, vetch, but without a root, and it evidently is a strange word, probably a compound word, and of Egyptian origin. , sim, Coptic ⲥⲓⲙ, is a general name for herbs, and is used in the Coptic Version of v. 25. A compound word of uncertain meaning, but denoting some vegetable food, is found in the 'Ritual,' c. 124, 4:  , chersemau, which corresponds very nearly to the Hebrew. But  , kemetta, or kemdut, written also  , means a kind of corn, represented on the Sarcophagus of Seti; Bon., p. 2, B. l. 43; B. 43; D. H., p. 1497.

32. אַפִּילוֹת, ἅ. λ. No Semitic root is found; that suggested by Gesenius is unsatisfactory, أفل has the sense deficit, latuit, whence G. elicits the meaning, late in season, tender. In Egyptian , pirt, or pilt. Brugsch renders the word "jeunes plantes qui viennent de pousser," the exact meaning of the Hebrew.

xii. 11. פֶּסַח, passover. The Semitic derivations are doubtful, see note *in loc.* The Egyptian  , pesh-ṭ, corresponds very nearly in form, and exactly in meaning and construction. Champollion, Gr., p. 446, gives two examples, to extend the arms or wings over a person, protecting him.

15. שְׂאֹר, leaven; the word occurs only in this chapter. Gesenius compares סִיר, to boil. In Egyptian  , with variants pronounced seri, means "seethe," "seething pot." It is connected with seru, cheese, or buttermilk. There can be little doubt of the connexion with the Hebrew, and the Egyptian probably supplies the true root. חָמֵץ, leavened dough, does not occur in the same sense out of the Pentateuch, unless it be in Amos iv. 5, when it seems rather to mean "spoil." The Coptic has ϩⲙⲟⲩϫ, acid, which, corresponding with it exactly in form and nearly in sense, implies an Egyptian root; but it may be taken from the Arabic. The Egyptian for fermentation does not seem to be connected with it,  , stf; which is represented by the Coptic ϲⲧⲏⲧϥ. see Chabas 'Mél.' ii. p. 219; though the radical letters might be brought under the common law of transmutation between aspirants and sibilants.

22. סַף, basin, or, according to some, "threshold," see note *in loc.* The latter sense is somewhat confirmed by the Eg.  , sep, a step, or threshold.

Considerable additions may be made to this list, which will probably form the basis of a separate treatise. Enough has been said to show that Moses habitually uses words which existed in Egyptian, and for the most part cannot be shown to have a true Semitic etymology.

Since the preceding pages were finally revised for the press the writer has received the 'Journal asiatique' for March and April, 1870. It contains an article by M. Harkavy, entitled, "Les Mots égyptiens de la Bible." It does not include proper names. In some important points the writer has the satisfaction of finding his conclusions supported by this Egyptologer, who appears not to have seen these Essays, which were sent to Paris towards the end of last year.

The following derivations are partly new and of much interest.

Gen. xli. 43. M. Harkavy adopts Ap-rech, chief of the Rech, or men of learning; a deri-

vation noticed above, p. 483. He defends the transcription of *p* by *b*, and *ch* by *k*, and certainly shows that in words common to Hebrew and Egyptian they are sometimes interchanged. He gives also what appears to be the true equivalent of כנים, see above, p. 490, viz. Chenemms.

Gen. xli. 2, Achu. The same derivation as that given above.

xli. 8. Chartummim, magicians. In a note, p. 109, M. Harkavy observes: "Un savant distingué, qui a lu notre travail, remarque qu'il avait pensé au radical *tem* qui signifie prononcer, énoncer, avec la particule *cher*. L'initiale *cher* forme en effet des titres avec d'autres mots." The reader will find this derivation stated and defended in the note at the end of Exodus, c. vii., p. 279. It was mentioned by the writer to some scholars both in England and Paris, by whom it was approved.

טנא, tena, a sacred basket. The derivation has been given in note on Exod. xvi.

Exod. vii. 11, 22. M. Harkavy derives לם להט from Rech-chet, a magician, or man of learning. The writer prefers the etymology proposed, p. 276.

Gen. xlix. 5, מכרות, rendered habitation, probably equivalent to Macher, a granary.

Gen. xii. et passim, "Pharaoh." The derivation proposed above is defended.

Gen. xli. 45. Zaphnath Paaneh. M. Harkavy gives the same value to the first syllable, Zaph, food, and to the word Paaneh, life. For the middle syllable he proposes net, saviour. The transcription given above still appears preferable to the writer, who is glad to find M. H. in accord with him in regard to the more important terms, food and life. For נת the Egyptian may have been *n-ta*, of the land, sc. food of the land of the living, which is a special designation of Memphis; see Brugsch ('Geographischen Inschriften,' pp. 236, 237), who does not, however, explain צף.

Some inaccuracies in the first edition, pointed out by critics, have been corrected in this Essay, and in the note, p. 244. They do not affect the general arguments; but the Editor is thankful for criticisms which enable him to rectify errors.

The derivations of Shesh and Pak, fine linen, have been already noted.

END OF PART I.

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